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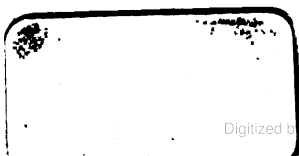
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THE

Eclectic Review.

MDCCCXXVIII.

JULY—DECEMBER.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. XXX.



Φιλοσοφίαν δι' οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λίγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρείαν τι καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ἵσα ἔσται παρ' ἡμέτερον τῶν αἰρεσίων ταύτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνη μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σήμερον τὸ ἙΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι.

CLEM. ALEX. Strom. L. 1.

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THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JULY, 1828.

- Art. I. 1. *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. Vol. I. Parts I. II. and III. 4to. London. 1824, 1826, 1827.
2. *Transactions of the Literary Society of Madras*. Part I. 4to. London. 1827.
3. *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*. With Engravings. 4to. Vols. II. and III. London. 1820, 1823.
4. *Asiatic Researches*; or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal for Enquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia. Vols. XIII. and XIV. 4to. Calcutta. 1820, 1822.

IT does not redound to our credit as a nation, that an Asiatic Society should have been instituted at Paris, before it was thought desirable or feasible to establish such an association in our own metropolis. Notwithstanding that Divine Providence has consigned the fairest and most populous regions of Asia to the rule and protection of the British Government, and England may be regarded as the Mistress of the East, there has hitherto prevailed in this country, an unaccountable indifference and apathy in the minds of the public generally, with regard to our Asiatic possessions. Although almost every family in the higher classes is in some degree connected with those who have been sent forth to India, it has been the subject of complaint, that the attempt to excite an interest, beyond the executive authorities, relative to the most important foreign possession of Great Britain and the most singular dominion that was ever exercised by any nation, is nearly hopeless. 'A momentary and partial attention is, indeed, occasionally raised by descriptions respecting the conduct of conspicuous individuals; but this soon subsides, unless the stimulus of an impeachment keeps it awake,

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'until the question of the renewal of the Charter provokes periodical excitation.*' The feverish interest which then comes on, is not, however, of a kind at all adapted to promote the advancement and extension of liberal knowledge in relation to India, or to excite an enlightened interest in the millions of our fellow-subjects whose destinies are now so intimately united with our own. We unfeignedly rejoice, therefore, in the formation, under the highest auspices, of a Society which has for its express object, to stimulate and encourage inquiry into the history, literature, arts and sciences, civil and religious institutions, geography and productions, and present condition of the countries of the East, with a view to promote an interchange of benefits with the nations to whom we are so closely allied and deeply indebted, and to contribute, ultimately, to the melioration and augmented enjoyments of the innumerable population subject to the British sway.

The Royal Asiatic Society acknowledges as its parent, the Society instituted in Bengal in the year 1783, which has to boast of the illustrious name of Sir William Jones as its first president. To Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General, is ascribed the merit of being 'the first, or among the first of the servants of the Company, who attempted to acquire any language of the natives, and who set on foot those liberal inquiries into the literature and institutions of the Hindoos, which have led to the satisfactory knowledge of the present day.†' Of the "*Asiatic Researches*" of the Calcutta Society, the twelfth volume (the last, we believe, which has been re-printed in this country) was reviewed by us soon after its appearance in the year 1818.‡ The thirteenth and fourteenth volumes of the Calcutta edition are now before us; and although they do not bear a very recent date, yet, as their contents will probably be new to our readers, we shall in the first instance give a brief account of the papers they contain.

The Thirteenth Volume comprises fourteen communications. The first, occupying 127 pages, gives an account of the continued operations of Lieut. Col. Lambton in correcting and fixing, by trigonometrical measurements, the geography of Hindostan. The arc on the meridian measured in the present survey, extends from the parallel of $15^{\circ} 6' 2''$, to $18^{\circ} 3' 45''$. The skill and perseverance with which this laborious and im-

* Lushington's Account of Religious and Benevolent Institutions in Calcutta.

† Mill's *British India*. Vol. IV. p. 455.

‡ *Ec. Rev. N.S.* Vol. XI. p. 282.

portant work has been carried on, reflect great honour both on the Author of the communication and on the Indian Government, under whose liberal patronage it was accomplished. Art. II. is 'on the Existence of the Hindu Religion in the island of Bali, by John Crawford, Esq.' Bali, called also Little Java, is one of the Sunda islands, separated by the straits of Bally (Bali) from Java. The information furnished in this paper, has, we believe, been embodied in Mr. Crawford's History of the Indian Archipelago, published in 1820.* The next article also, 'Account of a Journey to the Sources of the Jumna and Bhagirathi Rivers, by James B. Fraser,' has also been given to the reading public, in the Author's "Journal of a Tour through the Himala Mountains."† The fourth article gives an account of an atrocious society or class of hereditary robbers and murderers, bearing the names of *phansigars* (i. e. stranglers), *theys* (deceivers), *badheks*, and other similar appellations. Like the Pindarries, these dastardly miscreants appear to be mongrel muselmans, the feculent dregs of the Mohammedan armies, and gendered from the corruption of decaying states. Art V. 'Memoir relative to a Survey of Kemaon.' By Captain Webb. Art. VI. 'Ceremonies observed at the Coronation of a Hindu Rajah.' By Mr. Brown. Art. VII. 'Analysis of the Snake-stone.' By J. Davy, M.D. F.R.S. Of these stones, which the natives of India employ as imaginary antidotes to the bite of venomous serpents, there appear to be two or three kinds. One sort proved to be composed of phosphate of lime with a little of the carbonate and slight traces of carbon; its composition being, in fact, that of bone partially calcined. Another sort is merely carbonate of lime, coloured by a little vegetable matter. The third sort is an animal bezoar, composed of concentric, thin layers, and consisting chiefly of carbonate and phosphate of lime. The first kind may possibly have some little effect as an absorbent: the latter two must be wholly inert, having no absorbent power whatever.

Of the remaining papers, it will be sufficient to give the titles. Art. VIII. An Account of venomous Sea-snakes on the coast of Madras. By Dr. Mackenzie. IX. The Ruins of Prambanan in Java. By Mr. Crawford. X. Description of some rare Indian Plants. By Dr. Wallich. XI. Account of a new Species of Tapir, found in Malacca. By Major Farquhar. XII. Account of a new Species of Camellia, in Nepaul. By Dr. Wallich. XIII. Account of Bejapûr in 1811. By Capt. Sydenham. XIV. On the Binomial Theorem, as known to

* Ec. Rev. N.S. Vol. XVI. p. 228.

† Ibid. Vol. XV. p. 68.

the Arabians. By J. Tytler, Esq. The only papers of general interest are the IXth and XIIIth. The former is highly curious, but is too long to admit of convenient abstract: the latter, we pass over for the present, as we shall have occasion to notice another paper on the same subject.

The Fourteenth Volume of the *Asiatic Researches* contains ten communications. Three of these are important contributions to geographical science; viz. Articles II and III. Journal of a Survey to the Heads of the Ganges and the Jumna; with a Table of Latitudes and Observations of Longitude in the Mountains. By Capt. Hodgson. Art. VI. Trigonometrical and Astronomical Operations for determining the Heights and Positions of the principal Peaks of the Himalaya Mountains. By Capt. Hodgson and Lieut. Herbert. The highest trigonometrical station, at Uchalárú, in Gurwal, was ascertained to be 14,302 feet above the sea, and 13,289 feet above Saharunpoor, the elevation of which had been determined by barometrical measurement. Even Uchalárú is below the limit of perpetual congelation*, (which the Quarterly Reviewer would fix at a point below 11,000 feet,) although 2,500 feet above the limit of forest, which is therefore 11,800 above the sea. The Chur (or Churkedhar), on which another of the stations was established, a mountain dividing the hill provinces of Sirmor and Jubal, is 11,689 feet above the sea. Some idea of the arduous nature of the persevering labour of these gentlemen, may be formed from the following statement.

‘ The Chur is higher than Mount Etna, and the snow lies deep on its north side, generally till the commencement of the rains in June; the mountain is then shrouded in mist and clouds. The climate is too severe to allow an observer to carry on his operations with success before the 20th of April; and from that time to the end of May is the best season for the work. Also, after the autumnal equinox, the air becomes clear, and the atmosphere is favourable for vision until the middle of October, when storms of snow render the station untenable. Therefore, to these two periods must visits to the Chur be limited. The inconvenience of residing on such a stormy ridge, even at those seasons, is considerable. The fury of the wind is great, and the cold intense; immediately after sunset, water and ink are frozen; and our followers, who were necessarily much exposed, suffered severely from the cold. The ascent of the mountain was long and arduous; and the grain required for the followers, for a period of ten or twelve days, was procured with great difficulty from the distant villages in Sirmor and Jubal. And it is to be understood, that in these mountains, between the Bhagirat’hi and Sutlej rivers,

* In the month of September, it had lost all its snow, except a very small patch.

camp-equipage, instruments, provisions, and every thing required, were carried on men's backs, except on one short military line of route, where mules lightly loaded may occasionally be used. Sheep, it is true, are also used as beasts of burden in the higher mountains, but they carry very small loads. Similar inconveniences and limitations as to the season of residing on them, occur at the trigonometrical stations of Chandpúr, Bairát, and Surkunda, in a less degree; and in a still greater at Kédar Kanda, and Uchalárú, which are higher than the Chur; or in crossing the passes over the ever snow-clad Himálaya, and in exploring the sources of the great rivers which rise in their deep and gloomy chasms.' p. 197.

Captain Hodgson being obliged to leave the mountains in October 1818, the remainder of the survey was carried on by Lieut. Herbert alone.

'Our geographical knowledge has been much extended by him, not only in carrying various route lines of the Jahnvi river above Bhairoghati, and of the Setlej above Wongtu, but also in tracing the Tonse river to its sources in the snowy range; ascending which, in October 1819, he crossed over the southern ridge of the Himalaya by the Gunas pass, elevated more than 15,700 feet above the sea. Descending hence, he came upon the valley of the river Baspa, a principal feeder of the Setlej, originating in that cluster of high peaks which are situated in a re-entering angle of the range above Jumnotri, and from which, in another direction, are derived the more eastern rivers. From its confluence with the Setlej, he followed the course of the latter upward to Shipkee, a frontier valley of the Chinese territories, in lat. 31°. 48'. A hundred and ten miles below Shipkee, the Setlej (which is called by the Bhoteas or Tatars there, the *Sang-jing kampa*) receives another stream, nearly equal in size, sometimes designated *Spati-maksang*; *spati* being the name of the *pergunnah* (district) it flows through, and *maksang* as well as *kampa*, signifying a river. From the confluence of this river with the Setlej, he proceeded up to Lari, a frontier village of Ladak. In this part of his route, he describes the mountains as entirely clay slate, bare of verdure, and with little snow, and evidently of inferior elevation; from all which it may be inferred, that he was then on the northern face of the great range. Having no particular motives for penetrating further, and the season being advanced, he returned from this place; though he had little doubt, as he says, that, if desirous, he might have proceeded even to Leh, the capital of Ladak. The road was described as good, and the people as not manifesting the same jealousy as those subject to the Chinese authority.' pp. 199, 200.

The Himalaya attains its highest elevation in lat. 30° 12' 19", N., long. 79° 57' 22"; the height of the loftiest peak being fixed, by the present survey, at 25,749 feet. Four other peaks rise to an elevation exceeding 23,000 feet. Mount Moira, a remarkable peak near the head of the Ganges, attains 22,792 feet; and two of the united peaks at the head of the Bhagirathi,

called St. Patrick and St. George, 22,798 and 22,654 feet respectively. We know not whether the peak A. No. 2, the highest according to the present observations, be the Dhawlagirree of Mr. Colebrooke, to which he assigns an elevation of 26,862 feet; but we must, at all events, allow of an excess of 1,113 in his estimate,—no very great error in calculations which professed to be only an approximation to the truth. If he refer to any other peak, the inaccuracy is greater. Mr. Fraser concluded, as the result of his own observations, taken in connexion with the measurements of Captains Webb and Hodgson, that the loftiest peaks would be found to range from 18,000 to 22 or 23,000 feet above the sea. It now appears, that he underrated their extreme height, although he is correct, if we understand him as referring to their average elevation. Chimborazo, the loftiest peak of the American chain, according to Humboldt 20,100 feet, is still 5,649 feet below the summit of the Indian range.

Three short papers in the present volume are on subjects of natural history. Art. IV. Description of a Zoophyte commonly found about the coasts of Singapore Island. By Major Gen. Hardwicke. This curious marine production belongs to the genus *Spongia*, class *Vermes*, and is named *Spongia Patera*, from its resemblance to an immense cup or bowl on a foot. The specimen, of which there is presented an engraving, is thirty-seven inches in height, seventeen inches in diameter at the brim, and contains thirty-six quarts of water. We have seen four of these gigantic productions, apparently of the same kind, which were sent to this country as curiosities; and, at a distance, they have almost the effect of rude antique vases. Art. V. Description of a Substance called Gez or Manna, and the Insect producing it. By the Same. The name of manna is improperly given to various sorts of gum, which are supposed to exude as the effect of the puncture of an insect. In this paper, the insect, which the Writer proposes to call *chermis mannifer*, is described as producing the substance, not from the tree, but from its own body.

‘The substance appears to project from the abdomen in the form of a tail or bunch of feathers, of a nature more like snow than any thing I can compare it to. These insects are found on the branches and leaves of trees, on which they swarm in millions, and work and generate this feather-like substance, till it gets long, and drops on the leaves, caking on them, and resembling the most beautiful white bees’ wax. This hardens on the leaf, and takes the complete form of it, which you can strip off, bearing the very impression and imitation of the leaf itself, which no art could exceed. But, what appears surprising, they do not seem to eat or destroy the leaves they swarm on;

and though they may have been some days on the leaves, nothing more is seen than this waxy substance issuing from the tail.' p. 185.

This substance is, however, quite different from the 'Beyrouk honey' and other gums which are obtained from various trees by simply making an incision into the branches. The Calabrian manna is said to be an exudation produced by the puncture of an insect. The subject is deserving of further investigation. It is needless to point out the infelicity of the term manna in either reference, as it tends to countenance the absurd notion, that the substance with which the Jews were miraculously supplied, which they ground or pounded, and baked, was a vegetable or animal exudation.—Art. VIII. On the *Sorex Glis*. The animal described is a native of Penang and other islands in the Indian Archipelago; bears a resemblance to the genus *Viverra*, particularly the *V. ichneumon*; and has the habits of a squirrel.

The remaining papers are of a literary description. Art. I., by Francis Ellis, Esq., gives an account of the discovery of a modern imitation of the Vedas, which throws additional light upon the proceedings of the Propagandists in India. These *pseudo* Vedas, the originals of which are in the possession of the Romish missionaries at Pondicherry, are ascribed by the more respectable native Christians to Robertus de Nobilibus, the founder of the Madura mission, and the author of many works in Tamul on polemical theology. Mosheim has given an account of this mission*, which was avowedly conducted on the principle of concealing from the natives the country of the missionaries, and imposing them on the people as belonging to the sacred caste of Brahmins. This fundamental deception of course necessitated many more. Mr. Ellis is inclined to attribute to Robertus, the composition only, not the forgery of these Vedas; but his chief reason for this opinion appears to be, the character for probity which he bears in India; whereas instances are cited with applause by Father Jouvence, of his dexterous pious frauds. It matters little indeed, whether the Author or the Editor of these Vedas was the forger. It is not a question of individual delinquency, but involves the good faith of all who took part in the system of deception and imposture upon which the mission was conducted. Our detestation should fall, however, not upon the men, but upon the system. Their motives were far purer than their notions of morality. They sought to do good by means which they did not deem evil, but which are

* Mosheim, Cent. xvii. § 1.

utterly at variance with the simplicity and godly sincerity enjoined by the religion they professed. 'The learning, personal virtues, and ardent zeal of some of these Missionaries,' remarks Dr. Morrison, speaking of those who penetrated into China, 'deserve to be imitated by all future Missionaries, will be equalled by few, and perhaps rarely exceeded by any.' We must not confound such men with the Duboises of the present day.

Art. VII. On the ancient Geography of India. By Lieut. Col. F. Wilford. This paper, like all the communications of the learned, though fanciful and credulous Writer, is both curious and interesting. It is, we believe, his latest, and perhaps his most valuable contribution to Asiatic literature, and casts more light upon the ancient geography of India, than any previous Writer had been able to furnish. Col. Wilford was master as well of the Sanscrit as of the vernacular dialects of Hindostan; but, as M. Klaproth expresses it, '*il manquait tellement de critique.*' Like Sir William Jones, his literary zeal and ardour sometimes outstripped his judgement, and laid asleep his caution. He was deceived by his pundits; and the literary forgery imposed upon him, the discovery of which he narrates with such ingenuous simplicity and candour*, shews that the French and Italian Brahmins must yield the palm, in point of deceptive ingenuity, to the native literati.

We shall merely give the titles of the remaining papers. Art. IX. On an Indian Method of constructing Arches. By Capt. Mackintosh. Art. X. An Account of the Cootub Minar, and the Inscriptions in its Vicinity. By Walter Ewer, Esq.

The first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, is in all respects worthy of the distinguished names which appear among the contributors, and forms an honourable commencement of its learned labours. The three parts comprise thirty-four papers, which we shall not take in their order, but, as in the above notice of the Asiatic Researches, according to the class of subjects to which they respectively belong.

Seven of the articles relate to Chinese literature; they are as follow:—Art. I. Memoir concerning the Chinese. By John F. Davis, Esq. M.R.A.S. III. Singular Proclamation issued by the Viceroy of Canton. Translated by the Rev. R. Morrison, D.D. XIV. Some Account of a Secret Association in China, entitled, the Triad Society. By the late Dr. Milne. XVI and XXII. Extracts from Peking Gazettes. Translated by J. F. Davis, Esq. XIX. *Eugraphia Sinensis*; or, the Art

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. VIII. p. 247, &c.

of Writing the Chinese Character with Correctness. By the Same. XXXI. Two Edicts from the Hoppo of Canton to the Hong Merchants. By the Same.

Mr. Davis takes the same sober view of the extravagant pretensions of the Chinese and the reveries of their panegyrists, that is now becoming pretty general among all competent scholars. With regard to their early history, he is of opinion, that a careful examination of the native annals, undertaken with a proper degree of scepticism towards the misrepresentations of national vanity, will establish the following facts:—

‘ That the antiquity of China as an empire has been greatly exaggerated, and that it cannot be dated earlier than the reign of Chi-hoang-ti, about B. C. 200; that it was then confined almost entirely to that half of modern China which lies between the great river Keang and the confines of Tartary; that it was subsequently split into several independent nations, (kingdoms?) which, after various contests and revolutions, were formed into two empires, the Northern and Southern, and became finally united under *one* head about A. D. 585; that China has been the theatre of as bloody and continued wars as have ravaged most of the other countries of the globe; that it has twice, and at no very distant periods of time, been completely conquered by foreign barbarians; and that its last conquerors exercise over it, at this day, an imperious and by no means impartial sway, but one in which the precedence and the trust are in most cases conferred on the Tartar.’ pp. 10, 11.

That the Chinese possessed no real science of their own, is proved, Mr. Davis thinks, by the readiness with which they adopted that of Europeans, deviating in this one respect from their established prejudices against every thing foreign.

‘ I feel’ (he says) ‘ persuaded, that, until the introduction of astronomy into the empire by the Arabians in the first instance, and subsequently by the European Missionaries, the whole science of the Chinese consisted in a careful observation and scrupulous notation of the eclipses and other heavenly phenomena. Their ignorance led them to attach the most important political influences to the different aspects and conjunctions of the celestial orbs, and hence arose the exactness with which they marked and chronicled them. Confucius has recorded six and thirty eclipses of the sun, the greater number of which have been verified by the calculations of European astronomers; but the recording an eclipse may prove the authenticity of historical annals, while it proves nothing as to the existence of astronomical science.....Indeed, it is impossible not to smile at the idea of attributing any science to a people, whose learned books are filled with such trumpery as the diagrams of Fohi, and a hundred other puerilities of the same kind.’ pp. 12, 13.

The extracts from the Peking Gazettes are sufficiently curious and entertaining, affording an insight into the manners and

morals of this singular people, and shewing how the same things come to pass in all countries under the sun. A report of the Viceroy of the Fuh-këen and Che-keang provinces, complains of the depreciation of the metal currency in consequence of over-coinage, and proposes a suspension of issues from the mint, 'until the relative values of silver and currency approach 'nearer to a par'; the soldiers receiving their pay, in the mean time, in silver. A sensible expedient analogous to a return to cash payments. An imperial edict refers to a report concerning the malversations in office prevalent among the clerks and official assistants in the Government office of Pechely province; and directs the institution of a commission of inquiry. Another edict forbids any of the common people to have fire-arms. Other decrees award posthumous honours to deceased ministers. A Chinese graduate, erroneously 'reported as a Tatar at the 'examination at which he obtained his degree', is directed to lose three years; while the head of the Tatar division who made the report, is to be delivered to the Criminal Board for trial and punishment. This singular order—something like punishing an Irish graduate for professing to be English-born—shews how the Tatars are always favoured whenever there is any competition. We give the titles of a few other extracts: Petition from a sick and aged minister to retire permanently from office.—Petition for a new trial in a case of Homicide.—Loss of Lives from the Explosion of Gunpowder,—Imperial Decree.—Seizure of a Convict who had escaped from his place of banishment.—Forging the current Coin.—Distress at Peking.—Edict against Witchcraft.—Wreck of two Vessels from Loo-choo.—New Ministerial Appointments.—Such are the contents of a Chinese Newspaper. Moreover, Art. XIV. makes it appear, that there exists an association in China, not very dissimilar from the European Freemasons, but of a more dangerous character. We must make room for an extract from Governor Ching's proclamation, which exhibits all the vanity and ostentatious pharisaism of the Chinese character, mingled with occasional good sense and wholesome morality. After setting forth his own good qualities, his exalted patriotism, and his indifference to music and women, goods and gains, revelry and avarice, the *Foo-yuen* (viceroy) thus proceeds:

' Having had to give thanks to the Wise and Holy One for appointing me to be the soother of the people, I am well aware that, in all the districts under my government, robberies and thefts prevail and burn; litigations and imprisonments abound and multiply. Polite decorum and instruction do not flourish, and the public manners are not substantially good.....Canton is a luxurious, extravagant province. The vice begins with the retired literati, and passes to the

country gentlemen; from them to the rich merchants; and down to the common people, and petty writers and lictors. They desire to have gay, shining dwellings; their food and drink from the seas and the mountains; their garments to be silks and crapes; their ancestors' halls must, in violation of their proper sphere, have vermillion beams, and doors, and pillars:—forgetting that Heaven's curse will come on those who affect an enjoyment (luxury) which does not belong to their place; whereas, in the affluent, charity to the poor and rescuing the distressed, bring a blessing on posterity for hundreds of years. Besides, the Emperor, who is supreme, and whose riches embrace all the world, encompassed by the four seas, himself sets you an example', &c.

— 'It is the detestable custom of Canton Province, on every slight occasion, for a slight resentment, to commit suicide. And the relatives of the self-murderer view the dead body as a piece of goods of extraordinary value. They contrive to allege that the deceased committed suicide in consequence of ill-usage from some rich neighbour, who, to avoid litigation, gives them a sum of money; or, if he refuses, they combine with the police, and commence a prosecution. When I was at Nan-keung district, in the office of magistrate, five or six suicides occurred every month.....Canton abounding in hills and rivers, it abounds in thefts and robberies, both by individuals and associated bodies of men. Let these be acted against, &c. Vagabond attorneys excite litigations, increase and protract them in numbers infinite and to periods interminable. The innocent are accused, and the utterly wrong become accusers; they find avaricious and cruel magistrates, and fraudulent police extortioners. Disputes about marriages and lands are viewed by magistrates as petty affairs, and are given to the management of underlings; and by various forms of legal fraud and oppression, families are ruined, and lives lost.' pp. 44—8.

Such appears to be the existing state of society in the Celestial Empire. The account to which suicide is turned, and the vindictive motive which leads, in many cases, to its commission, are features in which a strong moral resemblance will be recognized to those of the Bengalee.* Nor is this the only particular in which the state of things described, corresponds to that which existed under the native Hindoo governments. Among the remedies proposed to be applied to these crying evils, two are certainly excellent measures; but there seems to be no provision made by the State for rendering them effective. 'Prohibit Gaming', is one; the other is:—

'Cultivate talent; and schools are the places to foster talent. I hold public schools to be of the first importance. Why so slow in assisting, where aid is required! I will subscribe my salary to assist poor districts to establish public schools; and let the Foo districts subscribe 200 *taels*, and the Chih-le-Chow districts 150 *taels*, and the

* See Ecl. Rev. for May, p. 411. Art. Heber's Journal.

Keen districts 100 *taks*, and all the local officers according to their ability; and let them take the lead, and induce the country gentlemen to come forward and manage the concerns, &c.'

Admirably said, Governor Ching! One would imagine that you must have visited England, and taken a lesson of Mr. Brougham. Go on and prosper; and if the schoolmaster is once abroad in the Celestial Empire, the Missionary will not be far behind him.

The contributions relating to Hindoo literature, which are the most numerous, are the following:—Art. II. VII. XXIV. XXXIII. On the Philosophy of the Hindus. By H. T. Colebrooke, Esq., Director. VI. Essay on the Bhills. By Major Gen. Sir John Malcolm. X. Analytical Account of the Pancha Tantra, with occasional Translations. By H. H. Wilson, Esq., Sec. to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. XI. Inscription upon Rocks in South Bihar. Described by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, and explained by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. IX. XII. XIII. Sanscrit Inscriptions and Grants. Communicated by Major James Tod. XV. Short Account of the Saud sect (a sort of Hindoo Quakers). By W. H. Trant, Esq., M.P. XX. Account of Greek, Parthian, and Hindu Medals found in India. By Major Tod. XXIII. XXIX. On the Srawacs or Jains. By Major James Delamaine, and Dr. Buchanan Hamilton. XXVIII. Description of Temples of the Jainas in South Bihar, &c. By Dr. Buchanan Hamilton. XXX. Inscription near Trincomalee. Communicated by Sir Alexander Johnston.

The erudite and elaborate articles on the Philosophy of the Hindoos, by the Director, form the most valuable portion of the volume. We cannot attempt, however, to give an analysis of a treatise which is itself analytical, and which relates to so complicated and abstruse a subject. We are continually struck with the coincidence between the Hindoo philosophy and that of the Grecian schools, especially the Pythagorean and the Platonic, as well as of the Sooffee sects. Some of these systems are theistical; others are avowedly atheistical, 'as the sects of Jina and Buddha in effect are; acknowledging no creator of the universe, nor supreme ruling providence.' Both these last-mentioned sects, like most others of Indian origin, propose for the grand object to which man should aspire, the attainment of a final happy state; to which they agree in applying the term *mucti* or *mocsha*, but with some shades of difference in the interpretation of the word. Many other terms are in use as synonymous with it. That which the Bauddhas, as well as Jainas, more particularly affect, and which is also used by other sectaries, is *nirvāna*, profound calm, i. e. perfect apathy.

'Perpetual, uninterrupted apathy', remarks Mr. Colebrooke, 'can hardly be said to differ from eternal sleep. The notion of it as a happy condition, seems to be derived from the experience of ecstasies, or from that of a profound sleep, from which a person awakes refreshed. The pleasant feeling is referred back to the period of actual repose. Accordingly, the *Vedanta* considers the individual soul to be temporarily, during the period of profound sleep, in the like condition of re-union with the Supreme, which it permanently arrives at on its final emancipation from body. This doctrine is not that of the Jainas nor of the Bauddhas. But neither do they consider the endless repose allotted to their perfect saints as attended with a discontinuance of individuality. It is not annihilation, but unceasing apathy, which they understand to be the extinction (*nirvana*) of their saints; and which they esteem to be supreme felicity, worthy to be sought by practice of mortification, as well as by acquisition of knowledge.' p. 566.

Like the Persian Sooffees, the Hindoo schools are split into a variety of metaphysical sects.* The schism among the Bauddhas or Buddhists, which divided them into four sects, is of high antiquity. 'All of them', Mr. Colebrooke says, 'appear to have been indiscriminately persecuted, when the Bauddhas of every denomination were expelled from Hindustan and the peninsula. Whether the same sects yet subsist among the Bauddhas of Ceylon, Thibet, and the trans-gangetic India, and in China, deserves inquiry.' (p. 559.) On the subject of the affinity between the Hindoo metaphysics and the Greek, we meet with the following interesting statement.

'The point on which the *Pasupatas*' (followers of Pasupati—a theistical sect) most essentially differ from the orthodox, the distinct and separate existence of the efficient and material causes of the universe, is common to them with the ancient Greek philosophers before Aristotle. Most of these similarly affirmed two, and only two, natural causes, the efficient and the material; the first, active, moving; the second, acting, moved: the one, effective; the other, yielding itself to be acted upon by it. Ocellus terms the latter *γενεσις*, generation, or rather production; the former, its cause, *αίτια γενεσις*. Empedocles, in like manner, affirmed two principles of nature; the active, which is unity, or God; the passive, which is matter. Here we have precisely the *pracriti* and *carana* of the Indian philosophers; their *upadana* and *nimitta-carana*, material and efficient causes. The similarity is too strong to have been accidental. Which of the two borrowed from the other, I do not pretend to determine. Yet, adverting to what has come to us of the history of Pythagoras, I shall not hesitate to acknowledge an inclination to consider the Grecian to have been, on this, as on many other points, indebted to Indian instructors.

* See Ec. Rev. Vol. XXVIII. p. 263.

‘ It should be observed, that some among the Greek philosophers, like the *Sanc’hya*s who follow Capila, admitted only one material principle, and no efficient cause. This appears to have been the doctrine of Heraclitus in particular. His *psigmata* correspond to the sheer (*tan-matra*) particles of Capila’s *Sanc’hya*; his intelligent and rational principle, which is the cause of production and dissolution, is Capila’s *buddhi* or *mahat*; as his material principle is *pradhana* or *pracriti*. The development of corporeal existences, and their return to the first principle at their dissolution, correspond to the upward and downward way (ὀδὸς ἀνω and ὀδὸς κάτω) of Heraclitus. I shall not pursue the parallel further. It would not hold for all particulars; nor was it to be expected that it should.’ p. 574.

Sir John Malcolm observes, in his History of Persia, that ‘ the life and opinions of Pythagoras, if translated into Persian, ‘ would be read at this moment (in Persia) as those of a Sooffee ‘ saint. The tale of his initiation into the mysteries of the ‘ Divine nature, his deep contemplation and abstraction of ‘ mind, his miracles, his passionate love of music, his mode of ‘ teaching his disciples, the persecution that he suffered, and ‘ the manner of his death, present us nearly an exact parallel ‘ to what is related of many of the most eminent of the Sooffee ‘ teachers.’ There seems to be no reason for hesitation in referring the modern Persian philosophy to a Grecian origin, although Pythagoras himself was a scholar of the Persian magi. We are rather indisposed to believe that he was indebted for his philosophy, in any considerable measure, to the Indian gymnosophists. The coincidence between the Grecian and the Indian philosophy would be explained, by supposing them to have been drawn from a common source more ancient than either.

The following remark is highly important in its bearing upon the question of the relative priority of the Jains and Buddhists, and of the Vedantins. The former sects disavow the divine origin of the Vedas, on which account, more than for their deviation from its doctrines, they are reputed heterodox by the Hindoo. Speaking of a hymn introduced into the Veda, the modern style and tone of which afford internal evidence of its having been composed after the Sanscrit language had been refined, and its grammar and rhythm perfected, Mr. Colebrooke adds:—

‘ The internal evidence which it furnishes, serves to demonstrate the important fact, that the compilation of the *Vedas*, in their present arrangement, took place after the Sanscrit tongue had advanced from the rustic and irregular dialect in which the multitude of hymns and prayers of the Veda was composed, to the polished and sonorous language in which the mythological poems, sacred and profane (*puranas* and *cavyas*), have been written.’ p. 461.

The sacred language of the Jainas and the Bauddhas is the Pracrit or Pali. 'The *Sacyas* (Bauddhas) and other heretics', says Cumarila, their chief antagonist and the instigator of an exterminating persecution against them (p. 441), 'do not use Sanscrit. But *Brahmanas* should not speak as barbarians.' That is to say, they should not use the unpolished and more ancient Pracrit. The same writer specifies as barbaric tongues, the *Parasica* (Persic?) *Yavana* (Greek?) *Raumaca* (Roman?), and *Barbara* (Berber?)*, but confesses his imperfect acquaintance with these. He cites also from the Andhra and Dravida dialects, i. e. the Telinga and Tamul (p. 453).

The articles on the Jains would naturally fall next under our notice, in connexion with the general subject of the Hindoo philosophy; but we shall have occasion to advert to this subject hereafter, and therefore pass them over with the remark, that Major Delamaine strenuously contends for the sectarian and modern origin of the Srawacs. There is, however, clear evidence, that the last Buddha (Gautama), as well as the last Jina (Mahariva), flourished as far back as the fifth century before the Christian era; and Parswanatha, whom Mr. Colebrooke supposes to have been the founder of the sect of Jainas (p. 521), must of course be referred to an earlier era.

'It deserves remark, that the Bauddhas and the Jainas agree in placing within the limits of the same province (South Bihar), and its immediate vicinity, the locality of the death and apotheosis of the last Buddha, as of the last Jina, and of his predecessor and his eldest and favourite disciple. Both religions have preserved for their sacred language, the same dialect, the Pali or Pracrit, closely resembling the Magadhi or vernacular tongue of Magadha (South Bihar). Between those dialects (Pali and Pracrit), there is but a shade of difference, and they are often confounded under a single name.' p. 521.

Of the Essay on the Bhills, by Sir John Malcolm, (Art. VI.) we have already availed ourselves, by anticipation, in our review of Bishop Heber's Narrative; and we now hasten to notice Art. XX., which is, in some respects, one of the most interesting communications in the volume. During a residence of twelve years among Mahrattas and Rajpoots, Major (now Lieut. Colonel) Tod succeeded in collecting no fewer than about 20,000 coins of all denominations; among which he considers about 100 as interesting, and about a third of that number may

* Under this term, it is possible that the Arabic or Syriac may be referred to. The word Berber, which appears as an exotic term both in the Greek and the Sanscrit, signifies shepherd, and is of indefinite application.

be esteemed of historical importance. Among the more valuable with which his researches were rewarded, he obtained an Apollodotus and a Menander, bearing, on the reverse, inscriptions in the ancient Zend or Pehlavi character, as found on the Sassanian medals of Sapor.

‘The Zend characters common to both these medals,’ he remarks,

‘afford a proof, which may be considered as decisive, that both these princes held Bactria as the seat of empire; for, though the discovery of these coins gives validity to the reported extent of their conquests, yet, had they held the seat of government within the Indus, they would have adopted the ancient *Nagari* character on the reverse, not that of Parthia.’

‘It is scarcely feasible to assign precise limits to the Bactrian kingdom, for Bactria was soon overstepped; and what might be termed the Bactrian kingdom at the period of the revolt, comprehended Sogdia as well as the province of Bactria, which had the Oxus or Jihoon as its northern boundary. The kingdom of Theodotus, therefore, included all Transoxiana, or the *Do-áb* of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, (the *Mawer ul Nehr* of the Persians,) and to the south, the Paropamisian range. To the west, it was kept in check by its alternate rival and ally, the *Arsacidæ* of Parthia; but, to the east, its frontier cannot be fixed, for we are left in doubt whether Pithon declared himself independent, or whether the provinces he held, gradually merged into Bactria.

‘The first Arsaces was a Bactrian by birth, and, with his brother Tiridates, had opposed the ambitious designs of Theodotus; but, being unsuccessful, fled to the governor of Parthia, by whom being treated with indignity, he raised troops, expelled him, and following the example of Theodotus, declared himself independent. Three years after, he was succeeded by his brother Tiridates, who bears on his medals the title of “Arsaces the Great, king of kings.” That he was much indebted to the Greeks of Bactria, we may judge from the epithet his medals and those of his successors bear, of *Philhellenos*. His friendship for the Greeks can only be understood towards the Bactrian Greeks; for he had scarcely been two years on the throne, when Seleucus Callinicus, having made peace with the Egyptian monarch, left Syria with a large army to recover Parthia; and the “Great King” was obliged to fly to his Scythic brethren, the Getic *Sacæ* of the Jaxartes*; till a rupture between the brothers, Seleucus and Antiochus, gave him an opportunity to re-enter Parthia. Seleucus, having prevailed over his rival, resumed his Parthian expedition; but the second Theodotus, who had succeeded to the

* *Saca-dwipa*, the country of the *Sacæ*, is properly placed by D’Anville about the fountains of the Oxus. The Parthians were the *Sacæ* of Asia. Hence the titular appellation of its princes, Arsaces.

Bactrian throne, formed a close alliance with Tiridates, and sent him a large body of Bactrian troops, by whose aid Tiridates defeated and made captive the Assyrian monarch. The day on which this battle was fought, became the anniversary of the foundation of Parthian liberty. This alliance sealed the independence of both states; and to this opportune succour afforded by Theodotus, we may ascribe the epithet we have mentioned as freely retained by the successive *Arsacidæ* from a grateful recollection.' pp. 317—20.

There appear to have been, in fact, co-existing at this time, no fewer than *three* Greek kingdoms, the Parthian, the Bactrian, and that of Apollodotus, who had Sangala in the Punjab for his capital. On the fall of the Bactrian kingdom, Mithridates, king of Parthia, succeeded in establishing himself in all the power which the Greeks ever had in India. He is said, indeed, to have extended his power as far eastward as the Ganges. It is to Mithridates and his successors, or to a minor Greek dynasty in India, that the learned Writer assigns the numerous coins found in the neighbourhood of Mathura, Agra, Ujjayan, and Ajmer. The characters have the appearance of a rude provincial Greek; and 'that they belonged to Parthian and Indo-Scythic kings who had sovereignties within the Indus, there cannot,' he says, 'be a doubt.' All the coins of the Parthian kings that have been preserved, have Greek legends. The coins of the Bactrian sovereigns were still current at Baroach in the second century. The communication abounds with curious and interesting matter illustrative both of the history and the geography of ancient India; but we must not suffer ourselves to be any longer detained by the fascinations of the subject.

The account of the *Pancha Tantra* (Five Sections), a collection of Stories, is a very entertaining article, but we cannot make room for any extracts. Among the remaining papers, there are two on subjects of Natural History, viz., Art. IV. On the Purik sheep of Ladakh, and some other animals. By William Moorcroft, Esq. VIII. Account of the Banyan Tree, as found in the ancient Greek and Roman Authors. By G. H. Noehden, LL.D. Sec. R.A.S. Five of the communications come under the class of Geography. Art. V. Memoir on Sirmor. By the late Captain Blane. XVII. Memoir on Bundelkhund. By Captain James Franklin. XXI. On the Valley of the Setlej River: from the Journal of Capt. A. Gerard. XXV. Account of the Population, &c. of Bareilly in Rohilkhund. By R. T. J. Glyn, Esq. XXVI. Report of a Journey into the Batak country. By Messrs. Burton and Ward, Baptist Missionaries. This last article appeared in No. XII. of the *Friend of India*, and the substance of it has already been given

to our readers.* We have still to transcribe the titles of three other communications. XVIII. Observations on the *Lepra Arabum* as it appears in India. By Whitelaw Ainslie, M.D. &c. XXVII. Extract from the *Akhlaq e Naseri*, a work of the thirteenth century. Communicated by Col. Mark Wilks. XXXIV. On the Dialects of the Arabic Language. By the late Professor Carlyle. Upon the whole, the volume must be pronounced to be a valuable accession to English literature.

The next volume on our list is the first Part of the Transactions of an infant Society established at Madras, which has not hitherto distinguished itself as a highly literary capital. The contents of this volume are as follow. I. On the Law Books of the Hindoos. By the late F. W. Ellis, Esq. II. Account of some ancient Graves in the Vicinity of Oopulgutt. By Captain Robert Young. III. Geological Features of a Route from Madras to Bellary. By Captain W. Cullen. IV. On the Alphabetical Notation of the Hindoos. By C. M. Whish, Esq. V. On the Origin and Antiquity of the Hindoo Zodiack. By the Same. VI. Fragment of an inscribed Stone in the Persepolitan Character, found near Hillah. VII. Observations on the Geology of the Hyderabad Country. VIII. Meteorological Journal kept on the Malabar Coast. By Murdoch Brown, Esq. IX. Observations on the Saline Lake of Loonar in Berar. By Cornet J. E. Alexander. X. Meteorological Register kept at Arakan. XI. Account of the Ordeals prevailing among the Hindoos. By the Abbé Dubois. XII. Translation of an ancient Grant in the Carnataca Language.

Few of these papers are of any remarkable interest; and it is evident that, owing to the circumstances referred to in the preliminary notice, some difficulty has been found in making up this first part. The eleventh paper has already been given to the public, having been incorporated by the Abbé in his work entitled, "*Mœurs et Institutions des Peuples d'Inde.*" The reason assigned for its appearing in the form in which it was originally presented to the Society, is, that the Abbé's work, 'it is believed, has not been translated into English.' The fact is, that it first appeared in an English dress†.

The first article is important, chiefly as pointing out some errors into which Mr. Mill has been led by his authorities on the subject of Hindoo law. The materials upon which he founded his opinions, appear to have been, Sir W. Jones's

* Eclec. Rev. Vol. xxvi. p. 421. (Nov. 1826.)

† The work was purchased in MS. by the East India Company, and a translation was given to the public under their auspices, in 1817. See Eclectic Review, vol. xlii. p. 562.

Institutes of Menu, Mr. Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws, and Mr. Colebrooke's Translation of *Jagannatha Tertapanchanani's* Digest. These, it is remarked, were utterly insufficient for his purpose. Three instances of erroneous statement are pointed out. In the first place, Mr. Mill says, that 'the power of legislation and of interpreting the laws among the Hindoos, exclusively belongs to the priesthood.' This mistaken assertion arises from the common error of ascribing to the whole body of Brahmans a sacerdotal character. Into this error,

'Europeans seem generally to have been led by the fact, that none but Brahmans are priests; whence they have concluded that none but priests are Brahmans. Sir W. Jones has countenanced this mistake, by translating, in the Institutes of Menu, the words used to designate an individual of the first caste, viz. *Brahmanah* and *Viprah*, Priest; and the feminine of them, *Brahmani* and *Viprah*, Priestess. The latter mistake is particularly remarkable, as the wives of Brahmans, though they assist in the private devotions of their family, not only never officiate as priestesses, but have no part in the public ceremonies of religion, except as spectators. The truth is, the first caste of Hindoos, though from their birth eligible to the priesthood, are not necessarily priests. The conduct of religious ceremonies, though the highest, is only one of the many duties appropriated to the caste; they are also, professionally, the *ashvins*, or men of letters, to whom the interests of science or literature are committed in all their branches, the hereditary teachers of the other classes, both in sacred and profane learning, and especially the lawyers. To these different occupations and their subordinate divisions, they applied themselves as to so many distinct professions; the respective members of which never interfered with each other, any more than our divines do with our physicians, or either of these with our jurists; and hence have proceeded the several distinctions now actually obtaining among the Brahmans in Southern India: These are, first, *Vaidica Brahmana*, subdivided into *Sastris*, men of science; *Acharya*, teachers; and *Pujaris*, priests: the former two of these may perform the higher offices of religion in the solemn sacrifices; &c., or act as *Parohita*, domestic chaplains; but the last only conduct the public worship in the temples, and are considered an inferior class. Secondly, *Lougica* or *Niyogi Brahman*, secular Brahmans, who gain their livelihood by the several worldly occupations permitted to the caste. These distinctions are now become hereditary; but, as this is founded solely on custom, and not on law, the restriction is more nominal than real, as any *Niyogi* family may become *Vaidica*, if the head of it qualifies himself by the study of the sciences; and, *vice versa*, any *Vaidica* may betake himself to worldly pursuits, sinking thereby, perhaps, in the estimation of his fellows, but not forfeiting his privileges and distinctions as a Brahman.'

p. 10.

The distinction of Brahmans into *Vaidika* and *Lohika* (seculars), is repeatedly referred to by Dr. R. Hamilton (Buchan,

nan), in his "Journey through Mysore." He mentions also a third class,—the 'Numbi, or priests, who officiate in temples, 'and debase themselves by receiving monthly wages, and by 'performing menial duties to the idols.' But it appears from a subsequent passage*, that the Numbi are an inferior class of the *Vaidika*, who act in the temples as *Pujaris*.

The second error into which Mr. Mill has fallen, is the assertion, that 'the administration of justice by the king in person, stands in the sacred books as a leading principle of their 'jurisprudence,' into which 'primeval practice,' the revolution of ages has introduced no change†.

* Mr. Mill here makes a considerable mistake, if, as seems from the context, he supposes that, in Hindu states, it is, or was, the practice to administer justice only in the presence of the king. It is true, that, in the Hindu governments, there was always an *Aula Regis*, or court, at the seat of government, in which the king was supposed, according to the letter of the laws, to preside in person; though he might appoint a deputy, and always had assessors; but it is doubtful how far the practice was kept up; and at all events, it is certain, that there were three other principal courts known to the Hindu laws, and fifteen *sorts* of inferior courts, all having their several jurisdictions clearly defined, and many of them bearing a striking resemblance to the courts of the English common law.

pp. 10, 11.

The third instance of alleged mistake relates to Mr. Mill's representation, that 'the Hindoos acknowledge nothing as law, 'but what is found in some one or other of their sacred books;' that where these are silent, 'custom or the momentary will of 'the judges,' can alone supply the deficiency; and that consequently, in the majority of cases, the Hindoos are left to all the uncertainty and disadvantage of unwritten law. In opposition to this statement, we are told, that the Institutes of Menu, 'being a mere text-book,' is never used as an authority in Hindoo courts; and that the 'commentaries of the Hindoos 'are considered more decidedly by them to be integral parts 'of the body of their law, than any commentary in England.' If this be the case, and these Commentaries are actually referred to in *Hindoo practice* as authorities, it is strange that the Abbé Dubois (of whom the Madras literati seem to think so highly) should give the following account of the administration of justice in Southern India. 'The authority of the

* Buchanan's "Journey through Mysore", &c., vol. i. pp. 306, 333.

† This assertion, cited as it stands in the original edition of Mr. Mill's work, is considerably modified in the last edition, vol. i. p. 183.

Hindu princes, as well as that of the vile emissaries whom they keep in the several provinces of their country, for the purpose of harassing and oppressing the natives in their name, being altogether despotic, and knowing no other rule but their own arbitrary will, *there is nothing in India that resembles a court of justice.* Neither is there a shadow of public right, nor any code of laws by which those who administer justice may be guided. The civil power and the judicial are generally united, and are exercised, in each district, by the collector or receiver of the imposts.* We confess that the Abbé does not stand very high with us, either as a well-informed or a trust-worthy witness; but Mr. Mill is not to blame, if, on such a point, his authorities have misled him. After all, the errors pointed out with so much eagerness and some severity, do not affect the substantial accuracy or merit of his luminous and masterly analysis of the Hindoo laws and government.

The subject of the second article will again come before us in noticing a paper in the third volume of the Bombay Transactions. Captain Young was told by a mussulman, that the graves in question, which are called by the natives 'the habitations of the *Racshasas* or Giants,' are those of a race of Malays who came from the Eastern islands, and settling on the coast of Masulipatam, afterwards spread into the interior. In them, as in the coolies of Malabar, were found *chatties* of different sizes, containing bones; and from this circumstance it is inferred as probable, that the bodies were in the first instance burned, and the ashes and bones afterwards collected and lodged in the *chatties* as urns; a mode of burial resembling that which is practised by the inhabitants of Otaheite. The external shape of these graves is invariably circular: the largest of them measured twenty-five feet in diameter.

Nos. III. and VII. contain some useful geological information, but which will not admit of analysis.

The most curious and interesting paper in the volume, is the fifth, 'On the origin and antiquity of the Hindu Zodiack;' the object of which is to prove, that the 'Indians have borrowed the dodecatemory division of the heavens, with the figures, &c. of the zodiacal constellations, *immediately from the Greeks.*' This hypothesis was first started by M. Montucla, but was derided as a 'notion bordering on frenzy;' and Sir W. Jones tells us, that the Brahmans were always too proud to borrow their science from either Greeks, Arabs, or

* Dubois's Manners and Customs, p. 493. Cited in Mill's India, vol. i. p. 246.

any nation of foreigners. So far is this from being correct, that 'it is acknowledged among Hindoos, that their earliest astronomical rules were those of Maya,'—a foreigner, from a country of *Mleschahs* (barbarians), an *Asurah*, or species of divinity, and born in *Romaka*.

'Was Assyria, pronounced Asuria, then, the birth-place of the Maya (Magus), the Asurah, the first astrologer, who propagated the science of the heavens and the influences of the heavenly bodies among the Hindus?' p. 71.

Yavana, or Yavaniswarah (lord of the Yavans), the second great authority in astronomy among the Hindoos, was also a foreigner; and there can be little doubt that he was a Greek.

'Though a *Mlescha*, a barbarian or foreigner, he was received as a *Rishi* (saint) on account of his extensive knowledge and the purity of his character. Having arrived in India, in the early ages of their history, he is reported to have been the bosom friend of Garga, the sanctified *Guru* (teacher) of Krishna. Fable apart, he was an illustrious teacher of enthusiastic scholars. His words were received as holy truths. In astrology, in astronomy, in ethics, and even in points of religious ceremonies, and the magical influence of charms, his ordinances, as proceeding from divinity, were immediately committed to their immortal language by his learned pupils, and now form a large volume, the basis of Hindu science. They are still extant, either as a collection by themselves, or scattered in the numerous commentaries of Hindu works of science; and I feel much confidence in proposing the question, "Shall not the investigator of Yavaniswarah's sayings discover the golden verses of Pythagoras?"' pp. 74, 75.

The arguments by which the learned Writer supports his hypothesis, appear to us very little short of conclusive; but on such a point, we speak with great diffidence. It is very possible, that the Hindoo and Greek zodiacal systems had a common origin; yet, the identity of *proper names* seems to warrant the opinion, that one was immediately borrowed from the other, and Mr. Whish adduces strong reasons for his conclusion, that the Greek zodiac was the original. We have already seen the close resemblance which the philosophy of the Hindoos bears to that of the elder Greek schools. Between the Sanscrit and the Greek, there is also a philological affinity too close to be accidental: the resemblance is apparent, not merely in the number of declensions, in the numerals, and many of the monosyllabic roots, but in the general concord and government. No philologist acquainted with both languages, Sir W. Jones says, could help believing them 'to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps no longer exists.' It is not, however, in the language itself, so much as in the artificial

forms and rules of its structure as perfected by the grammarian, that this resemblance is so striking! Grammar implies the previous existence of a literature; and the Sanscrit must therefore be the cultivated form of a vernacular dialect more ancient than itself. Like the Arabic of the Koran, it may be questioned whether the pure Sanscrit was ever vernacular*. Whence then did the first Hindoo grammarians derive their system? Was it their own invention? Or was it, like their zodiac, borrowed from the Greeks?

Indian tradition invariably points to the north-west as the quarter from which their institutions, learning, and religion emanated. Cashmeer, which is holy land to the Hindoo, when first drained of its waters by Casyapa, was peopled with gods who descended from heaven for that purpose. Prior to this event, which is said to have taken place at the commencement of the present *manwantara*, or cycle, the whole valley was covered with a lake. Such is still the tradition of the country; and Bernier, while he rejects the legend, that the outlet was formed by human art, is not disposed to deny that this region was once covered with water. This Casyapa, or Kasheb, as Bernier calls him—while Major Wilford makes his name to mean the lord of the Chasyas, and is inclined to identify him with the classical Cassiopæus—this lord of Cashmeer is transformed by the Mohammedans into King Solomon, who has one of his many *takhts* or thrones on a hill overlooking the capital; while another tradition makes Moses to have died at Cashmeer! There are, indeed, Bernier tells us, many marks of Judaism to be found in the country; and the Jewish appearance of the villagers is mentioned by several European travellers. This is not more remarkable than that the Afghauns, who appear to have descended from the Indian Caucasus or Mount Chasyas, should lay claim to an Israelitish descent. ‘They maintain, that they are descended from Afghaun, the son of Ismia or Berkia, son of Saul, king of Israel; and all their histories of their nation begin with relating the transactions of the Jews from Abraham down to the captivity.’† The Arabs call them *Solimaunee*; and whoever the Solomon was who headed them, he has bequeathed his name to the range of mountains known under that appellation. We are not at all disposed to think that Casyapa was a Jew, or to assign a Jewish origin to the Hindoo philosophy,—although it is singular enough, that both Pythagoras and Zoroaster have been supposed to have

* The Cashmerian is said to make the nearest approach to the ancient Sanscrit.

† Elphinstone's Caubul. Vol. i. p. 248.

been indebted to Hebrew literature for their purer theology. The inference, however, which we are disposed to draw from the seconcurrent fables and traditions, is this; that there existed, in remote times, in some region to the north-west of India, a focus of civilization, which attracted to itself all the treasures of ancient wisdom, sacred or profane,—and from which the Persian, Greek, and Hindoo science diverged; and that the ubiquitous children of Israel found their way thither, whether as captives, traders, or emigrants, in the wake of conquest or commerce. Upon this subject, the following observations, taken from a work probably familiar to most of our readers, may serve to throw a ray of light.

‘ Besides the maritime trade’ (carried on by the ports of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea in the earliest times), ‘ a commercial communication with India appears to have been maintained by the Persians and Assyrians, by way of Bactria and the Caspian provinces; and this was probably the most ancient of all. Of the existence of an early intercourse between Persia and India, there are abundant traces in the language, legends, and religion of the respective nations. The Zend, the sacred language of ancient Persia, is only a dialect of the Sanscrit; and between the Kourdish and Loorish dialects and the Hindostanee, there is a considerable affinity. The Sabian idolatry appears to have been common to the two countries; and what is still more remarkable, a famous resort of Hindoo fire-worshippers is found on the western shores of the Caspian*. Balkh, the mother of cities, the Mecca of the Magians, the capital of Persia in the ages of fable, and, in later times, of a Greek kingdom, could not have owed to any other cause than its advantageous position for commerce, its consequence and wealth. Every thing points to Bactria as to the very centre of early civilization, “ the key of central Asia, and the link between the east and the west.” It was, in fact, the grand rendezvous on the high road from the Caspian gates, not only to the country of the *Indi*, but to Sogdiana and Serica; and by this route, a commercial intercourse was maintained between China and ancient Europe. The produce of India was, in like manner, transported on the backs of camels from the banks of the Indus to those of the Oxus, down which river they were conveyed to the Caspian Sea, and distributed, partly by land-carriage and partly by navigable rivers, through the different countries lying between the Caspian and the Euxine. The magnitude and value of this commerce may be inferred from the circumstance mentioned by Pliny, that Seleucus Nicator, at the time of his assassination, entertained thoughts of forming a junction between the two seas by means of a canal. A branch of this commerce was carried on overland by way of the Caspian gates and the great caravan routes to

* According to Texeira, the province of Ghilan bore the appellation of *Hindu-al-asfur*, Yellow India.—*As. Res.* vol. iii. p. 78.

Mesopotamia and Syria. It appears to have been exclusively from the Persians, that Herodotus derived the slender information which he possessed concerning India and its inhabitants; and the importance of the Indian trade carried on through the Persian dominions, affords the only adequate explanation of the fact which he mentions, that, under Darius Hystaspes, the Indian satrapy furnished a tribute of gold equal to 4680 Eubæan talents of silver, being nearly a third of the whole annual revenue drawn from the twenty satrapies into which the kingdom was divided.

Major Rennell remarks, that "the communication by land between the Syrian empire and India, was dropped very early; for Bactria soon became independent, and by that means the link of the chain that connected India with Syria, was broken." But, although the political dependence of India on Persia was dissolved, and the further exploration of Asia by conquest was precluded by the rise of the Parthian monarchy, the stream of commerce continued, with occasional interruptions, to flow in its accustomed channel.*

Of the remaining papers in the volume under review, the only one of much general interest, is Lieutenant Alexander's account of his visit to the Salt Lake of Loonar, situated in lat. 19° 10' N., long. 75° 51' E. As this paper is short, and few copies of these Transactions have reached this country, we shall transcribe the whole, in compensation to those of our readers who may have been wearied with the dryness of some of the preceding discussions.

'It was towards the close of a cool and delightful evening in August 1823, that I was riding leisurely along in a wooded district in Berar; and at about forty miles from the encampment of Jaulnah, in company with a small party of Mugulla horse, in the pay of His Highness, the Nizam, whom I had overtaken during my journeying. Whilst engaged in common-place conversation with their leader, a Duffadar, who was armed cap-a-pié, with quilted jacket, Damascus blade, spear, shield, and what not, our discourse was interrupted, upon emerging from the shaded and gently ascending path along which our road lay, by our approach to a low and lengthened mound, the summit of which having been attained, a most romantic and interesting spectacle was presented to us.

'Beneath us, at the bottom of a mighty chasm, lay a deep, still lake, the water of which was slightly ruffled by the breeze, and beautifully tinted by the rays of the setting sun; it was of a circular form, and hemmed in by an amphitheatre of cliffs, which rose in precipitous ridges to an elevation of about 500 feet from its shore, environing it on every side, and preventing completely the egress of its waters. The rocks which surround this interesting lake, cannot come under the denomination of hills, for they do not tower in any part above the level of the surrounding country; they merely form

* Modern Traveller. India. Vol. i. pp. 145, 6.

the sides of an immense caldron, the circumference of which is about three miles; in short, the scenery, taken collectively, is a small counterpart of the celebrated Lake Avernus, differing from it in this respect, that no river—

“*Laco se condidit alto.*”

In lieu of which, a solitary spring of some magnitude, dashes in a small cascade from the eastern face of the rocks, and pours its waters into an artificial tank, surrounded by temples and pagodas dedicated to the god Siva; issuing from which, it forms another cataract of about fifty feet in height, before it rushes on its turbid course to join the waters of the lake.

‘The whole landscape, though confined, is extremely pleasing. The dark green surface of these sunken waters strongly reflects the graceful forms of the princely palms (*Borassus Umbelliformis*) which fringe the margin, and advance their lofty stems into the waters of the lake. The sloping enclosure of rocks is covered half way up with mangoe and tamarind trees, interspersed with the *Rhododendron Masimus*, or laurel-leaved Rhod, which here attains a height of ten feet. A little picturesque temple, on the opposite side of the lake from the fountain, advances its white walls to the brink. It is seldom or never visited by the inhabitants of the adjoining village, from the dread of tigers which inhabit the jungle around it; which also forms a shelter for extensive herds of sambers or neelgaes. The audacity of our small party in tasting of the waters of the lake, was looked upon by the villagers as the grossest presumption and fool-hardiness.

‘Superstition, always delighting in dark ideas, early and eagerly seized upon this spot, and hither she led her votaries to celebrate her dismal orgies. The weather-worn appearance of the buildings around the spring, sufficiently indicates that it has long been a seat of Hindu worship: at this time, however, the stone tank exhibited a lively and interesting sight. Crowds of Mahratta women, in a state of semi-nudity, laved their limbs in its refreshing waters; others were employed in washing their clothes, lightening their labour with singing, while a solitary and aged Bramin poured his evening libation on the uncouth statue of the god.—It now remains to give some account of the waters of the lake, which, in a mineralogical point of view, are far from being uninteresting.

‘The name Loonar is derived from a Hindoostanee word signifying a salt-pit. The specific gravity of the water is very great. When I visited the lake, immediately subsequent to the monsoon, the taste was uncommonly brackish; consequently, in the hot season, the weight of water must, I should imagine, be nearly equal to that of the Lake Asphaltés, or the Dead Sea, in Judea, which is 1.240.

‘By a rough analysis, the component parts in 100 are, I think, nearly as follows:—

Muriate of Soda.....	20. 82
Muriate of Lime.....	10. 60
Muriate of Magnesia.....	6. 10

87. 52

Paper stained with turmeric, and immersed in the water, was changed into a deep brown, plainly indicating the predominance of the Muriate of Soda.

' About six years ago, before the late Mahratta war, the annual revenue which arose from the collection of the saline crust on the margin of the lake, amounted to three lacs of rupees; since which, the *bunds*, or mounds of earth, which are built across the heads of gulleys that descend into the lake, have been suffered to fall into a state of decay; in consequence of which, a very small portion of the bed of the lake is dry in the hot season. The town of Loonar is now almost dilapidated. When I passed through it, there was only a single *doocan* (shop) in the bazaar, which formerly was the resort of merchants from every part of India, as the extensive caravanseras on the outskirts of the town sufficiently indicate.

' The chief use to which the sediment of the water was applied, was in cleansing the shawls of Cashmere; an alkaline soap being manufactured out of the muriatiferous clay, and sent to that distant region. It was also used as an article of food by Mussulmans, and formed an ingredient in the *Puprè Khar*, or alkaline cake. It was employed as *aqua regia* in the solution of gold, and tasted medicinally. From the small portion of the bed which is now annually left dry, it is applicable to very few of these uses. The fracture of a portion of the salt which I obtained, was imperfectly foliated, crystallized in cubes, and the colour a greyish white. No noxious smell arises from the waters, which are asserted to be unfathomable, and uninhabited by fish; but, by a strange antithesis, it is affirmed, that the lake is the abode of numerous and large-sized alligators.'

The length to which this article has extended, compels us to defer our notice of the Bombay Transactions till the next Number.

Art. II. *Salathiel*. A Story of the Past, the Present, and the Future. 3 vols. small 8vo. pp. 1087. London. 1828.

WE have no very special partiality for that hyper-romantic class of compositions which moves between heaven and earth, savouring of both, and yet identifying itself with neither; resorting to sorcery and infernal agency for a yet deeper and more appalling interest, and employing all means, natural or supernatural, possible or impossible, for the production of exaggerated effect. In the hands of an inferior writer, it is obvious that all this must be inexpressibly disgusting; and we could cite, calling up our novel-reading recollections, instances in abundance of complete and disgraceful failure in the management of the horrific, from the loathsome depravities of 'the Monk', and the wild distortions of 'the Wanderer', to the frigid extravagancies of 'Gundulph's Tower.' Maturin, indeed, was a man of genius, and frequently wrote with great

brilliance and power; but he had no 'retentive faculty'; his taste was undisciplined and indiscriminating. Nor is there one of his many publications that will live; though there is not one without the scattered, but strongly marked signatures of feeling and high talent.

But we are doing great injustice to the Author of *Salathiel*, by taking this course of depreciatory comment, since, to him, it is altogether inapplicable, excepting in its reference to a peculiar order of imaginative composition; and even from the difficulties and disadvantages connected with this, he has contrived to escape, by his choice of subject, and by the identification of his theme with events of unparalleled interest and grandeur. Mr. Croly—we may as well drop the incognito, when it ceases to serve the purpose of concealment—is a writer of great power, of various and versatile talent, of vivid, if not creative imagination, and of singular readiness and richness. To this praise he has well entitled himself by his various publications, but by none more decidedly than by the splendid composition now in our hands. His style, characteristically Asiatic, rather than Attic, is admirably suited to a Tale of the East, that takes within the range of its descriptive excursions, the conflagration of Rome and the fall of Jerusalem; that commences with the traditionary curse—'Tarry thou, till I 'come', and closes with the desperate strife of its hero before the awful vail of the Holy of Holies, and amid the wreck of the burning Temple.

The wild legend of the Wandering Jew has been frequently adopted as the text of fictitious narrative; and there are few among the freaks of fancy better suited to the purpose. The mysterious anathema, singling out and excommunicating its fated object from among mankind, denying him his portion in the sympathies and charities of his fellow-men, gifting him with a charmed life, forbidding flood or fire, earthquake or storm, to visit him with mischief, and securing him against all the casualties of vicissitudes or violence, by the ordination that he should not taste of death, but await, in the dreary penance of separated and inviolable existence,—the living amid the dying,—the second coming of the Son of Man, whose first appearing he had greeted with insult and curses, in that last and terrible hour when the priests and populace of Judea called down upon themselves and upon their children the vengeance of His blood;—on this ground-work, Mr. Croly has framed his irregular and arabesque, but gorgeous and impressive structure. Of the peculiar character of his hero, he has not made quite so much as we think he might advantageously have done. *Salathiel* has nothing mysterious about him, excepting his

melo-dramatic escapes. He is an imposing and elastic personage, half Jew, half Arab; a priest, although of the tribe of Naphtali, a warrior, and, withal, somewhat of a harlequin in the celerity of his movements, and the dexterity of his evasions. The narrative opens abruptly.

“TARRY THOU, TILL I COME.” The words shot through me—I felt them like an arrow in my heart—my brain whirled—my eyes grew dim. The troops, the priests, the populace, the world, passed away from before my senses like phantoms.

But my mind had a horrible clearness. As if the veil that separates the visible and invisible worlds had been rent in sunder, I saw shapes and signs for which mortal language has no name. The whole expanse of the future spread under my mental gaze in dreadful vision. A preternatural light, a new power of mind seemed to have been poured into my being. I saw at once the full guilt of my crime—the fierce folly—the mad ingratitude—the desperate profanation. I lived over again in frightful distinctness every act and instant of the night of my unspeakable sacrilege. I saw, as if written with a sunbeam, the countless injuries that in the rage of bigotry I had accumulated upon the victim; the bitter mockeries that I had devised; the cruel tauntings that my lips had taught the rabble; the pitiless malignity that had forbidden them to discover a trace of virtue where all virtue was. The blows of the scourge still sounded in my ears. Every drop of the innocent blood rose up in judgement before me.

“Accursed be the night in which I fell before the tempter! Blotted out from time and eternity be the hour in which I took part with the torturers! Every fibre of my frame quivers, every drop of my blood curdles, as I still hear the echo of the anathema that on the night of woe sprang first from my furious lips, the self-proclaimed ruin, the words of desolation, “**HIS BLOOD BE UPON US, AND UPON OUR CHILDREN!**”

I had headed the multitude: where others shrank, I urged; where others pitied, I reviled, and inflamed; I scoffed at the feeble malice of the priesthood; I scoffed at the tardy cruelty of the Roman; I swept away by menace and by scorn the human reluctance of the few who dreaded to dip their hands in blood. Thinking to do God service, and substituting my passions for my God, I threw firebrands on the hearts of a rash, jealous, and bigoted people. I triumphed!

In a deed which ought to have covered earth with lamentation, which was to make angels weep, which might have shaken the universe into dust, I triumphed! The decree was passed: but my frenzy was not so to be satiated. I loathed the light while the victim lived. Under the penalty of treason to Cæsar, I demanded instant execution of the sentence.—“Not a day of life must be given”, I exclaimed; “not an hour:—death, on the instant; death!” My clamour was echoed by the roar of millions.

But, in the moment of my exultation, I was stricken. In the acclamation of the multitude came forth the command. He who

had refused an hour of life to the victim, was in terrible retribution condemned to know the misery of life interminable. I heard through all the voices of Jerusalem—I should have heard through all the thunders of heaven—the calm, low voice, “Tarry thou, till I come!”

pp. 1—4.

We confess that we are not without some misgivings respecting the perfect propriety of all this. Nothing can exceed the delicacy with which the allusions are managed. The Writer has evidently been most scrupulous of trespassing on the limit of propriety in his approach to the awful sanctities of the subject; and we are glad that it has fallen into safe and skilful hands. But we question altogether the propriety of connecting events and circumstances of such ineffable majesty and such fearful import, with a fictitious narrative, not designed to answer any purpose beyond that of intellectual gratification. With equal reserve, and with singular effect and impressiveness, are described the deep darkness and the appalling disturbance of the elements of nature, consequent on the Crucifixion. Warned by all these signs and visitations, and feeling within him the influence of the fatal malediction, Salathiel determines on leaving Jerusalem, and, with his wife and children, takes up his abode in the far-off residence of his tribe and family; but the penalty of his doomed existence follows him, and the journey is made disastrous by the loss of his only son,—a child swept away from his mother's grasp, by the surge of a torrent from which she is herself with difficulty rescued. His Jewish feelings lead him to accompany his tribe on their annual pilgrimage to Mount Zion, yet without overcoming his apprehensions of an actual entrance within its gates. He lingered within its region, and from afar gazed upon its walls.

‘In one of those wanderings, I had followed the course of the Kedron, which, from a brook under the walls of Jerusalem, swells to a river on its descent to the Dead Sea.—The blood of the sacrifices from the conduits of the altars curdled on its surface, and stained the sands purple.—It looked like a wounded vein from the mighty heart above. I still strayed on, wrapt in sad forebodings of the hour when its stains might be of more than sacrifice; until I found myself on the edge of the lake. Who has ever seen that black expanse without a shudder?—There were the ingulfed cities. Around it life was extinct—no animal bounded—no bird hovered.—The distant rushing of the River Jordan, as it forced its current through the heavy waters, or the sigh of the wind through the reeds, alone broke the silence of this mighty grave. Of the melancholy objects of nature, none is more depressing than a large expanse of stagnant waters. No gloom of forest, no wildness of mountain, is so overpowering as this dreary, unrelieved flatness;—the marshy border—the sickly vegetation of the shore—the leaden colour which even

the sky above it wears, tinged by its sepulchral atmosphere. But the waters before me were not left to the dreams of a saddened fancy:—they were a sepulchre.—Myriads of human beings lay beneath them, entombed in sulphurous beds.—The wrath of Heaven had been there.

'The day of destruction seemed to pass again before my eyes, as I lay gazing on those sullen depths. I saw them once more a plain covered with richness; cities glittering in the morning sun; multitudes pouring out from their gates to sports and festivals: the land exulting with life and luxuriance.—Then a cloud gathered above.—I heard the voice of the thunder;—it was answered by the earthquake.—Fire burst from the skies;—it was answered by a thousand founts of fire spouting from the plain.—The distant hills blazed, and threw volcanic showers over the cities.—Round them was a tide of burning bitumen.—The earthquake heaved again.—All sank into the gulf.—I heard the roar of the distant waters.—They rushed into the bed of fire; the doom was done: the Cities of the plain were gone down to the blackness of darkness for ever.' Vol. I. pp. 98—95.

While engaged in 'idly watching the bursts of suffocating vapour that shoot up at intervals from the rising masses of 'bitumen,' the wanderer is startled by the sudden appearance of a strange, unearthly being, of gigantic stature, yet of exquisite proportion, who greets him with a wild and appalling laugh, snaps asunder chains of 'prodigious thickness,' hurls an enormous mass of rock into the lake; and when the kindling spirit of Salathiel gives vent to an ardent wish for an equal mastery, he throws aside the covering from his head, and exhibits a bloody furrow traced around his brow: 'Here sat the diadem.—I was Epiphanes.' This improved edition of Frankenstein's monster turns out to be an *avatar* of Antiochus, the great persecutor of Israel,—'one of those spirits of the evil dead, who are allowed from time to time to re-appear on earth in the 'body, whether of the dead or the living.' After some further colloquy, Salathiel is caught up, like an infant in a giant's grasp, by 'the Possessed,' and conveyed to the immediate vicinity of one of the gates of Jerusalem. Here a new scene opens upon him.

'A low murmur from the city caught my ear: it rapidly grew loud, various, wild: it was soon intermixed with the clash of arms. Trumpets now rang: I recognized the charging shout of the Romans; I heard the tumultuous and mingled roar of my countrymen in return. The darkness was converted into light; torches blazed along the battlements and turrets: the Tower of Antonia, the Roman citadel, with its massy bulwarks and immense altitude, rose from a tossing expanse of flame below, like a colossal funeral-pile; I could see on its summit the agitation and alarm, the rapid signals, the hasty snatching up of spear and shield, of the garrison, which

that night's vengeance was to offer up victims on the pile. The roar of battle rose; it deepened into cries of agony; it swelled again into furious exultation'.—— Vol. I. pp. 105, 106.

Salathiel was soon in the van of battle. He found the brave but desultory attack of his countrymen, yielding before the dense array of the Romans; but his presence and exertions turned the tide of conflict. An animated description follows, of the various circumstances of the contest which terminated in driving the Roman garrison from the holy city. Then succeed the general arming of the Jews, and a vivid sketch of the map and defensive advantages of Judea. This section is ably and instructively written; it sets forth clearly and comprehensively, the political causes of the decline of the Jewish commonwealth, and might serve as a brief but expressive preface to the later periods of Israelitish history. It was determined by the leaders of the people to make a universal appeal to the nation, and to call, each of them his own tribe, to the field against the invader. Salathiel, returning for that purpose, finds his home empty. Domestic treachery had been active, and his wife and children were carried off. He becomes insane, and a succession of wild and magnificent scenes, after the manner of Sir Eustace Grey, are portrayed as the visions of his diseased mind.

—— I strayed through an Egyptian city. Buildings numberless, of the most regal design, rose round me; the walls were covered with sculptures of extraordinary richness—noble statues lined the public ways—wealth in the wildest profusion was visible wherever the foot trod. Endless ranges of porphyry and alabaster columns glittered in the noon. Superb ascents of marble steps mounted before me, to heights that strained the eye. Arch over arch, studded with the lustre of precious stones, climbed until they lay like rainbows upon the sky. Colossal towers circled with successive colonnades of dazzling brightness ascended—airy citadels, looking down upon earth, and coloured with the infinite dyes and lustres of the clouds. But all was silence in this scene of pomp. There was no tread of human being heard within the circuit of a city fit for more than man. The utter extinction of all that gives the idea of life, was startling; there was not the note of a passing bird, not the chirrup of a grasshopper. I instinctively shrank from the sight, of things lovely in themselves, yet which froze my mind by their image of the tomb. But to escape was impossible; there was an impression of powerlessness upon me, for whose melancholy I can find no words. My feet were chainless; but never fetter clung with such a retarding weight, as that invisible bond by which I was fixed to the spot. Ages on ages seemed to have heavily sunk away, and still I stood, bound by the same manacle, standing on the same spot, looking on the same objects. To this I would have preferred the fiercest extremes of suffering. The passion for change is the most

incapable of being extinguished or eluded, of all that dwell within the heart of man.

'But the change at length came. The sun decayed. Twilight fell, shade on shade, on tower and column; until total darkness shrouded the scene of glory. Yet, as if a new faculty of sight were given to me, the thickest darkness did not blunt the eye. I still saw all things—the minutest figures of the architecture, the finest carving of the airy castles, whose height was, even in the sun-shine, almost too remote for vision. Suddenly, there echoed the murmur of many voices, the trooping of many feet; the colossal gates opened, and a procession of forms innumerable entered; they were of every period of life, of every pursuit, of every rank, of every country. All the various emblems of station, all the weapons and implements of mankind, all costumes, rich, and strange, civilised and savage; all the attributes and adjuncts of the occupations of society moved in that mighty train. The monarch, sceptered and crowned, passed on his throne; the soldier reining his charger; the philosopher gazing on his volume; the priest bearing the instruments of sacrifice. It was the triumph of a power ruling all mankind; but ruling them when the world has passed away—**DEATH!**

'While I gazed in breathless awe, I found myself involved in the procession. Resistance was vain: I was conscious that I might as well have struggled against the tides of the ocean, or thought to stop the revolution of the globe. We advanced through the place of darkness by millions of millions, yet without crowding the majestic avenue, or reaching its close. I rapidly recognized a multitude of faces, which I had known from the models and memorials of the past ages. But the power that marshalled them had no regard to time. The pale, fixed Asiatic countenance of Ninus moved beside the glowing cheek and flashing eye of Alexander. The patriarch followed the Cæsar. The thousand years were as one day, the one day as a thousand years.' Vol. I. pp. 170—174.

He regains, at length, an imperfect sanity, and becomes a crazed but observant wanderer. He visits the cedars of Lebanon, escapes from the bonds of robbers, and rescues from a wrecked galley his wife and children, who had been redeemed by Constantius, a Greek Christian, and had become converts to his faith. Constantius is, moreover, a warrior, a splendid sort of personage, and has exchanged vows of love with Salome, the Jew's eldest daughter. He is rejected by the bigoted father; and a Jewish lover presents himself under the paternal sanction. On the bridal day, Constantius and Salome were both missing. The plot now becomes too complicated for minute analysis: Salathiel is betrayed into the hands of Gessius Florus, the Roman procurator of Judea, by whom he is ordered to Rome, and, after meeting at sea the imperial fleet, lands in Italy, and is conducted to the presence of Nero, who is described as a 'pale, under-sized, light-haired.

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'young man sitting before a table with a lyre on it, a few copies of verses and drawings, and a parrot's cage, to whose inmate he was teaching Greek with great assiduity.' This portrait is followed by a comment that demands citation.

'Physiognomy is a true science. The man of profound thought, the man of active ability, and, above all, the man of genius has his character stamped on his countenance by nature; the man of violent passions and the voluptuary have it stamped by habit. But the science has its limits: it has no stamp for mere cruelty. The features of the human monster before me were mild, and almost handsome: a heavy eye and a figure tending to fulness, gave the impression of a quiet mind; and but for an occasional restlessness of brow, and a brief glance from under it, in which the leaden eye darted suspicion, I should have pronounced Nero one of the most indolently tranquil of mankind.' Vol. I. pp. 290, 291.

By this pale and poetical personage, he was dismissed under sentence of death, but escapes, by the aid of a 'masked figure,' amid the confusion of the conflagration of Rome. Here, description revels, and many a bold pencil-stroke tempts us to citation; but two volumes are yet before us, and we must pass on, though we are strongly tempted by the fine painting of the burning amphitheatre, with the wild beasts breaking loose from their dens, yelling, raging, and rending each other, amid a circle of flame; and with the gigantic black, unable to escape or determined to die.

'Escape was now impossible.—He sat in desperate calmness on his funeral pile. He was a gigantic Ethiopian slave, entirely naked. He had chosen his place as if in mockery on the imperial throne; the fire was above him and around him; and under this tremendous canopy he gazed, without the movement of a muscle, on the combat of the wild beasts below; a solitary sovereign with the whole tremendous game played for himself, and inaccessible to the power of man.'

We must, however, at any rate, get out of this first volume, and we shall clear the magic circle at a bound, by saying, that the Jew finds his lost daughter in a female whom he attempts to rescue; that the masked deliverer turns out to be Constantius, whose life becomes in peril through the ignorant delation of his father-in-law, but who ultimately escapes, after being thrown to the lions, by the intercession of the people.

The second volume begins with a page or two of explanations, and then follows a scene of domestic happiness, soon broken in upon by the Roman sword. The entire subjugation of Judea had been resolved, and Vespasian was invested with the command of the troops ordered on that arduous service. The first blow was, however, struck by the Jews. Masada, at once a

palace and an impregnable fortress; built by Herod the Great, was stormed, after a series of adventures, some comic, others romantic, by Salathiel and Constantius. In this part appears for the first time, the strange being whose denunciations of woe on the inhabitants of Jerusalem, form so striking an episode in the story of that doomed city's final siege. He is eloquent in his own praises, while medicating and binding up the wounds of Constantius.

“ He had travelled for his knowledge; he had fought with death from the Nile to the Ganges, and could swear that the sharks and crocodiles owed him a grudge throughout the world. He had cured rajahs and satraps, till he made himself unpopular in every court where men looked to vacancies; had kept rich old men out of their graves, until there was a general conspiracy of heirs to drive him out of the country; and had poured life into so many dying husbands, that the women made a universal combination against his own.”

* * * * *

“ He still talked away, like one to whom words were a necessary escape for his surcharge of animal spirits. “ He knew every thing in physic. He had studied in Egypt, and could compound the true essential extract of mummy with any man that wore a beard, from the Cataracts to the bottom of the Delta. He once walked to the mountains of the moon, to learn the secret of powdered chrysolite. On the Himmaleh he picked up his knowledge of the bezoar; and a year's march through sands and snows, rewarded him at once with a bag of the ginseng, most marvellous of roots, and the sight of the wall of China, most endless of walls.”

It is by the dexterity and contrivance of this man—Sabat the Ishmaelite, whose mind had been partially unbinged by the seizure of his affianced bride, for the licentious purposes of Florus,—that the castle falls into the hands of the Jews after much severe fighting. In its dungeons he finds her, but with her reason irretrievably lost. Notwithstanding the liberality with which we have already extracted, we must find room for the description of ‘ the hall in which the Great Herod received his death-warning.’

“ He loosed a chain, which disappeared into the ground with a hollow noise. A huge mass of rock slowly rolled back, and shewed a depth of darkness through which our twinkling torches scarcely made way.

“ “ Stop,” said the slave, “ I should have first lighted the shrine.” He left us, and we shortly saw a blaze of many colours on a tripod in the centre. As the blaze strengthened, a scene of wonder awoke before the eye. A host of armed men grew upon the darkness. The immense vault was peopled with groupes of warriors, all the great military leaders of the world, in their native arms, and surrounded by a cluster of their captains; the disturbers of the earth, from Sesostriis

down to Cæsar and Antony, brandishing the lance or reining the charger, each in his known attitude of command. There rushed Cyrus in the scythed chariot, surrounded by his horsemen, barded from head to heel. There Alexander, with the banner of Macedon waving above his head, and armed as when he leaped into the Granicus. There Hannibal, upon the elephant that he rode at Cannæ. There Cæsar, with the head of Pompey at his feet. Those, and a long succession of the masters of victory, each in the moment of supreme fortune, made the vault a representative palace of human glory. But the view from the entrance told but half the tale. It was when I advanced and lifted the torch to the countenance of the first groupe, that the moral was visible. All the visages were those of skeletons. The costly armour was upon bones. The spears and sceptres were brandished by the thin fingers of the grave. The vault was the representative sepulchre of human vanity.

'This was one of the fantastic fits of a mind which felt too late the emptiness of earthly honours. Half pagan, the powerful intellect of the man gave way to the sullen superstitions of the murderer. Egypt was still the mystic tyrant of Palestine; and Herod in his despair, sank into the slave of a credulity at once weak and terrible.

'In the last hours of a long and deeply varied life, exhausted more by misery of soul than disease; when medicine was hopeless, and he had returned from trying the famous springs of Callirrhoë in vain, the king ordered himself to be brought into this vault, and left alone. He remained in it for some hours. The attendants were at length roused by hideous wailings; they broke open the entrance, and found him in a paroxysm of terror. The vault was filled with the strong odours of some magical preparations still burning on the tripod. The sound of departing feet was heard, but Herod sat alone. In accents of the wildest woe, he declared that he had seen the statues filled with sudden life, and charging him with the death of his wife and children.' Vol. II. pp. 157—160.

The surprise of the Roman camp and the liberation of Jerusalem, follow hard upon the *camisade* of Māsada. But in the instant of victory, amid the acclamations of an enfranchised people, and the anticipations of a triumphal entry into the Holy City, an awful voice was heard—'Never shalt thou enter Jerusalem, but in sorrow.' The Romans rallied, but were again defeated; the wreck of their legions took refuge in the fortress of Bethhoron: this was carried by assault, but, at the moment when Salathiel gained the rampart, he was struck down, from behind, by a traitor's hand, and awoke from his stupor in a dungeon. The factious leaders of one of those guilty and miserable schisms to which Judea owed its ruin, had worked upon the feelings of Jubal, Salome's rejected lover, and in a paroxysm of madness he effected their purpose. In his calmer mood, however, his nobler nature was predominant: after a two years' search, he discovered the prison of Salathiel, and escape was effected after many failures. The passage through

which they find their way, led to a cavern, the haunt of pirates; —but we must pass by all the adventures of the subterranean chambers. Not even the night attack on the Roman fleet, nor the gorgeous description of the flaming vessels and the burning camp, must detain us, nor the solitary island, nor the tents of the desert robbers, from closing the second tome.

The first movements made by Salathiel, after reaching the main land, are in the direction of Masada. He finds it ruined and deserted, suffers himself to be surprised by a detachment of Roman cavalry, is conveyed to the camp before Jerusalem, and makes his escape in time to save Constantius, who had been wounded in a night attack on the trenches. The city of Zion was now in that state of terrible distraction so vividly described by Josephus. Factions, at mortal strife, tyrannized over the wretched inhabitants, and exhausted in broil and riot the energies that might have saved their country. Salathiel fought with a patriot's zeal and valour, but without hope; ambition was extinguished within him, but the impulses of feeling and of duty led him to the post of danger. On one occasion, he was met by a 'mad fellow', bounding along with the incessant cry, of 'Woe! Woe! Woe!' It was poor Sabat, who had found his idiot bride in the dungeons of Masada, and whose steps she now mechanically followed, silent and evidently sinking to the tomb.

At length, the Romans complete their wall of circumvallation, and at that very moment are charged by the Jews, headed by Salathiel, who, after a hand to hand contest with Titus in person, succeeds in destroying the rampart. Returning from the field, he finds, in an obscure quarter of the city, his family, of whom he had not hitherto been able to ascertain the existence. Constantius, severely wounded, had been lingering between life and death, apparently unconscious even of existence, and his wife had mourned him as dead; but they are now reunited, and recovery speedily follows. At this period of the narrative, events crowd one upon another with so much rapidity and complication as to defy analysis within a reasonable space. Negotiations for peace broken off by treacherous violence; feats of jugglery; magical incantations; signs in the sky, elopements, imprisonments, martyrdoms, escapes, recognitions, conversions, temptations, visions, machinations, retributions, succeed in rapid transition, until the final catastrophe, in the fall of Jerusalem. The family and the recovered son of Salathiel, are dismissed to happiness; but the Wanderer himself, after a last and desperate stand in defence of the Tabernacle, goes forth a homeless, friendless, solitary man.

It is not usual with us to bestow so much attention on a work of fiction, but we have felt uncommon interest in these volumes,

and have given way to its expression. Faults there are unquestionably, but there is more, much more, of talent and power. Though effect is not always produced by legitimate means, it is always produced; and there are frequent passages which, independently of their spirited composition, convey facts, reasonings, and results in a striking and original way. The sketches of history, descriptions of local scenery, and delineations of real character, that incidentally occur, are generally of admirable execution.

The Dedication to the Duke of Newcastle, as a nobleman 'standing in the *first rank of the manly, high-principled, and uncompromising friends of his country*', can either be bound up with the book, or cancelled, at pleasure.

Art. III. *Origines*; or, Remarks on the Origin of several Empires, States, and Cities. By the Right Honourable Sir W. Drummond. 3 Vols. 8vo. pp. 1375. London. 1826.

OF the nations who have successively figured in the history of human affairs, our knowledge by no means corresponds to our curiosity, nor is it sufficient to enable us to assign to each of them its origin, relations, and influence. We are, indeed, not without the means of tracing upward, through long periods of time, the improvements in civilization to which we are indebted for many of our political and literary advantages. The links of the historic chain are sufficiently connected to enable us to advance to eras very remote, and to ascertain with tolerable correctness, the character and actions of some of the most celebrated nations of the world, whose names can never be separated from the history of the advancement of letters and the arts. Of the Romans and the Greeks, those great agents of political change, and of many contemporary and succeeding states, whose names and fortunes, as dependents, or rivals, or conquerors, are associated with their history, we possess records which may challenge our confidence. By means of these, we acquire an intimacy with the character and exploits of some of the most distinguished persons of antiquity, scarcely inferior to that which we possess of the most celebrated individuals of our own age. Neither Rome nor Greece, however, dates its origin in times in respect to which the testimony of history can be regarded as trustworthy. We know much of them in their greatness, but little of them in their early progress to it, and still less of their outset in the course which conducted them to the proud eminence of their grandeur. To those guides of whose assistance we avail ourselves in our in-

quiries into the transactions of very remote eras, we cannot commit ourselves without distrust. In those very instances in which their assistance is most valuable, they but too frequently excite our suspicion by the perplexities into which they betray us. When they have conducted us to a certain point, we look around and perceive only the obscurities of barbarism and the illusions and extravagances of fable. We look in vain for the land-marks of history amid the darkness and wastes which rise before us. The pyramids of Egypt remain as vouchers that, in the most ancient times, there were magnificent designers and a mighty people; but they have long been divested of the associations with which they were once surveyed; and the interest with which the traveller now beholds those vast monuments of human power and human vanity, is a feeling widely different from that of the men who were contemporaries with the builders. He finds no one to satisfy inquiries which thousands could once have fully answered; and, in the solitude with which he is surrounded, but which was once the seat of a thronging and busy population, he asks in vain, In what age were these structures erected? By whom were they raised? For what purpose were they built? He finds an ample range for the indulgence of conjectures, without the control or checks of credible relations. Instead of facts, and dates, and real personages, the investigator of the early state of the world is furnished with vague traditions, barbarous allegories, romantic fables, and similar absurdities, through which he attempts to find out his 'uncouth' way to knowledge. Nothing indeed could be more easy than the construction of hypotheses which might be offered as veritable history; but the production of authorities would dissipate their pretensions, and expose their delusions. To strike out useful lights from the opaque and disordered materials which are spread before him, and to enable us to look on shapeless masses, till we see them assume the animation and the beauty of living forms, are scarcely to be expected from the most diligent and successful operator on the remains of ancient learning which have relation to the origin of ancient nations.

Etymologies are one of the means of investigation and discovery which writers of this class most frequently employ; but these are of most uncertain application. Much of the erudite discussion which is spread through the volumes of such authors, is employed in attempts to refute the verbal criticisms and derivations of their predecessors; and the later explanations, confidently proposed as the true ones, obtain credit no longer than they continue exempt from the treatment of the next learned examiner whose researches are directed to the

same objects. Bryant's elaborate and splendid work is replete with this kind of learning, and failed not to obtain for its author the praise of superior discernment. Sir W. Drummond acknowledges the learning and talent of the venerable Etonian, but designates the use to which they were so extensively devoted, by a term which conveys no commendation, and pronounces his etymologies to be generally untenable. Sir W. Drummond, however, is himself not unfrequently an adventurer into the regions of fanciful conjecture.

The subjects of investigation in these erudite volumes are, the early state and history of the Babylonian and Assyrian Empires, Iran, Egypt, Phœnicia, and Arabia. For the task which he has undertaken, the qualifications of the Author will be readily admitted: no reader of these pages can hesitate in attributing to him the most patient industry of antiquarian research, and the application of great learning and skill to the varied difficulties of his undertaking. In connexion with this kind of studies, however, the Author's name will not be considered as of good augury by some readers, who may have in remembrance a portion of his former labours on topics interesting to Biblical scholars. They may expect to encounter in the present work, the same unhallowed boldness of speculation and anti-Christian philosophizing that they regretted to find introduced into some of his earlier publications. In this respect, we are happy to state that such surmises will not be verified. Neither these researches, nor the spirit in which they are conducted, will offend against serious feeling. We were led, indeed, on the strength of the evidence afforded by those volumes, to cherish the hope, that changes had taken place in the Author's sentiments, by which his speculations have been benefited.—But on this delicate subject we are now restrained from expressing our wishes or our hopes. Our perusal of these volumes was not concluded when we read in the public journals the record of their Author's death. That but too large a portion of his literary labours was employed in directions from which no valuable results were to be obtained, we very sincerely lament. There is nothing laudable in prosecuting wearisome researches, to which scepticism may be glad to make her acknowledgments for the privilege of increasing her hesitations and strengthening her doubts, by the authority of a distinguished name. If Bryant's learned labours were in some respects idle, they were at least hallowed by the end to which he directed them. If we find fault with his criticisms, we are always gratified with proofs that his spirit was prepared to do homage to Revelation, and that he contemplated his labours with pleasure, because he viewed them as a service by

which the truth of Scripture was confirmed and its history illustrated. Sir W. Drummond's last volumes relate to subjects, many of which are comprised in the narratives and notices of the Bible; and to its authority he constantly submits: we should be happy to find that his submission was inclusive of something still better than deference to it as an historical voucher.

Herodotus estimates the extent of the walls of Babylon at 480 *stadia*, which Pliny, assuming Olympic *stadia* to be intended, computed at 60 miles. Diodorus Siculus gives 360 *stadia* as the measurement; a deduction of one fourth, 120 *stadia*, or fifteen miles, from the reckoning of the Halicarnassian Historian, who cites the authority of Clitarchus in favour of 365 *stadia*. This difference would seem to imply a variation in the measure of the *stadium* as used by these authors. To reconcile their accounts, Sir W. Drummond supposes, that Herodotus reckoned by an Oriental itinerary measure, to which he gave the appellation of *stadium*, the tenth part of a short Chaldean mile, and the forty-fifth part of a *parasanga*, equal to 330 English feet, making the whole extent 158,400 feet, or thirty English miles; and that the *stadium* adopted by Diodorus, or Clitarchus, was a measure equal to the thirty-fourth part of a *parasanga*, containing 435 English feet, making the whole extent 158,755 English feet, or thirty miles, 375 feet. With these deductions, the Author thinks, that the capital of Chaldea must have contained many more houses than London, and an immense population, which had grown to its height after the lapse of many ages, and which employed the industry and consumed the produce of many provinces. This, however, is merely conjecture. In the extent of the walls of Babylon, whether we adopt the greater or the smaller estimate, there is nothing to shock credibility. The wall of Peking is said to be six leagues in compass; but a large part of this area is occupied with temples, cemeteries, fields, gardens, the imperial palace and park, and lakes. This was, doubtless, the case with the Chaldean capital.

Berosus, Apollodorus, Abydenus, and Alexander Polyhistor, in fragments which have been preserved by Eusebius and Georgius Syncellus, enumerate a succession of antediluvian kings, in whose time several monsters are said to have risen out of the Erythrean sea, and to have instructed the people in the arts and sciences. Of these kings, no actions are recorded; their names only, and the duration of their respective reigns are mentioned by the Chaldean historians. It seems impossible to regard the antediluvian history of the Babylonians as

any thing else than a fable. The appearance of the aquatic monsters may be explained in reference to the coming of strangers by sea, and the benefits received from intercourse with them. But the erudite genius of the Author suggests, that the reigns of the ten antediluvian kings of Babylon were mere inventions, intended to give to the learned an allegorical account of certain astronomical periods known to the Chaldeans. The history of Berossus, he considers as an allegorical picture, describing the state of the ancient Babylonians, from which it appears that they considered their country to have been rich and flourishing before the Flood. Berossus is not a very ancient writer; and if he designed that his readers should seek for the truth amidst the enigmas and metaphors which crowd his narrative and obscure his meaning, as the Author supposes, he has left his readers at liberty to conclude, that he has in some instances applied the fables and traditions of antiquity which relate to post-diluvians, to antediluvians, and has attributed to the Babylonians, incidents which relate to the general history of mankind.

Without any reference to Bryant, Sir W. Drummond considers the general dispersion of the descendants of Noah as an event which took place ages before the building of the tower of Babel. Bryant's hypothesis, to which, in many particulars, that of the present Author is conformable, has been adopted by many writers. Mankind, he supposes, for a long time continued together under the presidency of the Patriarch, and at length, when they had become numerous, received Divine directions to separate, and to form distinct settlements in the several regions of the earth which were then assigned to them. In the days of Peleg, this separation and settlement were effected; the whole of the human race obeying the Divine command, except the sons of Cush, who, under the conduct of Nimrod, rebelled against the mandate, and after continuing in a roving state for a long time, began settlements in the land of Shinar, from which they had expelled the Shemites. While thus employed in founding an extensive empire, the Cuthites were scattered by the Divine judgement which confounded their language. The confusion of language was, according to this hypothesis, a partial event, relating not to the whole of mankind, but only to a part of them. In support of this hypothesis, both Bryant and Sir W. Drummond have recourse to criticisms which are, we fear, untenable.

'We are told in the English version of the Bible, that God confounded the language of *all the earth*, and scattered the builders of the tower upon the face of *all the earth*. Now the words כל הארץ

appear to me to be wrongly translated; and I would rather render them, *all the land*; because I think it clear, that the sacred writer only meant the country in which the plain of Shinar was situated.'

Vol. I. p. 84.

The word *col*, Bryant remarks (Ant. Myth. iv. 35) 'signifies *the whole*, and also *every*. By *aretz* is often meant the *earth*, it also signifies a *land* or *province*; and occurs continually in this latter acceptation. We find in this very chapter, that the region of Shinar is called *Aretz Shinar*; and the land of *Canaan Aretz Canaan*.' It is surprising that Bryant did not perceive the contradiction which these passages give to his assumption, and the evidence which they afford for the refutation of his argument. *Aretz* is defined by the qualifying terms in these examples, and its import is thus made clear in the sense of region or province; but, without these or similar expressions of limitation, the word *aretz* does not mean province or region. *Col aretz* can have no other meaning in Gen. xi. 1, than 'the whole earth,' the inhabited world; as 'children of men' in verse 5th, denotes the human race, and not the people of a province. The narrative in this chapter appears to us to present insuperable difficulties to the hypothesis which assumes, that it is not a relation of events in which the first families of the repeopled world were collectively engaged. In the subsequent chapters, the learned Author proceeds to assign reasons in support of his opinions, not entirely of a novel character; that Nimrod and Abraham were contemporaries; that the building of the tower was not commenced until shortly before the departure of Abraham from Ur; that Nimrod, the leader of the enterprise of erecting the tower, after the interference of Divine Providence and the dispersion of the builders, assembled his idolatrous followers, and, on another spot, raised a tower and founded a city, which were known as the tower of Belus and the great capital of Chaldea. The site of these, he fixes at the distance of nearly sixty leagues from the situation which was the scene of the previous building and transactions. It is a part of his hypothesis, that the Nimrod of Scripture was the same with the Bel or Belus of the Chaldeans, and the Zohauk of the Persians. In perusing the pages which include these discussions, the reader will meet with some striking examples of the facility with which the Author can collect the scattered fragments and loose portions of ancient documents, and adapt them to his purpose. Of this kind of skill, indeed, the evidences are numerous throughout the book. We should have been gratified if the talents of the Author had been more employed in examining the authorities

from which many of his materials have been derived, and if he had rendered us his assistance in discriminating between the credible and doubtful portions of the relations to which he has been indebted.

The second of these volumes is occupied with the Author's observations on the Antiquities of Egypt. He opposes the opinion, that the Delta was formed by the alluvial soil brought down by the Nile from the mountains of Ethiopia and of the Upper Egypt, and produces many arguments to shew the improbability of the supposition that this country was formerly a gulf or inlet of the sea. His arguments are forcible, but they are intended to modify, rather than to induce the rejection of the general opinion. He admits the sufficiency of the proofs which establish the fact, that the country was once covered by the sea. The conclusion which he deduces, and which coincides with Bryant's representation, that, when the sea retired from covering the country, it was probably an immense marsh, which only became habitable after it was drained,—may, therefore, be reconciled with the account reported by Herodotus on the authority of the ancient priests of Egypt, that the greater part of the Lower Egypt was a land acquired by the Egyptians. On the ancient names of Egypt and the Nile, the second chapter contains some curious disquisition which may assist the learned reader in attempting to determine the merit of the conflicting claims advanced by the most erudite etymologists, in support of their respective systems of derivation. He may have some difficulty, however, in concluding with the Author, that Mitsrim and Cham were names of the country, before they became names of the individuals. The second son of Noah would seem to have received the name of Cham, long before he fixed his residence in Egypt; and the probability is, that it received its appellation from the name of the descendant of the patriarch as the first possessor. The etymology of the word Egypt has proved very perplexing to the critics. The Nile is always noticed by Homer under the denomination of *Egyptus*, and the name of the river is supposed to have been extended to the country through which it flows. The appellation might possibly be, in this form, a corrupted application of an original Egyptian term. But this supposition still leaves the import and reason of the name undetermined. Of these, Sir W. Drummond proposes the following explanation.

• When, then, the Egyptians personified their river, and it is well attested that they adored the god Nilus, they named this god the Guardian Genius, who was no other than the god *Ptnh*; and it

seems clearly to follow, that they who denominated the Nile *ikh-nphi*, the Guardian Genius, would also denominate that sacred stream, *ikh Ptah*, the Genius *Ptah*.

'But the Greeks, who in the early periods of history visited Egypt, and who generally entered that country by the Canopic branch of the Nile, would consequently hear it called by these names; and as they understood the pronunciation to be *ikh nouphi*, literally *agathos daimon*, they would naturally make enquiries concerning this Good Genius. They would be told that he was the same with *ikh Ptah*. The Greeks would articulate this name with difficulty; since they evidently changed either *ikh-nouphi*, or *ikh-nphi*, into *knouphis* and *kneph*. From further enquiries they would learn, that a vulture was one of the principal symbols of *ikh-Ptah*. (See Horapollo, p. 24.) A vulture was named *nosher* in Egyptian. They would put this into Greek, *gups*, or *aigupios*. The Greek mariners would soon confound the names of the Genius, of the river, and of the symbol of the god. They would remember that a vulture was the symbol of the deity, from whom ἡ μέγας ποταμός, the great river, was denominated; and they might recollect the name of *Ptah*, though they would, and indeed could, not have distinctly articulated a word which terminates with an aspirate. Thus the *Ikh-Ptah*, *dæmon Ptah*, of the Egyptians, may have been corrupted into *Aigupios*, *Gups-Pta*, perhaps *Aigups-Ptas*.' Vol. II. pp. 55, 56.

That all this is very ingenious, no one can question; but of the probability of the hypothesis, every reader will not easily be persuaded. By such a process as the preceding, which requires indeed both learning and acuteness, it would be no difficult task to find reasons for the most recondite and obscure designations of persons and places; and a commentator might in this manner illustrate the darkest expressions of an ancient writer, which his predecessors had left untouched. But what becomes of an etymology like this, when we suppose that the Greeks adopted the Egyptian terms in both cases, and wrote or pronounced *nosher Pta*, or *ikh-nosher*? There was so much to be done by Greeks and Greek mariners, before *ikh Ptah* could be transformed into *Aigups-Ptas*, that we find it very difficult to give them credit for the performance. The Egyptians themselves never gave the name of Nile to the river. In the most ancient Coptic writings, it is always called *Iaro*. How then came the name Nile to be applied to it? Sir W. Drummond conjectures, that it was introduced into Egypt by strangers from the east, by whom it was denominated from *nil* or *nila*, a word signifying blue; and that the Greeks adopted this name, which they wrote and pronounced according to their own manner, in preference to the appellations *Iaro* or *Ph-Iaro*, by which the Egyptians designated their much celebrated and many named river*.

* The Editor of the *Modern Traveller*, after noticing the various

It is a question of some importance, though the means of determining it satisfactorily are not easily to be obtained, to what circumstances the identity in some respects, and in others the diversity of the several religious systems of the most ancient times, are to be ascribed. Among some families, and in one peculiar nation, the knowledge and worship of the true God existed, which we are authorized to refer to Divine communications as their source. But the religions of different nations present various peculiarities, in regard to the origin of which distinct hypotheses have been formed. The several species of heathen superstition have been supposed by some writers to be the separate growth of a separate soil. Was there originally a common faith professed by mankind, which became corrupted, and in the course of time received so many additions as to be no longer distinguished; and did the numerous and widely varying forms of superstition proceed from these corruptions and changes? Or, every trace of the primitive faith of mankind being lost, was each distinct nation, thus left to its own suggestions, the inventor of new gods and new forms of religion? We conclude the former to be the most rational and most probable account. In what circumstances the particular doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of the various systems which overspread the world had their rise, it is utterly impossible to conjecture; but that it was by blending error with truth, and by incorporating fables with facts, that the superstitions which held mankind in bondage were formed and multiplied, and the whole complex mythologies of heathenism were framed, we find very ample reasons for believing. We are glad that this opinion has received the countenance of the present Author, and that he has furnished so many illustrations of its soundness.

The debasement of man appears never more signal and shameful than in the acts which he performs as religious worship, and in reference to the objects to which he dedicates his devotions. In respect to many of these, he would seem altogether to have lost the perceptions and feelings of an intelligent

etymologies, seems to incline in favour of *Aia Guptos*, the land of Guptos or Gyptus.—Egypt. i. 4. But it is remarkable, that Nemeses Ægyptus is stated, both by Eusebius, after Manetho, and by Apollodorus, to have given his name to the country; and *Ai-gupta* (*Luno Servatus*) would, as a surname, strikingly answer to the Chandragupta of the Hindoo annals, and to the similar regal surnames of the Diospolitan sovereigns.—See *Mod. Trav. India*. Vol. i. p. 126. *Phiaro* means simply *the River*. The Hebrews and Greeks called the Nile, Sichor and Siris, the Black River. The Arabic word Nile has probably descended to it from the Bahr-el-Azrek or Blue River of Abyssinia.

nature. Idolatry and Polytheism, in their varieties and ramifications, bear a most abundant and decisive testimony to the corrupt propensities of human nature; and the worship of the most cultivated heathen nations of antiquity may be deemed as efficient and strong a part of this testimony as the worship of the most savage tribes. In the latter case, there are wanting the associations which invest the customary practices of a state religion with an attractive pomp; and it therefore appears mean to the philosopher who could almost represent as venerable the idolatries of Greece and Rome. The uncouth forms in which the rude idolater carves his gods, deprives them of every pretension to a place in the 'elegant mythology' of those polished nations.

But the decisions of taste are of little moment in a question of religion; and the worship which may have most gratifications for the senses, may be not less devoid of all moral purpose and requisites. The diversity, however, which is found in the religions of Heathenism, furnishes occasion for many curious inquiries; and if any investigation of the peculiarities which are most striking in them, could enable us to pronounce on the derivation of the rites and ceremonies which they included, or to trace the gradations by which the true worship of the only God was corrupted till all semblance of its original characters was obliterated, we might acquire materials for an interesting chapter in the history of the human race. That "the glory of the incorruptible God" should be changed "into an image made like to corruptible man," is not the most perplexing consideration which would occur to the investigator of the origin of idolatry. The qualities of human creatures bear some resemblance to the attributes of the Deity; and the figure of man might be chosen as an approved personification of the invisible Being contemplated by the worshipper, to whom the arts of the sculptor and the painter would furnish the means of enabling the imagination to embody its conceptions. The assumption of the similitudes of irrational creatures, by which the glory of the incorruptible God was changed into "the likeness of four-footed beasts and creeping things," as objects of worship, would seem to present greater difficulties of solution. But the homage of adoration offered to animals themselves, and even to reptiles, in addition to the perplexities which the mind feels in dealing with it as a question of superstition, has this singularity belonging to it; that, while the worship of animal symbols was common, the worship of animals themselves was a practice limited in ancient times to the Egyptians. The existence of this superstition has been attributed to the belief of the Egyptians in the transmigration of souls; to the incarnations of the deities of

their country when they entered into the bodies of different animals, to conceal themselves from the vengeance of Typhon; to the sense of gratitude felt by men for the benefits which they received from animals. Sir John Masham conjectured, that the use of hieroglyphics introduced the worship of animals; the veneration which at first was paid to the symbol, as representing, on account of corresponding qualities, the object of worship, being transferred from the figure to the animal itself. Sir W. Drummond adopts this conjecture; and, connecting it with the doctrine of emanation, proposes the following hypothesis.

‘ I am inclined to consider the worship of animals as a superstition which is to be traced to Tsabaism, and which, owing to particular circumstances, took root and flourished in Egypt. There can be little doubt, I think, and as I have already stated, that the worshippers of the hosts of heaven had represented the asterisms by symbols, and that these symbols were chiefly taken from the figures of animals. Thus, the first sacred sculptures, graven images, and hieroglyphs, became objects of veneration among the people; but, in most of the countries of Asia, the introduction of alphabetical characters brought hieroglyphs into disuse at a very early period. It consequently happened, that the association which might have once existed in the minds of men, between the deities and the signs by which they had been represented in those countries, was gradually diminished, or perhaps entirely destroyed. In Egypt, the case was reversed. There, the use of hieroglyphs was continued. The people were still accustomed to see their Gods represented by hieroglyphical symbols, most of which were nothing else than the figures of animals. It can be no matter of surprise, then, that the veneration of the ignorant and superstitious multitude was extended from the painted and sculptured figures to the animals themselves. Various circumstances might no doubt have contributed to establish this superstition. It was the interest of the priests to encourage it, because the power of the teachers of a false religion is always great in proportion to the credulity and fanaticism of their followers. Neither might the worship of animals have appeared incapable of vindication to those who admitted the doctrine of emanation, and who believed that portions of the Divine essence might for particular purposes have become incarnate in the bodies of living creatures. The error began with the doctrine of emanation, and with the symbols by which the Tsabaists represented the leaders of the celestial hosts.

‘ This account of the origin of the worship of animals, though not the most elaborate, appears to me to be the most probable of any. It is strongly confirmed by the fact, that, while the Israelites were cautioned by their inspired legislator against offering any homage to the similitudes of animals, no allusion is made to the worship of the animals themselves. The worship of the graven image therefore preceded that of the object which it represented. The hieroglyphical symbol of the celestial bull was venerated by the Egyptians, before

they worshipped Mnevis; or Apis, as the living emblem of the constellation Taurus, or rather of the Sun when passing through that zodiacal sign.'—Vol. II. pp. 170—172.

In confirmation of this view of the subject, we shall transcribe a passage from a work already referred to, the Author of which was evidently not aware of Sir W. Drummond's hypothesis.

• It would seem from the preceding account, that the crocodile was worshipped by the Omabites as an emblem of Osiris, as the serpent was the bestial symbol of Cnuphis, and the ibis and the hawk were representatives of other deities. That revolting modification of idolatry which consists in the adoration of sacred animals, (and to which we may be allowed to give the name of zoolatry,) doubtless originated, in many instances, in their being regarded and represented as simple emblems of the deity to whom they had a supposed relation. But, in the downward process of idolatrous superstition, the living hieroglyphic in time became the ultimate object of worship. Thus, in the symbolical worship of the golden Apis by the rebellious Israelites, we seem to have the first stage of that idolatrous corruption of religion, of which the Egyptians claim to be regarded as the inventors; which subsequently degenerated, in the hands of an artful priesthood, into the worship of a living idol; and which at length reached its climax of horrible absurdity and wickedness, in the sacrifice of human victims to the serpent, or the crocodile, the bestial symbols of cruelty and vice. In some instances, the religious honours paid to sacred animals, have been supposed to derive a pretence from the usefulness of the species, and to have been dictated by a perverted gratitude, or rather by a sinister policy, with a view to secure their preservation. For the adoration of the crocodile, no such reason can be assigned. How then can it have originated? It seems most probable, that it was originally selected as an emblem of some abstract idea by which it was connected with Osiris. Possibly, as being the king of the river, it might be an emblem of royalty or power; or its name might bear some accidental relation to sovereignty. This association once established, the animal itself soon acquired the sacredness originally attaching only to the symbol, and Osiris saw himself supplanted by the literal monster of the Nile.

Modern Traveller. Egypt, Part IV. pp. 184—6.

The origin and first forms of written language have been subjects of inquiry to the philosophical writers of almost all countries; and they must ever be interesting to all persons who direct their thoughts to the progress of civilization and the history of literature. In treating on the antiquities of Egypt, it was impossible that the subject of literary symbols could be overlooked by the Author of the "*Origines*"; and it affords too many attractions to such minds as his, not to be investigated with all the eagerness and perseverance excited by a favourite pursuit. But this study has engaged so many learned and disciplined scholars, and has been so unremittingly and so

profoundly pursued by them, that the hope of obtaining any new light as to the origin and first elementary forms of written language cannot be very warmly cherished by the most sanguine of readers. Some semblance of novelty may appear in the pages of an author who, like Sir W. Drummond, has almost every kind of learning at command; but the conclusion to which we are conducted by the course of his remarks, leaves us scarcely any further in advance of the point at which we found ourselves on closing the work of the last of his predecessors. We have long thought, in common with most writers who have investigated the subject, that, in endeavouring to ascertain the most ancient forms of graphic characters, we must confine ourselves to those of the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the Phenicians; and the testimony of ancient tradition is in favour of the latter people.

The concluding volume of the present work relates to the Phenicians and the Arabians. It seems to have been the intention of the Author, to extend his researches to some of the nations of Asia Minor, whose antiquities are, on account of their early advancement in civilization and letters, deserving of examination. But the grave has closed upon his learned labours.

The "*Origines*" is a work adapted for the use of the historical antiquary in his closet. On this account, we have been less copious in our notice of its contents than we at first purposed. Such readers as feel interested in the kind of studies to which it relates, will, from the celebrity of the Author, be disposed to examine for themselves the accumulations of his learning, and to form their own estimate of the validity of his conclusions; and to others, we should despair of rendering a lengthened article otherwise than tedious.

Art. IV. *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung, herausgegeben von D. E. W. Hengstenburg, Ord. Prof. der Theol. an der Universität zu BERLIN. Erster Band; erstes Heft. Julii, 1827.*

Evangelical Church Journal, edited by Dr. E. W. Hengstenburg, Professor Ordinarius of Theology in the University at Berlin. Vol. I. No. I. July, 1827.*

[Reprinted from "The Spirit of the Pilgrims." Jan. 1828.]

THE Protestant Church can never forget that Germany was the birth-place of the REFORMATION. When more than

* Extraordinary as is the measure, we are persuaded that it will meet the approbation of our readers, to introduce into our pages an entire article from a foreign periodical journal, the American "Spirit of the Pilgrims", mentioned in our last Number, Vol. XXIX. p. 525.

Egyptian night was spread over all the countries of Europe, and the inhabitants lay wrapped in the most profound slumber which the magic and soporific spell of the Vatican could bring upon them, then the star of Luther arose, and shot its rays athwart the gloom. The mists of night began gradually to disappear. Some, here and there, were awakened by the light which was beginning to gleam, and roused up to action. But, ere this star had advanced to its zenith, whole nations were put in motion. It spread its cheering light over Germany, Switzerland, many parts of France; over Denmark, Norway, Sweden, England, Scotland, Ireland; and even portions of Austria, Hungary, Italy, and Spain itself were illumined by its beams.

'The star of Luther has long since sunk below the horizon. But it did not set in darkness. It left a flood of glory behind, which brightened the face of the whole heaven. Its beams have kindled up a galaxy of light in the firmament, which has continued to shine until the present hour. This has, indeed, sometimes waxed and waned, but never suffered a total eclipse. It will never more be quenched, until the luminary of day shall be blotted from the skies. It will continue to shine, brighter and brighter, unto the perfect day; when all nations will feel the genial influence of its rays, and darkness being chased from the earth, and gross darkness from the people, the whole world shall be filled with light and glory.

'This is no visionary reverie of enthusiasm. He who hath begun the good work, will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ. We do believe, and we have good authority for believing, that Zion will arise and shine, that her light will come, and the glory of the Lord arise upon her; that nations will come to her light, and kings to the brightness of her rising; yea, that all the ends of the earth will see the salvation of our God. Nor have we any doubt, that the glorious Reformation, begun by Luther, and still diffusing its influence wider and wider, was destined by Heaven to prepare the way for the final diffusion of true Gospel light among all the nations of the earth.

'We have no hostility to Roman Catholics, as individuals. We believe, that there have been, and that there now are, in the bosom of that Church, those who sincerely love the Saviour, and are devoted to his service. But the spirit of the system of Popery, is not the spirit which animates them. The spirit of Jesus has predominated over it. We separate such persons, in our own minds, from the community to which they professedly

The momentous interest of the topic, and the valuable contents of this article, render any apology superfluous.

belong. The spirit of Popery, such as awoke the resistance of Luther and his contemporaries, and such as now stretches the iron hand of despotism over Italy, and Spain, and Portugal, and South America, and the greater part of France, and a considerable portion of Germany, is a spirit so alien from that of Christ, and so hostile to the eternal interests and to the rational liberties of man, that we are compelled, from the bottom of our hearts, to be Protestants; and to believe, that Germany gave to the world, in the person of Luther, one of the greatest benefactors of the human race.

‘That interesting country has never ceased, since the days of Luther, to produce many able and enlightened defenders of the true principles and doctrines of the Reformation. It were easy to make out a long list of names, to be inscribed on the wreath of honour which adorns its head. But our present design does not admit the performance of so grateful a task, and we must pass them by in silence.

‘With but small and partial interruptions, of little consequence, the doctrines propagated by Luther and Melancthon continued to be cherished throughout the Protestant part of Germany, until within about half a century from the present time. Chemnitz, Gerhard, Calixtus, Spener, Pfaff, Carpzoff, Buddæus, Canz, Wolf, Baumgarten, and others, are names which formed a bright constellation over the country of which we are speaking, and whose glory will never be obscured. The theological chairs in the universities were filled with men of this stamp; with pious, devoted, humble, profoundly learned, and evangelical men, such as Luther would have applauded, and such as kept alive the spirit of the Reformation which he had commenced.

‘But with all their excellences, some defects were mingled. As reasoning theologians, they were, we had almost said, of the sect of Aristotle. The philosophy of the Stagyrte had for many centuries exercised an unbounded influence over the forms of logic, and the modes of reasoning, employed in every kind of treatise, to whatever department it belonged. The angelic doctor, also, Thomas Aquinas, one of the most acute of all the metaphysical and hair-splitting theologians who have ever lived, although a Romanist, was yet studied and admired by all the Protestant divines who made pretensions to the higher acquisitions in theology. The applause and study of Aristotle was unbounded and universal. How was it possible that the theologians of Germany should escape the general infection of the age? It was not. They did not escape. The fruits of this infection appear in all the works which they composed. It is in many of them, carried so far as to become almost an ob-

ject of loathing to readers of taste, educated in the more simple and intelligible principles of the logic and metaphysics which are taught among us at the present day. Theology, or the science of religion, as developed by them, is not a simple, connected, intelligible system of truths, few and plain, which all men may in some good measure see and comprehend; but it is a piece of the most complex machinery which can well be thought of. No common eye can trace and distinguish all its parts. Only a connoisseur from the schools of Aristotle can analyse it, or even comprehend it. The ten categories are not only applied, but even multiplied. The whole doctrine of *essence* and *attribute*, in all its consequences, as deduced by the old metaphysicians, and in all its ramifications, is applied to the spiritual beings about which religion is conversant. A student of their works cannot even divine their meaning, in many places, until he becomes well versed in all the tenuous and minuscular logic and metaphysics of the genuine scholastic ages.

‘ Such was the uninviting form in which the fashion of the times induced these great and good men, for the most part, to present their works to the world. But this condition of theological science was too constrained and unnatural to continue long. The Gospel, which was designed for the benefit of Hottentots, and Hindoos, and Sandwich Islanders, as well as for the philosopher and the divine, could not long wear this stiff, and uncomfortable, and unwieldy dress which by mistake had been put upon it. There was danger in the experiment of so representing a simple religion. The philosophers of the age learned to scorn; the common people to look on theology as too deep and abstruse for them to meddle with. An all-wise and over-ruling Providence, in kindness to the Church, prepared the way for this cumbrous dress to be rent off, and the original simplicity of Divine truth again to make its appearance.

‘ It was, however, one of those mysterious events which He whose ways are unsearchable, sometimes brings about, one might almost say, in order to exhibit his sovereign prerogative to bring good out of evil. So it is in the kingdom of nature. The earthquake, the volcano, the hurricane, the tempest, are all instruments of chastising men, and of convulsing the natural world; but it is past a doubt, that all have their use in the great system which the Almighty is carrying into effect, and that ultimate good is accomplished by them.

‘ The last generation of theologians in Germany, witnessed a shock not unlike to these, in the element in which they moved. Semler, who was first colleague, and then successor of Baumgarten at Halle, in the theological chair, was the great instru-

ment in bringing about the mighty revolution which has taken place in Germany. He was a man of vast and various learning, of distinguished genius, of daring speculation, of enthusiastic fancy, of bold and fearless adventure upon the ocean of conjecture, and withal of such profound acquaintance with the metaphysical theology of the day, that he knew where all its weak points lay, and consequently knew where to make his attacks in the most successful manner.

‘Not long after he became sole occupant of the chair of theology, in Baumgarten’s place, he commenced his attacks. The first assaults were made upon the sacred criticism and exegesis of the times; and here there was, indeed, a naked exposure to his assaults. Of course, he triumphed in his onset. His books spread wide through all Germany, elicited unbounded attention and discussion, and excited all who were before growing uneasy under the load of metaphysical distinctions, which had been inadvertently and injudiciously imposed upon them, to throw off this load, and set themselves at ease.

‘Semler was not wanting in the power of discerning, how he might employ the diversion thus made in his favour, to the most advantage. He pushed on with great ardour, and urged the conquests he had made, so as to give him still further advantage. For nearly forty years, he waged incessant war with the systems and principles of his predecessors, and died apparently in the arms of victory. But before his death, he had raised up a multitude of others, who took sides with him, and entered warmly into the great contest. With no less learning than he, united with far more taste, and system, and patience, and wariness, many of them pushed the conquests that he had begun, until a victory almost complete, appeared to be gained. Eichhorn, and Eckermann, and Herder, and Gabler, and Bertholdt, and Ammon, and Paulus, and Stäudlin, and Justi, and a multitude of other theologians and critics, enlisted in the cause of Semler, and many of them spent their lives in promoting it.

‘The consequences have been most appalling. Never before did evangelical religion suffer an assault from such combined and exalted talent, and such profound learning as to all objects of human science. Nearly every university and gymnasium in Germany has been won by this party; and almost all the important, and nearly all the popular publications, have been in their hands, these thirty years or more. So completely has this been the case, that the celebrated Gesenius, in making out, some years since, a catalogue of the various religious and critical Journals published in Germany, mentions as a rarity (*Seltenheit*) ONE among all, which defended the *supernatural inspiration*

of the Bible. To the immortal honour of the Tübingen theologians, Storr, Flatt, and their associates, this was published there.

‘ So it has continued to be, even up to the present time, or at least, very nearly up to this time. All the Reviews were in the hands of the Naturalists and Neologists.* Did any evangelical writer publish a book; if it were very able, it was passed by in silence; if it were liable to attack, it was hunted down at once. The victory seemed to be completely won; and the principles of Luther to be almost eradicated from his country. The notes of triumph were echoed from every quarter, while the opponents of evangelical truth exulted in the hope that she had fallen to rise no more. Ministers and people, noblemen and peasants, princes and subjects, have united in the song of triumph, chanted as it were at her funeral. While the humble and trembling believer in Jesus, who trusted in the precious assurance that all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, was weeping in secret places, for fear that the doctrines of the Reformation were no more, and that piety had taken her flight from the earth along with them; and while he was prostrate in the dust before Him who seeth in secret, and asking, with deep sighs, O Lord, how long? all was exultation and triumph without. Nor could he appear, in the face of open day, as a follower of the great Reformer, without having the finger of scorn pointed at him, or the laugh of contempt directed toward him.

‘ But during the time of the greatest apparent triumph of Naturalism in Germany, there never was a season, in which there were not some, in every province, and in almost every town, who mourned over the fall of the Reformation doctrines. Here and there, a solitary professor in a university; here and there, a pastor in the humble villages and parishes; was to be found, who wanted nothing but sympathy and a few rays of hope for encouragement, to draw him out, and make him bold in the same cause which Luther pleaded. A Reinhard, a Knapp, worthy of apostolic days, a Noesselt, a Morus, a Storr, a Flatt, a Titmann, still lived, and studied, and prayed, and lectured, and acted, and wrote; but their voice was drowned amid the din of the exulting multitudes, goaded on by powerful, and energetic, and learned leaders, and encouraged by princes and potentates.

‘ Such was the state of things for some twenty years or more; when the pastor Harms, at Kiel, raised the note of alarm so as to be heard over all parts of Europe, which professed to be following in the steps of Luther. In the year 1817, the third

* ‘ That is, the advocates of the new theology.’

grand centennial jubilee from the time when the Reformation began, (a most opportune season for his purpose,) he published to the world a new edition of the celebrated *Theses* of Luther, which embrace all the fundamental principles of the reformation proposed by him, and added some of his own, with appropriate remarks on the whole. The book spread far and wide, in spite of every effort to check the diffusion of it. Harms was laughed at, ridiculed, called enthusiast, treated with contumely, argued against, but all to little purpose. *Lutherans* were appealed to by him, and their obligations to know in what *Lutheranism* consisted, was so powerfully urged upon them, that many admitted the claim. Others scorned, because Harms was neither a Professor in a university, nor a man of distinguished learning. But of those who did examine seriously the *Theses* of the great Reformer, some became convinced, in earnest, that they had indeed abandoned the ground of the Reformation. From that day to the present hour, a counter-revolution, in favour of the principles of the real evangelical Church, has been going on in Germany; and, as we shall see by and by, it is now beginning more openly to break out, and to shew a formidable array against the adversaries who have been triumphing at their success in banishing from the country of Luther the sentiments which he avowed, and which he defended at the hazard of his life.

‘ But we must stop a moment here, for the sake of some remarks, which we cannot refrain from making, upon the deeply interesting facts that are now before us.

‘ Nothing can be more evident to an intelligent and thorough reader of such books as give a true and circumstantial account of the great revolution which has taken place in Germany, than that the defects in the manner of teaching and presenting the science of theology, which were connected with the reigning modes of study and instruction in that country, contributed exceedingly to the triumphs of the Neologists. Semler had been educated in all the formal, logical, metaphysical, Aristotelian hair-splitting of his predecessor Baumgarten, and others before him. He even published the system of Baumgarten, with a most learned preface, in which he gives a very instructive history of the most important Christian doctrines. Semler had imbibed, in the course of study necessary to write such a preface, a strong conviction of the ever varying and often contradictory nature of human opinions. He saw, (what every man of any age or country must see, who examines for himself, and does not believe on the credit of another,) that nothing important, in respect to distinguishing doctrines, can be proved from the ancient Fathers, inasmuch as real unanimity in the

manner of explaining hardly any important points, can be found among them. He transferred this principle to the modern systems of theology. He began to examine how Aristotle had contributed to their form. He betook himself to the critical study of the Scriptures. Here he found still greater deficiencies. Whole masses of texts had been brought forward as witnesses, which, on examination, he found not to have testified as they had been understood to do. He was disgusted at this. Revolt succeeded to disgust. From warm and enthusiastic attachment to the theology of Baumgarten, such as he felt when he published his system, he went over to the opposite extreme, and broke down all restraint, and overleaped all bounds. From attacking the school theology of modern days, he advanced to the Biblical authors themselves; and applying to them the doctrine of *Accommodation*, (that is, a principle of interpretation which represents a writer as merely speaking in accordance with the prejudices of those whom he addresses,) he explained away every vestige of orthodoxy which could apparently be found in any part of the Scriptures.

‘Such are the unhappy consequences of loading the simple and plain principles of religion with a drapery which is foreign to their nature, which always sits uneasy, and which, whenever it is thoroughly examined, will be cast off with more or less violence. Such is our corrupt nature. We go from one extreme, far, very far, into the opposite. So did the revolutionists in France. They had reason, good reason, for complaint. They were oppressed. But when they burst the chains of oppression, they exulted not only in their liberty; they triumphed in their licentiousness. In another department of action, Semler did the same thing. The same laws of the human mind, the same imperfection of our nature, led him into such an error. The ardor of contest, the keenness with which he felt the reproaches that fell upon him, when he first set out in his new career, and the pride of victory, urged him on, until there was no retreat, and to conquer or die seemed to him the only alternative.

‘Educated as he had been, we have seen, that he was intimately acquainted with all the weak places in the citadel into which his opponents had thrown themselves. The keen-sighted coadjutors which his powerful writings had raised up, soon learned from him where to deal their blows; and thus, by degrees, the doctrines of Luther became a general object of rejection and even scorn, because the costume imposed upon them had been repulsive and cumbersome.

‘We do trust, that the great Head of the Church has taught, by these events, all who love his simple truth, as he has revealed

it to men, to guard well against exposing it to rejection and scorn, by superadding too much costume of their own invention. There can be no rational objection to *systems* of theology. They are altogether desirable, and in a certain sense necessary, for a correct and extensive view of theology *as a science*. They are of real importance to theologians by profession. But let these systems be **BIBLICAL**. Let them be founded on an interpretation of the Scriptures, which will withstand all the assaults of critical investigation, not on *a priori* reasoning, deduced from the reigning philosophy or metaphysics of the day. Otherwise, some Semler will, sooner or later, make his appearance, and, not content with blowing away the chaff, will, along with it, throw away the wheat.

‘The few able and undaunted adherents in Germany to the real doctrines of the Reformation, have been, step by step, retreating from all the old ground of metaphysical school theology, and coming, for these twenty years, gradually, and at last, fully, upon the simple ground, that **THE SCRIPTURES ARE THE SUFFICIENT AND THE ONLY RULE OF FAITH AND PEACETICE**. And why should not God’s word deserve more credit, than that of fallible men?’

‘In the mean time, the system of their opponents has greatly changed. At first, much regard for the Scriptures was professed by them; and the Bible was set in opposition to all the human systems then in vogue in the church. But the sense of the Bible was everywhere to be made what they wished it to be, by virtue of philosophy and the doctrine of *accommodation*. But when the old school systems were given up by the defenders of true evangelical principles, because of their repulsive form and their defective exegesis, and the Scripture was solely appealed to in support of these principles, and that on acknowledged maxims of exegesis, then the ground of opponents began to be shifted, as one might easily suppose. The next ground was Naturalism, under the gentle and alluring appellation of *Rationalism*. This is now the altogether prevailing system of the Neologists. The reigning heresiarch in this new kingdom, (new in name, not in reality,) is Dr. Wegscheider, present professor of theology at Halle-Wittenberg; whose *Institutiones* exhibit not only all the arguments employed by Hume against the possibility of miracles, but many more superadded. It is enough to say, that the book has had unbounded popularity, and gone through seven or eight large editions in the course of a few years, to shew what the reigning passion of the day is, in the interesting country which gave birth to the most important Reformer of modern times.

‘Since the publication by Harms, mentioned above, the

friends of the evangelical cause, who before were, for the most part, lying on their faces in the dust, have begun to gather up themselves, and to strive for the attainment of an erect position. Several periodical works have been engaged in by them, and unexpectedly found more support than was anticipated. Schwartz, Professor at Heidelberg, has, for some time, published a thoroughly evangelical work, with much success. Occasional volumes, pamphlets, and even systems of divinity, have appeared, which are decidedly of the evangelical cast. The King of Prussia, who is generally understood to be in favour of the genuine principles of the Reformation, has gathered around him, and placed in his celebrated university at Berlin, and in the pulpits in that city, some of the most learned and powerful men in Germany, who are altogether on the evangelical side. He has recently sent one of these to Halle, very much against the wishes of the Naturalists there, to fill the place vacated by the death of the truly apostolic and excellent Dr. Knapp. Since the death of this last-mentioned veteran in theology, his Lectures (read for some forty years or more, and corrected and enlarged more or less at every reading,) have recently been published, and exhibit a body of Scriptural Divinity, which we hope and trust will ere long come before our public. The work is not, like that of Storr, broken up by notes, illustrating bare propositions; but is continuous, judicious, deep, warm-hearted, and well worthy of perusal and study. The exegesis is of the most fundamental kind, and will stand the test of trial.

‘ In this state of things, the noble corps of defenders of evangelical sentiment at Berlin, felt that it was time to make an open demonstration, once more, in behalf of the cause of the Reformation, in the face of all Germany, and of the world. Communication with others of like sentiment confirmed this opinion; and the Magazine, whose title stands at the head of this article, is the first fruits of their labors.

‘ The work is designed for the learned and the unlearned. It is to contain pieces of a high-wrought character, and much that is popular and adapted to all classes of readers. But we shall give more satisfaction to our readers, if we lay before them the Prospectus of the work itself, prefixed to the first number which now lies before us. We shall give it in a free translation.

‘ The influence of journals in the formation and direction of opinions at the present time, is universally admitted. The more certain this is, the more is it to be lamented, that the Evangelical Church *

* ‘ This is the appropriate name of the Lutheran Church in Germany.’

has hitherto had no organ of this kind, which was devoted to establishing and maintaining with strenuous uniformity, Gospel truth, as it is taught in the Holy Scriptures, and received from them into our Creeds. Neither has any publication of this nature exhibited clearly the distinction between evangelical doctrines and those of an opposite cast; nor is there any one, which, by communicating information respecting the state of the church in all countries, and of missionary operations, with their effect upon the heathen, has labored to awaken a lively sympathy in the affairs of the church, and a conviction that there is a real unity of purpose in all who love the truth. The undersigned, therefore, yielding to often repeated solicitations, and relying upon Divine aid, has undertaken, with the co-operation of no inconsiderable number of theologians who are entitled to respect, the publication of an evangelical journal, under the title of **THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH JOURNAL.**

‘It will commence with the first of July. It will not be devoted to any party, as such; but solely to the interests of the Evangelical Church. To those who have attained to a lively and established belief in the truth of Gospel doctrine, it will afford the means of improvement and of edification. It will lift up a warning voice against the various errors which, at all seasons of great religious excitement, are apt to arise, even among those who in the most important respects have embraced divine truth. It will strive to promote in individuals, the feeling of unity both with the Evangelical Church and with the Christian Church in general. It will endeavour to promote a general union among all the true members of the Evangelical Church.

‘In particular, it will be an object with the Evangelical Church Journal, to have respect to the wants of those who, being in readiness to embrace the truth, know not where they must seek for it, nor where they can find it. A sense of such religious wants is now beginning to be powerfully awakened; the more powerfully, in proportion as the necessity of a belief in Revelation is felt.

‘Many, however, of those who are honestly seeking after truth, remain in a constant state of fluctuation, because they are afraid of going from one extreme to another. The Evangelical Church Journal will strive to remove the prejudices which have led them hitherto to make opposition to the truth; to clear up their perplexed views; to make a plain distinction between evangelical Christianity, and the manifold departures from it; and to direct their views to the signs of the times, and make them better acquainted with the memorable events in respect to the church, which are taking place in the neighbouring, and in foreign countries.

‘The Editor hopes to attain these ends in the best way, by distributing the contents of this Journal in the following manner; viz.

‘I. **ESSAYS.** These are divided into four classes. (1.) Essays on important passages of Scripture, exhibiting an interpretation of particular places that are difficult, and also of larger portions which, at the present time, are entitled to peculiar consideration. (2.) Representations of true evangelical doctrine, in opposition to the widely spread errors of our times, in regard to faith and practice; instruc-

tion respecting the true nature of the Christian Church, and its development in the world, &c. (3.) Communications pertaining to the department of ecclesiastical history, in regard to the most ancient times, so far as these may have a bearing upon the present times. Sometimes copious extracts will be admitted, which are taken from books that are inaccessible to the great mass of readers. Communications of this nature, however, will not be mere lifeless extracts, but will be introduced and accompanied with appropriate remarks, which will adapt them to the present time. (4.) Theological Essays of a practical nature, made by such as have the care of souls committed to them, and the experience derived from the discharge of their official duties.

‘ II. LITERARY NOTICES. These are not to be learned reviews simply, but critical notices of, and extracts from, the more important books; and this, not merely of books which have recently made their appearance, but of those writings which have been forgotten, and deserve again to be brought into notice. This department will also contain warnings against worthless and dangerous books, that have become current.

‘ III. HISTORICAL INFORMATION. This will respect the history of the Christian Church, at home and abroad. It will exhibit biographical notices of persons worthy of particular regard, who moved in a larger or smaller circle; historical communications respecting the external condition of religious parties, and of their relation to each other; missionary intelligence, not with the design to supply defects in Journals devoted to this purpose, nor to supplant them, but partly with the design of giving general and compressed views of these subjects, and partly to exhibit those characteristic and individual sketches which are conspicuous, omitting all useless repetitions and mere indistinct representations. In a word, the intention is to communicate whatever may be of interest and importance to the Evangelical Church. The materials for such intelligence will be drawn, partly from correspondents at home and abroad, and partly from various works and documents appropriated to such a purpose, which are published in Germany, France, England, Scotland, and America.

‘ That the tone of the present work will be somewhat exclusive, follows of course from the preceding representation. Only those can expect to have a part in it, who have an established conviction respecting the fundamental truths of revealed religion. Still, all variety of views, among those who belong to the same Christian community, will not be excluded. It appears altogether desirable, that there should be an animated interchange of views among those who hold fast the fundamental truths of the Gospel. The publishers of this Journal deem it very important to afford every facility in their power, for the accomplishment of this.

‘ All those who feel a sincere inclination to contribute to the design of this Journal, are invited to do it by the publishers of the same; who are satisfied that the object in view can never be accomplished, except by the united efforts of many, who devote their strength

to the service of God. The larger contributions will in all cases be considered as having a claim to pecuniary remuneration, unless this is expressly declined.

Although the object of the Evangelical Church Journal is simply to inculcate what is true, and to build up rather than to pull down; yet, as the Gospel from its very nature must encounter opposition, disputation cannot altogether be avoided. Still, it will conduct with forbearance in judging of individuals, and as far as possible, avoid all personalities. Remote from all bitterness, it will shew by its example, that unwavering conviction in respect to evangelical truth is altogether consistent with mildness and affection, such as the Gospel demands of those who acknowledge its obligations. At the same time, it will point out to all such, the source to which they must go in order to learn these important virtues, and from which only they can derive them.

Such is the Prospectus of this very interesting publication; one which we might, with a few alterations, adopt as a Preface to our own. We cannot hope, indeed, to rival our brethren of the land of universities, in the extent and variety of their literary, and critical, and exegetical, and antiquarian researches and essays. But feeling ourselves to be, in several respects, situated very much as they are, we would go hand in hand with them, in the great principles which they have thus so plainly and so boldly announced to the world. We shall have some advantages over them, for the *practical* and *experimental* departments of our work. This is a land of Revivals; it is so, in a manner which excites the curiosity and astonishment of Christians in the transatlantic world. In regard to every thing connected with missions, benevolent societies, &c., we are in the very focus of action, and shall have an important advantage from this circumstance. We shall not affect to rival our German brethren in learning. This generation cannot do it. The next, we trust, will be able to speak a different language.

It will be natural for our readers to inquire, whether the Evangelical Church Journal is only "the daring of a single combatant," or whether combined talent and energy are pledged for its support? The answer to this question is a cheering one to the friends of truth on this side of the Atlantic, and especially to all who live on the very ground which is the arena of the great contest that is going on at the present time. The Journal in question, lifting up its voice in the very ear (a listening one too) of the King of Prussia, published at his favourite university, which now holds the second, if not the first rank of all the literary institutions in the world, is not the solitary work of one man, nor of a few men whose names are unknown beyond the boundaries of a small hamlet. Some of the flower of

the German *Corps d'Elite* have united to support it. To give their names, will be sufficient proof of this, to all who know the present state of theological acquirements in Germany.

“Among my fellow labourers,” says Dr. Hengstenberg, the Editor, “I am permitted to name Dr. Neander, professor in the University of Berlin; Dr. Strauss, court preacher at Berlin,” (mark this;) “Dr. Tholuck, professor at Halle-Wittenberg; Dr. Heubner, professor at Wittenberg; Drs. Hahn and Lindner, professors at Leipzig, and also Dr. Heinroth, at the same university; Dr. Von Meyer at Frankfort on the Mayne; Dr. Scheibel, professor at Breslau; Dr. Steudel, professor at Tübingen; Dr. Th. Krummacher, at Bremen; Dr. Olshausen, professor at Königsberg; and Dr. Rudelbach, at Copenhagen.”

‘To those who are acquainted with the literary condition of Germany, it will be entirely unnecessary to say, that many of these are some of her choicest and most distinguished *Elites*. Dr. Neander is the acknowledged *Coryphæus* of ecclesiastical history and antiquities. Dr. Heubner is a very distinguished and excellent scholar. Dr. Tholuck is a kind of prodigy in Arabic, Rabbinic, and other oriental learning, and has been placed, as we have already mentioned, in the chair of the venerable and excellent Dr. Knapp. Dr. Heinroth is distinguished in metaphysics and anthropology. Dr. Hahn has given to the world some admirable proofs of his learning, criticism, and judgement, in his Essay on the gospel used by Marcion, and some other publications. Dr. Olshausen has given scarcely inferior evidences of his learning and abilities, in his “Genuineness of the Four Gospels,” recently published. Dr. Von Meyer has published a very popular amended version of the whole Scriptures. Dr. Steudel is the successor of Bengel, in the able work of “The Archives of Theology.” The other gentlemen are distinguished, also, as teachers or preachers. We bid *God speed* to such a noble array, in defence of the doctrines of evangelical truth. If Luther could rise from his grave, it would be to bless and encourage them.

‘Of the work itself, which they stand pledged before the public to maintain, (three numbers of which have come to hand,) we shall have occasion to say more hereafter, and to present specimens of it to our readers, which will enable them to judge for themselves, both of the spirit and of the ability with which it is conducted. We shall employ the brief space which can be allowed us at present, in some closing remarks on what has been laid before our readers in the preceding pages, designed to prevent any misapprehension of our true meaning, and to shew, that the friends of Gospel truth here have a deep interest

in the undertaking of our German brethren, and that we have much reason strongly to sympathize with them.

‘ When we have spoken with implied disapprobation of the old systems of theology in Germany, the attentive reader will perceive, that it is of the *costume*, not (if we may so express ourselves) of the *person*. Let any one take up the *twenty-two* quarto volumes of Gerhard’s *Loci Theologici*, (the great Coryphæus of the Lutheran systematical writers,) and he will see, by opening the book at a venture, what we have aimed to express. The mind is overwhelmed with the infinitude of divisions and subdivisions. It is grieved by frequent offences against the laws of sound exegesis, which appear in the introduction of irrelevant witnesses from the Scriptures. It is even disgusted with the heaps upon heaps of metaphysical chaff, which is not only scattered over the wheat, but often mixed among it. Must it not be difficult to read with pleasure, when we are constantly exposed to such emotions? It is only those, for the most part, who have introduced metaphysics, by *à priori* argumentation, into their system of theological truth, and made them an essential part of it, and who are better prepared, in this way, to say what the Bible *ought* to mean, than what it does mean; it is almost only such, that will read systems drawn up in this manner, with satisfaction. Good taste is revolted by them. Simple, scriptural inquiry seems to be overwhelmed by the immense mass of other questions which are forced upon the reader.

‘ When theological writers compose in this manner, they are preparing the Church for inquietude and for revolution. There never will be wanting, sooner or later, some bold and independent inquirers, who will raise a breeze to scatter the chaff; and well will it be, if this breeze does not increase, until it becomes a tornado, and carries away the wheat also. There is no calculating where a revolution will stop, when it begins from causes of grievances like these.

‘ It was, however, a most deplorable mistake in Semler, to urge on the reform; (as he would fain have it,) in the manner, and to the extent, which he did. What was the offence of the old theologians? Was it any real departure from the doctrines of the Reformation? This is not pretended. What then was it? Why, it was mixing a great deal of chaff along with the grain which they presented, and bidding you regard the whole as grain. We might well say, as standing fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and as professing to receive “the Scriptures as the SUFFICIENT and ONLY rule of faith and practice,” We will not receive the chaff for the wheat. But is

it wise, is it becoming, to throw away the whole? Because those great and good men, who wrote in the manner that has been described, participated in the general faults of their day, as to style, and as to the *mode* of treating the subjects which they discussed, it is surely not the part of candour, and of just regard to real and distinguished merit and piety, to treat them with indifference, and even with contumely. Such, however, has been the injustice which they have suffered from the present age. No language scarcely is sufficient to express the contempt which many feel for them. For ourselves, we cherish a state of mind totally diverse from this. All the cumbersome dress with which they have unwittingly loaded theology, we would throw off, without any scruple. Simple, biblical theology is all we want, and all we ever can have which will be stable. All that rests upon the philosophy and metaphysics of the day, must for ever be as fluctuating and inconstant as men are. But in the old theology, with all its faults of manner and its forbidding exterior, many a radical investigation of topics in divinity is to be found; many an overthrow of error is triumphantly achieved; and much, very much, of a glowing and ardent spirit of piety is also to be found. The reader who does not feel, that the faults of *manner* are in a great measure redeemed by such sterling virtues as these, is not prepared to harmonize at all in opinion with us. We must say, that, with all their faults, we should be among the last to abandon the use of the works of such Lutheran divines as have been named above; or of the works of Calvin, Pictet, Turretin, Van Maestricht, Vitringa, and others, in the Reformed Church.* We are fully alive to their faults. But we are not blind as to their virtues; and the latter are vastly predominant.

‘ Yet we do rejoice, after all, that God is bringing his Church to more simple credence in his word. It cannot be denied, that there is much, in all these old systems, which stands on the simple basis of human philosophy. But they have now gone through the fire, and a great part of the dross is melted away. Most perfectly visible is this, in such a plain, simple, consistent, and scriptural plan of theological truth, as is presented in the Lectures of the most excellent and venerable Dr. Knapp, late of Halle. How different from Gerhard; and yet, exhibiting and defending the same great truths! Both loved the same Gospel; but the one loved philosophy too, and the other shun-

* ‘ We use the phrase Reformed Church as it is used by Mosheim, to designate the Calvinistic churches of Europe, as distinguished from those of the Lutheran persuasion.’

ned it, whenever he undertook to represent the simple system of truth which the Scriptures contain.

‘ Every weak spot in the whole building of the Reformation, has now been spied out, and assaulted, by the keen-sighted, active, energetic, and powerful enemies of evangelical truth in Germany. It has been, indeed, tried as by fire. The wood, hay, and stubble in it, have, we trust, been burned up; but the solid materials all remain. The God of Truth has made these of elements which resist all assault or decay. He has taught the friends of his Gospel, by the awful castigation which they have received, how dangerous it is for them to mix their philosophy with his word. He will have men whom he has made, and sanctified, and redeemed, to exhibit simple confidence in his declarations, and not to rest on the wandering speculations of imaginary reason and boasted human philosophy. Sooner or later, in every country, he will chastise those who set up human authority above his word, and who attach principles and nice distinctions to his Gospel, with which he never meant it should be cumbered.

‘ We trust, our readers will see where we stand in regard to old and new theology. In a strict sense, theology, as true doctrine, is, and ever has been, one and the same. But the *modes* in which men have developed it, have been very different at different times. Some of these are much less entitled to approbation than others. For ourselves, the simplest and most scriptural method, as remote as may be from all the reigning metaphysics of the day, (which are perpetually changing,) will ever be the subject of highest approbation. But we should be among the very last to cast away, to despise, or to load with contumely, the older writers of theological systems, because the costume which they have put on, differs from that of the present age.

‘ We trust, after so ample a declaration on this subject, that we shall not be misinterpreted nor misunderstood. We have only to add, that the awful experience of Germany makes us devoutly wish that the teachers of religion in our country may none of them expose us to a like revolution, by insisting upon mingling wheat and chaff together, and making the whole pass for *bona fide* wheat. The experiment is too fearful a one. The consequences should be well weighed. The enemies of evangelical truth are active, vigilant, eagle-eyed, all-intent on its overthrow, and some of them are able and learned. We must not expect, that any breach in our walls will remain unespied or unattacked. The closer, then, we keep to the Bible, the more simply we keep there, the better for the cause and the better for us. The whole dispute, then, will soon turn upon

one single pivot, as it now does in Germany. And then our ground of contest will be clear, and we shall no longer combat with such as assail us from behind the trees, the bushes, the fences, and from cavities in the earth, so that we scarcely know which way to turn, in order to make the most effectual defence.

‘ We congratulate our readers, and the Church of God in this country who are contending for evangelical truth, on the prospect that the question is here soon to be, Whether the Bible is indeed an inspired book, and its decisions final and authoritative in the Christian Church? The time has been, when a suggestion of this nature would have brought down a storm of obloquy upon the man who dared to venture on making it. The time now is, when some of the younger, bolder, more thorough-going, more open-hearted young men, and a few of the older ones, do not hesitate, when among the *initiated*, to answer the question above in the negative; nor do some of them hesitate even to preach what implies a negative, although they are somewhat guarded in their assertions, on account of the yet remaining *prejudices* (as they style them) of their hearers, or at least of a portion of their hearers. These open-hearted men (whose sincerity we do not feel at all disposed to question, and whom we, on every account, respect far more than we can those who are not bold and honest enough to make an open profession of their belief,) only need a little more of a common centre around which they may rally, some able, and learned, and fearless defender of their cause, to come out with an entirely open face, and avow substantially the Naturalism which Dr. Wegscheider now teaches at Halle-Wittenberg. Some of the opponents of evangelical truth may strenuously deny this; they may even raise a hue and cry against us, as slanderers of great and good men. But we have measured our ground here. We know where we stand, what we speak, and whereof we affirm. The journals and periodicals of the day, devoted to pulling down the edifice of evangelical belief, may make an outcry, as they have learned abundantly to do, of late. But we give them a word of caution on this subject; which is, that it is not expedient for them, at least for some of *theirs*, that we should be obliged to verify what we have said above, by appeal to *individual* facts. This, they well know, we can do; and we assure them, we shall not fail to do it, in due time.

‘ As to ourselves, we thank God for the hope, that the church in our country is not to go through with the dreadful struggle which she has had in Germany. There are in this region, where error substantially the same with that of the German Neologists has so long prevailed, many redeeming and en-

couraging circumstances. The existence of a work like the present, called forth, not by disputants among the clergy, but by the spontaneous voice of the laity—imperiously called forth, is not the least encouraging circumstance which may lead us to hope, that the flood tide of opposition to the doctrines of the Reformation has reached its height among us, and that it is beginning to ebb. Some few years since, there was *only one* Congregational church in Boston, that retained the sentiments of the Pilgrims. Now we number eight. Our orthodox brethren, too, of the Episcopal, the Baptist, and the Methodist denominations, have been increased and strengthened. We have other signs of the times, also, which are hopeful. The opponents of evangelical sentiment, in their periodicals, their journals, and their private *soirées*, are beginning to pour forth, in torrents, the language of contumely and indignation. Nothing exhibits so well the apprehensions which they entertain, as this. We do hope and trust, that these apprehensions are well founded. As immortal beings, and accountable to Him who redeemed us by his blood, we cannot look on with indifference, when the question is pending, Whether his Gospel is to be received or rejected?

‘Such a question we do, from our inmost hearts, believe to be pending. The opponents of the doctrines which we, who profess to be the strenuous advocates of liberty of conscience, feel bound to defend, will surely not blame us, in the moments of cooler reflection, for standing forth in defence of all that we hold dear, before God and the world. For them, we cherish no disrespect, no feelings of enmity. As men, as citizens, as men of learning, as ornaments of our country in a civil and social respect, we pay them all that regard which they could wish from us. But when the question is one which concerns our immortal well-being, one which *essentially* respects it; then, we cannot hesitate how to act. We take our stand, fearless of consequences, and commit the issue to Him by whose blood we have been redeemed.

‘Our friends, we trust, will all rejoice, that powerful coadjutors are raised up, in the native land of the Reformation, to the great cause which we have espoused. Sympathy with them we cannot help cherishing. We are embarked in the same cause. We are, in very many respects, placed in the like circumstances. We have the spirit of unbelief to contend with, although it is, as yet, less open. We feel encouraged by their example; and we doubt not we shall have their sympathies. Let us strive to keep pace with them in the arduous contest. And if, after all, neither we nor they live to see all the fruits of our toils, and struggles, and sufferings, we shall at least indulge the hope, that

our successors, of whose triumph we entertain no doubt, will say of us, when they visit our graves, and call to mind our history, *E magnis exciderunt ausis.*'

* * Since the preceding article was sent to press, we have received a subsequent Number of the same American Journal, in which is contained the following Letter from that eminently learned and zealous labourer in the cause of Bible Criticism and Sacred Truth, Professor Stuart, of Andover*.

' To the Editor of the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*.

' Sir,

' I have been interested in the extracts contained in your Number for February, which your correspondent has made from several publications, in relation to the subject of religion in Germany. The Discourses of Mr. Rose, to which he adverts, I had seen and partly read before. The Eclectic Review, and the Extracts from M. Stapfer, I had also read. The Letter of Mr. Kurz is new to me; and I am very glad to see a confirmation of what we have before heard about the religious state of Berlin, from so respectable and worthy a man. But there are some statements in the Extracts from the other writers, which, it has seemed to me, ought not to be left unnoticed, while there are ample means in our country of correcting them.

' I know not who the Eclectic Reviewer may be; but whoever he may be, nothing is more certain, than that he has made some mistakes; and, in a work like yours, they ought to be noticed.

' I will not dwell on his statement of the system of the Neologists, though it is, in my view, liable to some exceptions, and communicates but an imperfect idea of Rationalism, as it generally prevails in Germany. But I have some remarks to make on his catalogue of the persons who are, and have been the most famous supporters of this system, in that country. *Cuique suum*, is the dictate of both sacred and civil justice.

' Among these are reckoned, Gesenius, Bretschneider, and Schiller. Of Gesenius, it may truly be said, that he is, to all appearance, a thorough Rationalist; but nearly all that he has published, has been *philology*, not *theology*; and very seldom, indeed, does one meet with any thing in his works, with which he has reason to be offended. He seems heartily to despise the whole system of *accommodation* in exegesis; and he explains the sacred writers, almost throughout, as meaning what the advocates of evangelical sentiments suppose them to mean.

' Bretschneider, so far from being a Rationalist, has published a

* The Translator, and in great part the Author of the useful little volume, "Elements of Biblical Criticism," reviewed in our last volume (Jan. 1828); and to whom we are indebted for a most valuable contribution to Biblical Literature, which we hope speedily to introduce to the notice of our readers.

full System of Theology, more orthodox, and nearer to the old Lutheran ground, than almost any which had appeared in Germany, before his, for nearly half a century. He has often come before the public as a *Supernaturalist*. Of late it is whispered, that he is a candidate for Eichhorn's place at Göttingen, and that he has become, at least, one of the *Moderates*, if not one of the *Liberals*. How much truth there is in this, I know not. I only know, that he has published a pamphlet in answer to Mr. Rose's Sermons; and that in this, (which I have read,) he avows himself a *Supernaturalist*; although he endeavours to blunt the edge of Mr. Rose's weapons, by interposing a kind of shield between them and all his Rationalist countrymen.

'As to Schiller, he was a play-writer, a poet, and a historian; but no theologian. If he has ever written on theology, (I know not that he has,) I am quite sure that he was not well enough acquainted with it, to have any considerable influence in Germany.

'Instead of these names, the writer should have put Henke, Ziegler, Semler, Herder, Stäudlin in the earlier part of his life, and other master spirits, who have helped to raise and to direct the storm in the land of the Reformation.

'On the other hand, it becomes a more painful duty, to exempt from the commendation which is given in the extracts, several writers who are named as orthodox. One of the most important cases is that of E. F. C. Rosenmüller, the well known and celebrated interpreter of the Old Testament. It is very clear, that his recent Commentaries develop a different spirit and state of mind, from what is exhibited in his early ones. Every new edition brings him much nearer to what is called orthodox exegesis. Indeed, a man of evangelical sentiment, would find but little reason for complaint or disagreement in respect to any of his Commentaries published within the last five years. I have it, too, from a friend in Germany, who not long since paid him a visit, that Rosenmüller complained, in strong terms, of the abuse of him in England, on the ground of his early Commentaries, and declared, that he considered it very ungenerous, to be always taxing a man with what he was in early years, and to leave him no space for changing his views, in his maturer state, and after more extended investigation.

'It is plain enough, that Rosenmüller is not indifferent to the esteem of men who are the friends of evangelical sentiment, and that he is generally very guarded about saying any thing which will give offence to them. It is clear, also, that his Commentaries on the Old Testament, are a *Thesaurus of philology*, which is nowhere else to be found, and which the student cannot well dispense with. They are of high, and permanent, *philological* and *critical* value; dictated by great accuracy of investigation in general, by soundness of exegetical judgement, and by sobriety of thought. We find in them no such conceits as Heinrichs, Michaelis, Kuinöl, Paulus, and even Schleuzner, occasionally exhibit;—the absolute excrescences of the human mind, which one wishes to see all cleared away, for the sake of contemplating with more pleasure what lies beneath them. This is true, however, only of Rosenmüller's later editions of his Commentaries.

If any one wishes for painful proof of what he could once do, let him read the first edition of his Commentary on the Pentateuch; or what he has said on Isaiah vii. in his first edition; and above all, his introduction to the book of Jonah, in which he suggests the probability, that the book was made from the Grecian story of Hercules being swallowed by a whale. But it would be unjust and ungenerous, not to allow a man room for recantation in such cases; and this he has abundantly made, as to the two former publications. A new edition of his work on the Minor Prophets, has not been recently published.

' After all, one who is thoroughly acquainted with this very useful writer, finds room for deep regret, that he is compelled to doubt his real sacred reverence for the Scriptures in general. The suggestion is so unpleasant a one, that I must produce the proof necessary to support it.

' In the admirable work of Rosenmüller, just published, entitled, *Handbuch der Alterthumskunde*, two volumes of which have come to hand, and contain a Sacred Geography, he states, (part. ii. p. 41,) that the king of Babylon (Belshazzar) was not slain by Cyrus, after his city was taken, but sent away into the province of Caramania, where he ended his days in peace. And in a note upon this, (p. 89. note 141,) he says, that he makes this statement on the authority of Berosus and Megasthenes. He acknowledges that Xenophon (vii. 24. Cyrop.) represents the king as slain by Cyrus; and that Dan. v. 30. agrees with this representation. But he adds, "It is strange that "the less credible historians," i. e. Daniel and Xenophon, "should be believed in preference to the native and more credible ones," i. e. Berosus and Megasthenes. Just the opposite of this, is the judgment of Gesenius, in his Commentary on Isaiah xiii. seq.

' Again, in the same publication, (part. ii. p. 42,) Rosenmüller says: "The book of Daniel, in general, cannot be used as a source of history; because it was composed a long time after the overthrow of Babylon, by some Jew in Palestine, with altogether a different design than that of giving a true history."

' What he says, also, on the geography of Paradise, and on several other topics of the like nature, proves beyond all doubt, that he regards a considerable part, at least, of the Scriptures, as being of no binding authority, nor even deserving of credit, and that he considers them as full of mistakes and errors.

' At the same time, his works are so replete with important information, laboriously collected and lucidly arranged, that no one who intends to pursue the critical study of the Scriptures, can well dispense with them. In a special manner, his recent works are exceedingly valuable. I can only express my hopes and earnest wishes, that a long life, spent in a most laborious and incessant study of the divine word, may end in bringing him fully to enjoy the precious hopes proffered by it, and the heavenly consolations which it administers.

' Of the picture drawn by M. Stapfer, (p. 105. of your No. for February,) I have no certain means of judging. Plouquet, Ettinger,

Hegel, Böhmer, Bockshammer, &c. may be important names in the theological department of Germany; but they are not frequent in the leading Tübingen publications. Perhaps they have been the authors of many of the anonymous essays which have appeared in the *Archiv* of Bengel, and in other works at Tübingen. But when M. Stapfer states, (on the same page,) that Winer is among those "who have shewn the deepest grief at the profane way in which some commentators have treated the sacred books," he surely must never have examined the manner in which Winer himself treats them; for few of the Neologists have handled them with less ceremony or respect, than he. So his *Dictionary of the Bible* abundantly testifies, not to mention many other of his works.

In respect to Kaisei and Ammon, who are mentioned (p. 106, same number,) as having clearly renounced Rationalism, the evidence is perhaps somewhat hopeful; but still, it is far from being clear. In regard to De Wette, however, it is a most singular fate which this distinguished scholar and man of genius has experienced among us. Not long ago, a writer in the *Christian Spectator* at New Haven, produced De Wette as belonging to the *orthodox*. Now again, on the authority of M. Stapfer, we are assured of this fact. And yet I have, lying before me, a work of De Wette's on the New Testament, published the very last summer, in which he has displayed so much scepticism, that even the Rationalists at Halle, and Dr. Wegscheider himself, who is the very Coryphæus of them, speaks in strong terms of disapprobation. De Wette among the orthodox! Why, he has contributed by his striking talents, and his learning, and his eloquent writings, more, perhaps, than any other individual, during the last thirty years, to support and to propagate Rationalism; and is he among the orthodox? I would it were so; but I could much sooner believe that Saul was *really* among the prophets. De Wette, in his banishment from Berlin, and in the blasting of all his worldly expectations, has been brought, I would fain hope, to a serious view of the end of human life, and of the account of it which lies beyond the grave. He has even courted the society of the orthodox, at Basle, where he now is, in the old University to which the immortal Buxtorfs belonged, and where one of their descendants is still a Professor. He has, of late, engaged in promoting the missionary efforts of that excellent seminary, under the care of Mr. Blumhardt, in the city of Basle. And rumour now states, within a few days, that he has just published a work, which exhibits a change of mind on the subject of religion. Would to God, this might prove to be true! But however this may be, M. Stapfer, and the writer in the *Christian Spectator*, were far enough from correctness, when they made their statements respecting him.

My principal object in making this communication, is, to prevent those who may not be acquainted with the authors in question, from being misled in any purchases which they may make of their works. The Rationalists would not thank the Eclectic Reviewer, nor M. Stapfer, for putting them among the orthodox; nor the orthodox, for being put among the Rationalists. Let each one stand where he chooses

to stand ; and then the persons concerned will have no ground of complaint, and the public will not be misled.

‘ Yours, with much respect,

‘ M. STUART.

‘ *Andover, Theol. Seminary, March 26, 1828.*’

We must now offer some remarks on some passages in Mr. Stuart’s letter.

Our sketch of the form and features of Neologism was never professed to be ‘ perfect ’ ; for who could draw the picture of an ever varying and fugacious Proteus ? But we believe it to be true and faithful to the extent which it purports ; that is, to convey a general idea of the character of the system. It was derived, not altogether from Mr. Rose, to whose inaccuracies the article itself shews that we were not inattentive ; but, in a great measure, from the perusal or inspection of German authors themselves. That it is a just representation, is, we think, very fully proved by the recent pamphlet of Dr. Hahn, reviewed in our last Number. (See particularly the brief outline of that gentleman’s testimony in p. 524 of our last volume.)

We are surprised that Mr. Stuart appears to have forgotten the denial of inspiration and prophecy, and the flagrant contempt for the authority of the New Testament, which appear in Gesenius’s Commentary on Isaiah. We are not insensible to the merits of that distinguished scholar ; and we should rejoice most cordially if the evidence in the case would allow us to revoke our classification as it respects him.

Though the Superintendent General Bretschneider may have professed a better tone of doctrine than most of the others, we have also adduced his own declarations, too plain to be mistaken, shewing that he regards the difference between himself and Wegscheider and others of the worst Antisupernaturalists, as of *very little importance* ! (See our Review of his Apology in the Number for November 1827, vol. xxviii. N.S., and particularly pp. 392, 402, 405, 408.) His denial of the authenticity of the Gospel and Epistles of John, chiefly on account of the clearness with which those portions of the New Testament declare the Deity of Christ, could not but make a decidedly unfavourable impression upon our minds. We are well aware of his profession of evangelical Lutheranism ; but he is not the only theologian of his country, whose conscience allows him to vaunt himself as an adherent to the Augsburg Confession, while labouring, by an under-current influence, to obliterate the vital truths for which Luther and Melancthon lived and laboured, and, if called to it, would have poured out their

lives. In the *Homiletisch-liturgisches Correspondenzblatt*, for September 19, 1827, published at Nuremberg, by Mr. Brandt, the Pastor of Roth, we find some solemn expostulations upon Dr. Bretschneider's indifference and apparent indulgence towards the most daring defiance of the facts and doctrines of both the Old and the New Testament.

Schiller, though not a professed theologian, had employed the fascinations of his style to deprive the Mosaic economy, and it may justly be surmised, the whole Old Testament, of any claim to more than a human origin; and we were the more strongly induced to bring his name forwards, as those flippant, and mischievous, and very seductive lucubrations of his have been translated and republished in England, in a Unitarian periodical work.

On looking back to the article in question*, we are surprised that we omitted to mark Semler as one of the prime authors, if not *the very chief*, of the Christian-called, but really infidel "abomination that maketh desolate."

- We expressed only '*hopes*' respecting the present Dr. Rosenmüller; to which we had been led, partly by a private communication, and partly by some of the facts which Mr. Stuart finds so much pleasure in stating.

- The authority of M. Stapfer stands so high, that we shall not be severely taxed for being ready to go with him the full length of his charitable feelings and expectations. But he had expressed himself with some reserve and apprehension in relation to De Wette; and it was from the desire of conciseness, that we omitted the passage,—not a very short one. It is far from being improbable, that M. Stapfer had been led to entertain a too favourable opinion, by some *accommodating* language in speaking or writing, which it is too easy to conceive that De Wette and Winer might have found occasion to employ; especially the former, who has uncommon talents and a fascinating tenderness and force of expression. The *Biblisches Realwörterbuch* of the latter brought us the unwelcome conviction that M. Stapfer's impression was too favourable. On the case of Dr. De Wette, we, in our turn, have further the pain of saying, that Mr. Stuart's Christian hopes have not been verified. Our information is from a most unquestionable source, and is some months later than the date of Mr. Stuart's letter. We have reason for extreme doubt, whether there is any truth in the statement of his having lent any aid to the valuable Missionary Seminary at Bâle; but, however that be, our information is a decided extinguishing of any hope that he was ap-

* July 1827. Art. I. Vol. xxviii. N.S.

proaching at all nearer to the faith which animates that pious Institution.

It is a refreshing relief, to conclude this article with the following notification, which we have derived from the same American source.

' An Extract, published in the Minutes of the last General Synod of the Lutheran Church in the United States, from a letter occasioned by the visit of the Rev. Mr. Kurz, and written in 1827, to a Lutheran clergyman in this country, by the Rev. Dr. Kneiwel, of Dantzic.

' " I gladly avail myself of this opportunity, to give you some information on the state of religion in this country. I will merely say a few words on the Province of East and West Prussia, in which I reside. It is indeed a splendid evidence of the divinity of our heavenly King, and a glorious fulfilment of his promise in Mark xiii. 31, ' Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my word shall not pass away',—that we see the spark of Gospel light, which had long been concealed beneath the darkness of human wisdom and the traditions of men, warming the hearts of multitudes, and blazing forth with increasing lustre. Since the Gospel is again preached in its purity, and the doctrines of human depravity, and repentance, and faith in the divine Redeemer, are fully and generally inculcated, public worship is again attended, and religion prospers. The deep interest which is felt in Bible and Missionary Societies, the cheerful aid afforded to every object connected with the progress of religion, the erection of new churches, and the repairing of such as were decayed,—all these circumstances afford the strongest evidence that religion is in a very prosperous state."

Art. V. *Letters to the Young*. By Maria Jane Jewsbury. 12mo: Price 6s. London. 1828.

WE should be happy to believe that there exists a large class of young persons who are in that state of intellectual and religious advancement, which would render the perusal of this little volume delightful and edifying. In most of the letters, the Author supposes in her young friend, a cultivated understanding, and much of that refinement of sentiment which a well conducted and Christian education tends to produce. Miss Jewsbury's manner is more serious than sprightly; but the volume is fraught with that practical wisdom which a superior and reflecting mind, when taught from above, gathers for its own use in the path of a varied experience. For we must believe, that most of those emotions to which a sensitive heart is liable amid the changes of this changeful scene, are, with the Author, not matters of hearsay, or of reading, or of specula-

tion. She evidently writes of what she has known, and she writes pertinently and wisely. 'The Letters', she says, 'comprise a real, and not a fictitious correspondence. They are the fruit of a protracted illness, and are published with the chastened hope, that, although originally designed for individual characters and cases, they may admit of a less restricted application.' We think Miss Jewsbury has done well in yielding to 'the suggestion of her valued friend.' The following extracts from the eleventh letter, will furnish a fair specimen of the volume.

'Young, gifted, and beloved—yet unhappy! Blessed with health, leisure, and competence—yet habitually sad! Wholly your own mistress, and a Christian by more than profession—yet subject to ennui! Indeed, my dearest ———, this is a sad state of things; though, independent of your own confession, I know it to be one fully possible, and, with characters like your own, very common. Minds of a reflective and somewhat timid cast, are most liable to the influence of morbid sensibility; they soon begin to look through, rather than upon society, and consequently become disgusted with its construction. They serve their pleasures as children do their toys—pull them to pieces in order to ascertain their internal mechanism; and their emotions, as the same children serve rose-buds—open them to accelerate their time of bloom. Without intentional want of benevolence, they feel little towards their fellow-creatures beyond a general good-will, or perfect indifference, whilst their few affections are ardent, arbitrary, and exclusive.

'To bring the subject back to a personal point, by quoting an expression of your own, "they live in a little world of their own creation;" which little world, by the way, seldom contains many inhabitants. There is generally much that is interesting in a mind thus habituated; and when religious principle gets firm and influential hold of its energies, the excellence which results, is perhaps of a higher kind, than can be engrafted on a weaker, gayer character. This admission is not meant, however, to reconcile you to a state of feeling at once unnatural and indefensible: the world might as well be one universal church-yard, as a world of fastidious, exclusive, sensitive beings, who hold their spirits as the streamer does its direction, at the will of every fluttering breeze. But, as you have applied to me for counsel, I wish, like a prudent physician, to gain your confidence in the outset; to prove that I understand your case, before I bid you follow my prescriptions. From me, too, you are assured of affectionate sympathy, not merely because I love you, but because I myself lived many years under a melancholy star, and therefore know, from personal experience, its pains, its pleasures, and its penalties. I know, too, something of a happier state, and with care and attention, (you must allow me to keep up the physician's phrase,) so, I doubt not, will you. In one sense, you are sensible of the numberless and solid comforts you enjoy; but in another, you are blind

to them: never having known their loss, you esteem them matters of course, and they do not produce excitement. On the other hand, you have some drawbacks; a few annoyances; and to these you are not so torpid as you are to the blessings; these excite positive irritation and weariness, and by proving to you that life does not lie in a fairy land, make you sometimes wish there were no life at all. Day after day creeps on, divided between irksome submission to ordinary and therefore disagreeable duties, vain dreams of a fancied existence fraught with interest and free from alloy, whilst those pleasures really in accordance with your own tastes fail to satisfy, because you expect too much from them. In the Edens of your own making, you cease to be "emparadised." Ah! my love, whence is all this? One short and simple answer will suffice, even that which accounts for all human error and human unhappiness—you have forgotten the true end of life; silently, and unconsciously, you have disconnected it from eternity; and therefore its beauty has no bloom, its inquietudes no balm.

' Sooner or later, you will be obliged to take refuge in content; and lightly as you may now esteem it, to be thankful for content. I willingly admit, that I think a good deal of what you now experience, is occasioned by a somewhat sudden expansion of mind; by thoughts which lack expression, fancies which as yet can find no occupation, feelings which you do not yourself understand, and which you fear to have misunderstood by others. You cannot at present come in contact with intellect and sensibility, whether in books or persons, without feverish excitement: poetry, fiction, narrative, tragedy, whatever you read, has a more than written existence, it has an influence, and a presence, tangible and abiding. Imaginary characters do not "come like shadows, so depart;" you live with, and love them, far more than real ones; and the secret sigh of your heart is, "O for a world of such beings, to admire, imitate, and discourse with!" Now, it may startle you to be told, that this is a very inferior enjoyment of intellect; that a much higher delight will be yours, when you shall have learned to value books in precise proportion as they elucidate correctly the heart and mind of your species; in other words, when you shall read and think, less to escape from mankind, than to be brought into closer contact with them, into more enlarged and kindly communion. Very few of the great imaginative writers are morbidly disposed; they may overtop their brethren in mind, but in heart, they maintain a friendly fellowship. It is no mark of superiority, to lack interest in our fellow creatures; and the mind which cannot cheerfully, and with full purpose, go from the world of thought and fancy, to that of life and action, has yet to learn its fitting use, its true distinction. At your age, I did not credit the possibility of such transfer; but I have since seen too many illustrious instances, to doubt, that the utmost refinement of taste, and the most enthusiastic love of literature, may subsist with a graceful and good-humoured attention to inferior, homely duties, employments, and ordinary associations. The ardent love of literature, though a healthy taste in itself, is not healthily exercised, when it does not refresh our spirits, stimulate us to action, and, by invigorating our minds, reconcile us to

whatsoever may be painful in our lot. A cultivated mind, accompanied by a healthy sensibility, conscious that it knows of a region wherein it can always breathe "an ampler ether, and diviner air," will not, on that account, be impatient of the grosser elements by which it may habitually be surrounded. It can afford to suffer, to be annoyed, to be entrenched upon.

'With all that I have said, my dear ———, I have not touched the root of the malady, or proposed any adequate remedy. I am not anxious, then, for the removal of your depression, or desirous that you should be happy, merely on account of your personal enjoyment; I desire it, mainly, because you cannot otherwise be *useful*; and your Christian profession, like a sword exposed to moisture, if it do not lose its edge, will certainly lose its polish. My dear love, on this ground you must arouse from a lethargy not less destructive to the due performance of duty, than actual sin—nay, little short of actual sin itself. What! would you have "a world that lieth in wickedness" a world of unalloyed felicity? Would you be a Christian Sybarite? Dare you murmur because the life of faith is not an eastern romance? Do you, in sober truth, desire to have your year all spring—your day all noon? So did not He "who pleased not himself;" so did not He who "had learned, in whatsoever state he was, therewith to be content;" who knew how to suffer need, and, far harder task, knew also "how to abound." My dearest ———, think of these things; and, instead of praying for resignation under troubles which do not exist, pray to have your heart filled with joy and thankfulness for the blessings which are showered upon you. If, in the mistaken spirit of an apostle, you shrink from contact with every thing that fastidiousness may call "common or unclean," where is the benevolence which bears to see, nay, which desires to see, the misery which has no recommendation beyond its reality? If, in occasional intercourse with those who are ungraced with the charms of mind and manner, you manifest cold, impatient civility, and all but cherish dislike and disdain, where is the charity which "seeketh not her own, and endureth all things?" If, avowedly, and on system, you esteem none but the gifted, the distinguished, and the amusing, where is the spirit of Him whose gentlest words were ever to the weakest—who gave an everlasting memorial to one who had done "what she could"? If, just entered on life and your Christian career together, you already long for some bower of ease, and sigh for two heavens instead of one, where is the faith which professes to have here no continuing city—which proclaims that it is enough for the servant to be as his master, and the disciple as his lord? Ah, my love! we all get wrong the moment we forget that this is not our rest. Midnight is not a more effectual shroud for the landscape, than unbelief for divine things, when it interposes between them and our souls. Why else are we more anxious for seasons of enjoyment, than for opportunities of usefulness? Why else do we call God our satisfying portion, yet grieve and murmur unless he satisfy us with a portion beside? Why else do we pronounce His favour to be life, and prove, too often, in action, that we value every thing in life more than His favour?

Art. VI. *Military Reflections on Turkey.* By Baron Von Valentin. By a Military Officer. Map and Plan. 8vo. pp. 102. Price 6s. London, 1828.

WE seem at the present moment to be placed in one of those critical combinations of circumstances, of which the favourable issue is matter of hope, rather than of plausible calculation. The most formidable power of Europe is in motion, with the object of her long cherished ambition before her, and apparently within her grasp. A numerous, highly disciplined, and well-appointed army, that has long been collecting on the frontier of Turkey, has at length crossed it, with the avowed purpose of wresting from the fears or the weakness of the Porte, concessions which, although they may now be clearly defined, and set forth with specious moderation, will be easily made to extend themselves, and to assume such shape and magnitude as the cravings of ambition may demand, and the casualties of conflict justify. If, as many seem to think probable, the Russian armies should reach Constantinople, and look out upon the Straits from the kiosks of the Seraglio and the castles of the Dardanelles, it may ensue, that the pride of victory and the stimulant delights of actual possession, will overpower the integrity that would prompt to redemption of its pledge; and the holding of some commanding post on the shores or the islands of the Egean, may be added to the stipulations for remuneration and security. All this, however, proceeds on an assumption, of which the realization is very far from certain. Independently of the fortresses and entrenchments that bar the main road to Byzantium, and of the intrepid fatalists who will man their ramparts to the last, there are natural difficulties which it may cost an invader dear, before he can surmount or evade. Malaria reigns along extensive tracts; sterile regions, unsheltered from a scorching sun, yielding neither food nor refreshment, and inflicting privations that the most active commissariat cannot mitigate, interpose between the Danube and Stamboul. That all these lets and hindrances may and will be mastered, is very possible; but on the other hand, it is not to be overlooked, that they lessen the chances of success, and serve, in some degree, to counteract the advantages derived from superior science and more effective combinations.

There was a time when the Turkish infantry was the best in Europe, and the Turkish tactics, at the least, not inferior to the system of the Christian commanders. The celebrated

Montecuculi, in his military commentaries, has eulogised both in the highest terms; and in his campaigns against the Grand Signor, he was frequently compelled to put forth his utmost skill and energy, to avoid the effects of the courage and activity of the Janissaries and Spahis, as well as to counteract the bold and well-judged enterprises of their Seraskiers. After he had gained the battle of St. Gothard, in 1664, the fruits of victory had nearly been wrested from his grasp, by the daring and decided manœuvres of the Vizir. That officer, after having been compelled to retire across the Raab, defiled rapidly along the right bank, effected the passage of the Danube at Gran, and advanced towards the Waag, menacing Moravia. This fine movement was, however, rendered unavailing by Montecuculi, who marched on Presburg, and pre-occupied the line of the Waag. The Turk, astonished at the sagacity and celerity of his opponents, ascribed to magic their anticipation of his purpose. Still, his efforts were not altogether in vain, since he maintained his ground, and concluded an advantageous peace.

It is remarkable, that in three striking instances have the finest provinces of central Europe been in imminent danger from Asiatic invaders; and that on each occasion their repulse was effected, only by the most strenuous efforts. The Tatars under the grandson of Jenghiz Khan, actually made themselves masters of Silesia; the Saracens, in full possession of the south of France, were with difficulty driven back by Charles Martel; and Vienna was in the greatest danger from the Turks when they were defeated by John Sobieski. The deficiency of light troops in the European armies was severely felt, and the formation of the hollow square was invariably resorted to, in battle with the impetuous Osmanlis, the inefficiency of whose fire was amply compensated by their superiority in the *mêlée*.

' Montecuculi, at the battle of St. Gothard, placed platoons of thirty musketeers upon the wings of his squadrons, and profited by this disposition. The great object was to maintain, by means of platoons or divisions, an uninterrupted fire against the Janissaries, who boldly advanced from all quarters in close masses, and attempted to break open the chevaux-de-frise with hatchets. Prince Louis of Baden, under whom the great Eugene was formed, conceived the idea (considered brilliant at that time) of selecting from his battalions, riflemen, whose business it was to amuse the enemy until the moment of attack. In the order of battle of the army, the two lines were generally closed upon the flanks by other troops in column, which presented the form of an oblong square. The generals recommended that this order should never be broken, not even for the purpose of pursuing the enemy, after having repelled his charge; for the Turks were cunning enough to make several false attacks, and to place considerable corps of reserve, one behind the other, which, suddenly

checking the imprudent pursuit of the Christians, might drive them back, and penetrate into the openings of their lines.

During the period of their fame and prosperity, the Turks were almost invariably the assailants, and derived from this constant aggression, all the advantages which are the usual results of a vigorous *offensive*. At that time, too, the Cossacks and other active irregulars were on their side; and it was owing to this, more than to any other circumstance, that the Russian army under Peter the Great, was hemmed in on the Pruth, and compelled to negotiate for its escape.

The subsequent war, from 1736 to 1739, in which Field Marshal Münnich bore a distinguished part, brought these light troops completely under the banners of Russia, and thus added to the preponderance which she had already gained over the Turks in point of tactics and discipline. Nor did the Cossacks lose by the change, they having imbibed as much as was really useful to them, without losing any thing of their peculiar character. The Spahis are not at all to be compared with them in the look-out, in cunningness, or in patience; and although the proud Turkish horse looks like a Bucephalus, by the side of their modest hacks, yet, notwithstanding this disadvantage, they know how to avoid, with great dexterity, the impetuosity of his attack. The talent which the Cossacks possess for exploring a country, and for finding their way everywhere, is more useful to the Russian army in a war in Turkey, than in any other. In waste and deserted countries, the Cossacks, forming scouring parties in advance, supply, in a great measure, with their natural penetration, the defect which still exists in regard to correct maps of this part of the world. No movement of the enemy can be concealed from them; no scout can escape them; and every thing which the country, forming the seat of war, yields in the way of provision, they collect for the subsistence of the army.

* * * * *

But it is more especially the improvement that has taken place in the tactics of the Russians, which must now render them more formidable to the Turks. It was they who first changed the order of battle (already alluded to) of the Christian armies, consisting of one single large square, into a more suitable one of several smaller squares. . . . At the battle of the Kugul, in 1769 . . . the Russians had five squares, one of which was placed exactly upon the prolongation of the enemy's camp, with a considerable battery, which produced so terrible an effect, that the Turks fled from their entrenchments. In the mean time, 1500 Janissaries attacked another square of twelve battalions, and had succeeded in routing one of its sides, when the necessary support arrived. Field Marshal Romanzow, the hero of this war, saw the evil of this disposition, and reduced the squares into smaller ones of from four to six (generally weak) battalions, which were supported, according to circumstances, by still smaller ones, even to the ordinary square of a battalion. At the affair of Shumla, on the 30th of August, 1774, he advanced at once from his

camp, in similar squares, and marched a distance of two leagues in this order. When the Turks came forward to meet them, the squares, which had hitherto followed one another in column, formed into line. Five battalions of grenadiers, and two of light infantry, were distributed upon the wings, and formed so many separate small squares. The attack was made, in this order, upon the enemy, and he was driven back to his celebrated entrenched camp.' pp. 21—24.

The sum of all this seems to be, that, in contest with the Turks, their loose array and desultory charge are to be met by a dense formation and the sweep of artillery; while the disciplined light troops of the European armies are at hand, to take advantage of the moment when, scattered by a firm resistance, and disheartened by murderous and irretrievable defeat, the Osmanlis are flying *à la debandade*, and without a rallying point. Inadequate as were the Janissaries to the contest with compact bodies of infantry, we suspect that the newly-formed corps, which have been trained on the principles of scientific discipline, will be found far less effective. Although, strictly speaking, a considerable portion of the Turkish armies consists of Europeans, they are, in all their modes and movements, Asiatic; and it is to be apprehended, that the conflict between their original and their superinduced habits, will not contribute to give efficiency to either. A system that, while it preserved the primary and essential character of their warfare, should give to it more of precision and combination, would, we are inclined to think, be better suited to the actual condition of the Turk, than the attempt to place him at once on a level with our own thoroughly trained battalions. To re-establish, as far as possible, the Janissaries of Amurath, with their fierce, dense, and unswerving charge,—to revive the spirit and dexterity of the ancient Spahi—this would seem to be the true policy of the Grand Signor; and it is to be suspected that, by aiming at something beyond his attainment, he is sacrificing means that would render him truly formidable, and give him some hope of controlling the casualties of war, and of directing to effective exertion the energies of his people. The Turks are admirable swordsmen.

'The superiority of the Turks in the use of the sabre, is founded partly on the quality of the weapon itself, and partly on their what may be termed *national* dexterity in handling it. The Turkish sabre, which is wrought out of fine iron-wire, in the hand of one of our powerful labourers, would perhaps break to pieces like glass at the first blow. The Turk, on the contrary, who gives rather a *cut* than a blow, makes it penetrate through helmet, cuirass, &c. and separates in a moment the head or the limbs from the body. Hence we seldom hear of *slight* wounds in an action of cavalry with Turks. It is a well known fact in the Russian army, that a colonel, who was in front of

his regiment, seeing the Spahis make an unexpected attack upon him, drew his sabre, and was going to command his men to do the same, when, at the first word *draw*, his head was severed from his body. The highly tempered Turkish sabres will fetch a price of from ten to a hundred ducats, even when they are not of fine metal. But, as Scanderbeg said, such a sabre only produces its effect when in the hand of him who knows how to use it. It is related that, at the storming of Ismael, a brave foreigner who served as a volunteer in the Russian army, and who was most actively engaged in the *mêlée*, broke in pieces several Turkish sabres, and constantly armed himself with a fresh one taken from the Turks who were slain. The substance from which these valuable sabres are wrought, is called *Taban*, and they are proved to be genuine, when they admit of being written upon with a ducat or any other piece of fine gold.' pp. 36, 37, note.

To troops unaccustomed to the Turkish mode of fighting, there are some awkward peculiarities about it. The mutilating system, the abstraction of heads, ears, noses, from the bodies, not only of the dead, but somewhat frequently of the wounded, carries with it an appalling air: nor is a novice in these matters, likely to be reassured by the consolatory suggestions of the Prince de Ligne,—‘that cutting off the head does no harm to the dead, that it is often an act of mercy to the wounded, and that it is always very useful to the coward, since it places him in the necessity of defending himself!’

We are not now called upon to investigate the causes of the decline of the Turkish monarchy. As in all such cases, they have been many and complicated. The indolent and unmilitary character of the sultans; the uncertainty of the imperial tenure; the indiscipline of the janissaries; and the improvement of military science among the powers of Christendom; have all contributed to the actual degradation of Turkey. But the most fatal blow that has been struck at the ascendancy of the crescent, was the battle of Zenta, fought by the celebrated Eugene of Savoy, in opposition to the orders which prescribed defensive measures and movements in preference to battles. In that signal discomfiture, the Grand Vizir and a great number of bashaws fell, while the presence of the Sultan himself added to the disgrace. Since that disastrous day, the efforts of the Porte to redeem the fortunes of Islam have been languid and without success.

We have already adverted to the principal difficulties that are interposed between the Russian armies and Constantinople, and we shall but slightly recur to them here. The direct road to the capital, and the usual track of invasion, lies through the gorges of the Balkan in its most difficult part, and is strongly defended by the intrenchments of Shumla, before which the Russian armies have repeatedly failed. It is, however, pro-

posed by Baron Valentini, that a different road should be followed, and two lines of advance are pointed out; one by Tirnova, and another by Nissa, Sophia, and Adrianople. He further suggests, that a considerable portion of Asia Minor should be occupied, and the Turks driven back on their ancient territory. All this is, of course, beyond our range.

On the whole this is an interesting essay, and contains much information in a small compass. A neat map of the seat of war, and a plan of the lines of Shumla, are prefixed.

Art. VII. *Narrative of a Journey from Constantinople to England.*
By The Rev. R. Walsh, LL.D. M.R.I.A. Sm. 8vo. pp. 416.
Maps and Plates. Price 12s. London, 1828.

THIS unpretending and delightful narrative will be found to comprise more distinct and extensive information with regard to the countries which have again become the seat of war, than can be extracted from many a quarto tome dignified with the name of travels. The Author went to Constantinople in the suite of His Excellency Lord Strangford, as British chaplain, and with no designs upon the public in the form of a book. During a residence there of several years, he corresponded, of course, with different friends in this country, who preserved his letters; and on his return, they were collected and sent to him for publication.

'The want of some memoranda left behind me at Constantinople,' says Dr. Walsh, 'and other causes not necessary to mention, have hitherto prevented me from complying with their wishes; but in the mean time, I have been requested to print the communications contained in the present volume, on the presumption that it might, just now, convey some local information likely to interest the public. In complying with the wishes of my friends, I have consulted their judgement rather than my own. With the exception of a very few particulars, I give the journey exactly as it was written,—a familiar communication to a friend, never intended for the public, and which I am conscious can have no claims on its attention, beyond the interest which present circumstances may give it.'

Had Dr. Walsh been initiated into the mysteries of book-making, he might easily have made up, from such materials, a more bulky and showy volume. His narrative is actually given without notes, without any learned citations or lengthy extracts; it is simply a narrative of a journey, familiar, rapid, and lively as that of some of our older travellers; and his plates are something like the drawings which one would scratch at the head of a letter,—almost as indifferent as those in Dr. Macmichael's

quarto; but these lithographs are in character with the epistolary style of the narrative. In short, the Author, being a man of apparently the best temper possible himself, succeeds in putting his readers into temper with every thing in his book, plates and all,—except the Turks.

It might have been anticipated that, having gone to Constantinople in the suite of Lord Strangford, Dr. Walsh would have imbibed some portion of that tender regard and reverence for 'our ancient ally', the Sublime Porte, by which His Excellency is known to be animated; and that, like Sir William Gell and other *mis-hellenes*, he would have been lavish of his praises upon the superior virtues of the Mussulmans. Instead of this, he appears to think as a Christian, and to feel as an Englishman; and we receive his statements and opinions with the greater confidence, as they seem in no respect tainted with political bias. Before, however, we speak of the Turks, we must transcribe an interesting account of the Byzantine Jews, who have distinguished themselves so notoriously by their inveterate hostility to their rivals the Greeks.

'You would naturally suppose, as I did, that these people came to Constantinople from some part of the East, and brought with them their Oriental language; but this is not the case. After the extinction of the Waldenses in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the rage of the Inquisition was turned against the Jews of Spain; and having inflicted on them various persecutions and sufferings, an edict was at length issued for expelling them altogether from that country. They set out, to the amount of 800,000 persons, from this land of Egypt, not spoiling their enemies, but spoiled of all they possessed themselves. As the same prejudices existed against them in every Christian country at the time, they could find no asylum in the West; so they set their faces to the East, and returned to the place from whence they originally came. They were kindly received in different parts of the Ottoman empire; and the Turks afforded them that protection which Christians had denied them. They settled at Salonichi, Smyrna, Rodosto, and other large towns, where they, at this day, form an important part of the population. At Salonichi, they have no fewer than thirty synagogues. But the principal division of them came to Constantinople, and were assigned a large district called *Hassa Küi*, where they form a community of 50,000 persons*. The Turks call the different people who reside under them, by names indicative of the estimation in

* When Benjamin of Tudela travelled, he found only a thousand of his countrymen at Constantinople. In the middle of the seventeenth century, 'a traveller was persuaded that there were between 20 and 30,000 of that accursed people in the city; and the smallest computation', adds Mr. Hobhouse in 1812, 'would rate them now at 15,000.'

which they hold them;—the Greeks, *yeshir*, or slaves, as they were considered to have forfeited their life at the taking of Constantinople, and hold it ever since on sufferance; the Armenians, *rayas*, or subjects, as they were never a conquered people, but merged insensibly into the population of the empire; but the Jews, they call *mousaphir* or visiters, because they sought an asylum among them. They treat them therefore, as visiters, with kindness and hospitality. I give you this as the original and accurate distinction, though all the subjects of Turkey, who are not Turks, are loosely called *Rayas*.

‘As a further motive for good-will, they mutually approach to an assimilation, much more nearly than the rest, in their religious opinions and observances. Their strict theism, their practice of circumcision, their abhorrence of swine’s flesh, their language, read from right to left,—are all coincidences which to a certain degree give them an identity of feeling which does not take place with the others. The Jews, therefore, are a favoured people, and are held by the Turks in a degree of consideration which is very different from that which they receive in any Christian country at the present day.

‘In many towns of Germany which I have visited, they are prohibited by law from passing a night within the walls; and the law is strictly enforced, unless evaded by the payment of an exorbitant tax. In others, they are obliged to submit to degrading conditions and suspicious precautions, which are as frivolous as they are humiliating. They cannot travel from town to town, or exercise particular trades, without paying an extraordinary toll or tax, which is not exacted from other people. Even in England, there is a strong line of demarcation still drawn.....In Turkey, the Jews freely exercise the most lucrative callings.

‘On a hill behind the quarter of *Hassa Kuī*, they have a large cemetery ornamented with marble tombs, some of them exceedingly well sculptured in high relief; and the houses of the opulent are furnished and fitted up in a style of oriental magnificence. The lower orders, however, are marked by that peculiarity which distinguishes them in every country; squalor and raggedness in their persons, filth and nastiness in their houses, their morals very lax, and they are ready to engage in any base business which the less vile would have a repugnance to.....They are inflexibly attached to their own religion, though many of them have apparently conformed to Mahomedanism: such as have done so, still practise, in their own way, the rites common to both people.

‘Should a Jew be made a convert to Christianity, he becomes the immediate object of the most relentless persecution to his own people, so that his life is not safe. A very respectable man of that persuasion applied to me to be received into Christian communion, and in due time I baptised him in the chapel of the British embassy; but he earnestly requested that I should keep it a profound secret; and the day after the ceremony, he left Constantinople for Poland. Indeed, their repugnance to Christians, particularly to Greeks, displays itself on all occasions. When the venerable patriarch was hanged by the Turks, the Jews volunteered their services to cast his

body into the sea. Some fellows of the lowest description were brought from *Hassa Kuî* for the purpose; and they dragged his corpse, by the cord by which he was hanged, through the streets with gratuitous insult. This circumstance, with others of a similar nature, so increased the former antipathy of the Greeks, that they revenged themselves on every Jew that fell in their way, at the commencement of the insurrection, with the most dreadful retaliation.' pp. 7—12.

It is thus that, for eighteen centuries, a blind and furious warfare has been going on between the lost outcasts of Israel and the professed disciples of the Son of David. It is hard to say, on which side the cruelty, bigotry, and ignorance have preponderated; but, from the very nature of his profession and his obligations, the Christian has the greater sin. One cannot wonder that the descendants of those Jews who were chased from Spain in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, should imbibe, with their mother's milk, an hereditary and traditional hatred of that sanguinary and idolatrous religion, the ministers of which were not those of the New Testament, but of the Holy Office. The cruelties practised upon the Jews by the Crusaders, make one blush for our common nature. Everywhere, the treatment they have received from Christians, has tended to fix and deepen their malignant prejudice; and the 'Woman-god' of the Greeks and Latins has excited, and almost justified, their theological hatred of what they could not but view as idolatry. At Constantinople, where Greeks and Jews alike bow beneath the yoke of the successor of Mohammed, their mutual prejudice, when it can put on no other form, vents itself in reciprocal accusations of the most atrocious practices.

'The Jews, you will recollect,' continues Dr. Walsh, 'in the early ages of Christianity, denounced the Christians as eaters of their own children; an accusation sanctioned by the impure and secret practices of some of the Gnostic sects. The Christians of Constantinople charge the Jews with purloining their children, and sacrificing them as paschal lambs, at their passover. I was one day at Galata, a suburb of Pera, where a great commotion was just excited. The child of a Greek merchant had disappeared, and no one could give any account of it. It was a beautiful boy, and it was imagined it had been taken by a Turk for a slave. After some time, however, the body was found in the Bosphorus; its legs and arms were bound, and certain wounds on its side, indicated that it had been put to death in some extraordinary manner, and for some extraordinary purpose. Suspicion immediately fell upon the Jews; and as it was just after their paschal feast, suspicion, people said, was confirmed to a certainty. Nothing could be discovered to give a clew to the perpetrators; but the story was universally talked of, and generally believed, all over Pera.

'The prejudice has also been greatly increased by a book written

by a Jewish rabbi converted to Christianity, which is a great curiosity. It is entitled, "A Confutation of the Religion of the Jews, by Neophytus, a Greek monk, formerly a Jewish rabbi." The original work was in the Moldavian language, and was printed in the year 1803; but it is said, that the Jews, at that time, gave a large sum of money to the Hospodar, and the book was suppressed and destroyed. A copy, however, escaped, which was translated into Modern Greek, and printed at Yassi in 1818, of which I had a copy at Constantinople. The first chapter is entitled: "The Concealed Mysteries now made Public." The subject is, "the blood which the Jews take from Christians, and the purposes to which they apply it." After detailing a number of the most extraordinary particulars, he concludes in the following words:—

"When I was thirteen years old, my father revealed to me the mystery of the blood, and cursed me by all the elements of heaven and earth, if ever I should divulge the secret, even to my brethren; and when I was married, and should even have ten sons, I should not discover it to all, but only to one, who should be the most prudent and learned, and at the same time firm and unmoved in the faith; but to a female I should never disclose it on any account. May the earth, he said, never receive thee, if thou revealest these secrets. So said my father; but I, since I have taken as my father the Lord Jesus Christ, will proclaim the truth in every place, and, as the wise Sirac says, even unto death strive for the truth." pp. 13—15.

'Much of these and similar representations,' adds Dr. Walsh, 'are to be attributed to prejudice, and great deductions are to be made from them.' We wish, however, that he had told us a little more respecting this book, which, if not a mere forgery of the Greeks, would seem to be an important document. 'Certainly,' he says, 'the Jews of Constantinople are a fierce and fanatic race. Persecution and suffering have not taught them moderation, and they pursue even to death any apostate from their own doctrines.' Their fathers were the murderers of the prophets, and the deeds of their fathers they still do. When will a new spirit enter into them?

Constantinople has been so minutely described by Tournefort, and more recently by Dallaway and Hobhouse, that Dr. Walsh has judiciously abstained from going much into detail, in his description of the capital. He has added, however, in some material respects, to our topographical information. The bold and remarkable manœuvre of dragging the Turkish ships overland from the Bosphorus into the harbour, which decided the fate of Constantinople, although a fact so well attested, has hitherto seemed to exceed credibility; and the site of this transaction has been a subject of much local discussion.

'The point assigned for it is now called *Balta Limen*, about half way up the Bosphorus, towards the Black Sea. *Balta* was the name

of the Turkish admiral who commanded on the occasion, and this little port retaining his name, is considered as decided proof of the fact. From hence to the harbour, the distance is ten or eleven miles; which induced Gibbon to say, that, for the sake of probability, he wished he could "contract the distance of ten miles, and prolong the term of one night." Now, had Gibbon visited the spot, he might have spared his wish, and established the probability. The place where the ships were drawn over was not at Balta Limen, but at Dolma Bactche, where a deep valley runs up from the Bosphorus to join that of the harbour; and they were only separated by a ridge of a few hundred yards in breadth. This valley is in the immediate vicinity of Galata; and the Genoese sailors of that town are known to have materially assisted the Turks in this transportation; the whole distance of which was not more than two miles, and might easily be performed within the time stated by the historians. I might further add, that Balta Limen, the supposed place, was not so called from a Turkish admiral, but from the Turkish word *balta*, an axe; as the valley was formerly filled with wood, which the *Baltajees* (or woodmen) cut down for fuel.' pp. 31, 2.

Among the few remaining antiquities of Constantinople, none are more remarkable than the magnificent subterranean reservoirs formed by the Greek emperors for the purpose of securing a supply of water to the capital. The most striking object in the city is the aqueduct of the Emperor Valens, stretching from hill to hill, by which these cisterns were supplied. The *Bin-bir-derek*, or Thousand and One Columns, now converted into a silk manufactory, has been often described. But there is another, which Dr. E. D. Clarke searched for in vain; and he supposed that Gillius, who describes it, must have confounded it with the one above-mentioned. Dr. Walsh, however, discovered it by accident, after a long search, and found it to answer exactly to the description given by that accurate topographer.

'We entered a private house, descended a deep flight of steps, and found ourselves on the border of a subterranean lake extending under several streets. The roof was arched and supported by 336 magnificent marble pillars. A number of tubes descended into the water, and supplied the streets above; the inhabitants of which, as Gillius justly observes, did not know whence the water came—"Incolas ignorare cisternam infra aedes suas positam." Of all the reservoirs which the prudent precautions of the Greek Emperors established, this is the only one which now exists as a cistern; and such are the apathy and ignorance of the Turks, that they themselves did not, it appears, in the time of Gillius, three hundred years ago, and do not at present, generally know of its existence. The Turk through whose house we had access to it, called it *Yere-batan Sarai*, the Subterranean Palace; and said, that his neighbours, whose houses were also over it, did not know any thing about it. Indeed, from the state of neglect in which the walls and every thing about it appeared, it

seemed probable that it had not been visited or repaired since the Turks entered Constantinople. Should the Russians ever approach and lay siege to the city, a supply of water will be its first object. In its present state, if the besiegers cut off the communication with the *bendts* (tanks), which it is to be presumed they would do in the first instance, the city could not hold out a week. It appears that the Sultan has prudently supplied it with corn; it is probable that he will clear out the cisterns, and supply it with water also.' pp. 25, 6.

Dr. Walsh bears testimony to the strong and superstitious anticipation generally entertained by the Ottomans, that they will eventually be driven back into Asia. This impression is confirmed by ancient oracular predictions which are current among them; in particular, by the enigmatical inscription said to have been found upon the tomb of Constantine the Great, which, as expounded by Gennadius, concludes with the following mysterious announcement.

'His (Mahomet's) descendants shall reign with less, little, very little (power). But the yellow-haired race, together with all their coadjutors, shall overthrow Ismael, and shall take the seven-hilled (city) with its (imperial) privileges. Then shall they kindle a fierce intestine war until the fifth hour, and thrice shall a voice shout, Stand, stand! and fear (to proceed) make anxious haste; and on your right hand you will find a man noble, admirable, and courageous: him ye shall have for your Lord, for he is my friend, and, in accepting him, my will is fulfilled.' p. 400.

As this prophecy is not less intelligible and authentic than those of the *pseudo* Esdras, we recommend the exposition thereof to Mr. Irving as the subject of his next prophetic course.—Among other ominous circumstances, there is a coincidence of names, which is rather curious.

'The Latins, under a Baldwin, obtained possession of the city; and under a Baldwin, they were again driven out of it. The city was rebuilt and made the seat of the Greek empire, by a Constantine, the son of Helena, and in the patriarchate of Gregory: it was taken, and the empire of the Greeks destroyed, under a Constantine, the son of Helena, and in the patriarchate of a Gregory. The Turks obtained possession of it under a Mahomet; and they are firmly persuaded, they will lose it under a Mahomet—and that Mahomet the present Sultan. To complete this chain of names, at the time the Greek insurrection broke out, a Constantine was the heir apparent to the Russian throne, and a Gregory was the patriarch of Constantinople. They hanged at the time one of these ominous persons, and the other has since abdicated the crown. Still they are persuaded, that events will happen as they are decreed; and the fatal combination of Mahomet, Gregory, and Constantine, will yet destroy their power in Europe.' p. 37.

Dr. Walsh describes the character of the reigning Sultan as

resembling, in many points, that of Peter the Great. He has exhibited the same determination in undertaking, the same energy in pursuing, and the same relentless rigour in executing his purpose. An interesting account is given of the destruction of the Janissaries, in accomplishing which, the Sultan displayed a courage and firmness worthy of his great predecessor and namesake. Since then, a death-like tranquillity has reigned at Constantinople, which no cause of excitement can disturb. Had the public mind been in that sensitive state, when the first news of the battle of Navarino arrived, which displayed itself at the breaking out of the Greek insurrection, Dr. Walsh thinks it highly probable that the whole of the Frank population would have fallen victims to a popular frenzy. But their spirits are now subdued, and their courage broken down. 'Whether the discipline of the new corps can supply the want of this undisciplined energy in future encounters, remains to be tried.' On this point, the Author's anticipations seem in accordance with the view taken in the preceding article. The old military are destroyed; the new are unorganized. And at this critical moment, the empire is threatened with a combination of force such as the Turks in their highest state of power, never had to encounter. As another proof of the fearless and energetic character of the Sultan, it is mentioned, that he is the first who has ventured so far to oppose the ancient prejudices of the nation, as to establish a seminary for the instruction of a few young Turks in different Frank languages, to qualify them to discharge the important and confidential function of dragoman to the Porte, hitherto, of necessity confided to *rayas*.

Before we leave Constantinople, we must advert to a remarkable phenomenon mentioned by our Author, of which we do not recollect to have seen a notice in the pages of any preceding traveller. After describing the mysterious migration of the quails, who annually touch on the promontory of San Stefano, in their way to the south, Dr. Walsh proceeds:

'There is another bird in this country, which has often excited my surprise and curiosity, and which, I believe, is peculiar to this place. Every day are to be seen numerous flocks of birds, not quite so large as pigeons, with dark backs and white bellies, passing up and down the Bosphorus with great rapidity. When they arrive either at the Black Sea or the Sea of Marmora, they again wheel about, and return up the channel; and this course they continue, without a moment's intermission, the whole of the day. They are never seen to alight either on land or water; they never, for a moment, deviate from their course, or slack their speed; they are never known to search for or take any food; and no visible cause can be

assigned for the extraordinary and restless instinct by which they are haunted. The French call them *les ames damnées*; and certainly, if being allowed no cessation or repose be included in the idea, it is not misapplied. They fly very near the surface of the water; and if a boat meet a flock of them transversely, they rise a few feet over it: if directly, it divides them like a wedge. Their flight is remarkably silent; and though so numerous and so close, the whirr of their wings is scarcely ever heard. They are so abundant in this particular spot, that I have reckoned fifteen large flocks in my passage from Pera to Therapia. I have often wished to shoot one, to examine it; but the Turks have such a tender and conscientious regard for the life of every animal *but man*, that no person is permitted to kill any bird upon the Bosphorus without incurring their displeasure. The only work in which I have seen it mentioned, is Andreossi's "*Sur le Bosphore*." He calls it *Alcyon Voyageur*, to distinguish it from the Halcyon of the ancients, which was supposed to build its nest on the waters. It is a species of *Alcedo*; but which of the forty-one, I have not been able to determine." pp. 86—8.

The Author gives a somewhat fearful account of the passage of the Balkan. Those who wish to avoid its difficulties, hire a vessel at Constantinople, and proceed to Varna on the Black Sea; whence the distance to Shumla is only eighteen hours or 54 miles. At Shumla, all the roads leading from the fortresses on the Danube concentrate. 'Its fortifications would be weak and contemptible,' Dr. Walsh says, 'in the hands of European troops, but are a very efficient defence when manned by Turks.' They consist of earthen ramparts and brick walls, in some places flanked by strong-built watch-towers, each capable of holding eight or ten musketeers. They stretch for three miles in length, and one in breadth, over a ground intersected with valleys; and the extent and irregularity of the surface prevent the possibility of their being completely invested. The Turks, Dr. Walsh says, seem to have no apprehension of an approach to their capital by way of the Balkan.

'Relying on the natural strength of this chain of mountains, they have not fortified any of the passes *; nor do I recollect a single fortress from Shumla to Constantinople. Their great apprehension is, that the invasion will be made by sea; and in this persuasion, not only the Dardanelles, but the Bosphorus resembles one continued fortress, from the Sea of Marmora to the Black Sea. In the year 1821, when a rupture was apprehended with Russia, all the castles were completely repaired, and additional batteries were erected on every point

* Over this great natural rampart, there are *five* practicable passes; two from Shumla, by Carnabat and Haidhos, leading direct to Constantinople; two from Ternova by Keisanlik and Sclymnia; and one from Sophia to Tatar Bazargic: these latter three lead to Adrianople. The Ternova roads, Dr. Walsh says, are the most difficult, as they pass over the highest and most inaccessible parts of the chain.

of land which bore advantageously on the channel, so as to present a most formidable obstruction to any approach by water. These batteries, however, were altogether untenable, if attacked on the land side; the high ground above the shores of the Bosphorus everywhere commanding them; and if a landing were effected anywhere in the rear, which, it was at that time said, was the plan of the Russians, they must be immediately abandoned.' pp. 189, 90.

Whatever may be the issue of the impending contest, the few convulsive efforts which the Turkish power may be able yet to make, cannot long avert its destruction. The frightful extent to which depopulation has long been taking place throughout Turkey, renders this consummation as certain as it is desirable for the interests of humanity. The whole country has been constantly drained of its population, to supply the hideous waste of life that has been going forward in the metropolis. Within the last twenty years, it is supposed that Constantinople has, by conflagration, pestilence, and civil commotion, lost nearly half the number of its population.

'The Turks, though naturally of a robust and vigorous constitution, addict themselves to such habits as are very unfavourable to population. Their sedentary life, polygamy, immoderate use of opium, coffee, and tobacco, and other indulgences still more hostile to the extension of the species, so impede the increase of families, that the births do little more than compensate the ordinary deaths, and cannot supply the waste of casualties. The surrounding country is therefore constantly drained to supply this waste in the capital, which nevertheless exhibits districts nearly depopulated. If we suppose that these causes operate more or less in every part of the Turkish empire, it will not be too much to say, that there is more of human life wasted, and less supplied, than in any other country. We see, every day, life going out in the fairest portion of Europe; and the human race threatened with extinction, in a soil and climate capable of supporting the most abundant population.' pp. 193, 4.

Dr. Walsh gives a very pleasing account of the Slavonian tribes who seem destined eventually to replace the 'rude and brutal Turks.' 'Of all the peasantry I ever met with,' he says, 'the Bulgarians seem the most simple, kind, and affectionate.' Their frank and obliging manners formed a striking contrast to that of the Turks who are mixed among them. But the most interesting people whom the Author met with in his journey, are the Saxon refugees of the Transylvanian heptarchy, of whose history and manners he gives us an amusing account. We have left ourselves, however, no room for any further citations, and must take leave of our accomplished Traveller, tendering him our sincere thanks for the information and entertainment supplied by his agreeable narrative.

Art. VIII. *Oriental Fragments.* By Maria Hack. 12mo. pp. 140. Price 3s. 6d. London. 1828.

THIS selection from the vast stores of Biblical illustration furnished by the accounts given by modern travellers of the natural history, customs, and manners of the East,—is designed to render the study of the Scriptures more interesting to young persons, by ‘opening a connexion between it and other ‘branches of knowledge.’ Mrs. Hack, whose name is well known to our readers as the author of the *Stories from the History of England*, has attempted to select a few specimens of the most interesting character,—‘not only as confirming the ‘accuracy of the sacred historians, or placing certain passages ‘in a clearer light, but as susceptible of ‘important practical application.’ The design of the volume cannot but ensure our warmest approbation; and as containing a variety of interesting information conveyed in a pleasing style, it cannot fail to answer the Writer’s purpose. At the same time, we think that, with a little more pains and a somewhat more judicious selection of authorities, Mrs. Hack might have produced a volume of far higher interest. She appears to have looked but little into the works of our best oriental travellers, but refers chiefly to Dr. Clarke, whose account of Palestine is the least accurate and satisfactory portion of his *Travels*. We shall make room for a short specimen. It is an illustration of Mark ix. 41.

‘Furnishing travellers with water, is there regarded as a meritorious instance of liberality, and much expense is incurred in order to supply travellers with that necessary refreshment. Hence, in the accounts of those countries, frequent mention is made of fountains and reservoirs of water; not only in the immediate vicinity of towns, but in the fields and gardens, by the side of public roads, and of the beaten tracks among the mountains. Many of these are constructed by order of humane persons, while they are living: the expense of forming others has been defrayed by legacies bequeathed for that purpose. The Turks regard such works with high approbation, and seldom leave the place where they have enjoyed this refreshment, without gratefully blessing the memory of the founder. On this account, Jacob seems to have been regarded as a public benefactor, by the people of Sychar. *Art thou greater than our father Jacob, which gave us the well?* Forbes relates some interesting facts respecting the present customs of Gujerat, which bear a strong resemblance to those of patriarchal times. The villagers seldom visit cities, and are distinguished by an innocent simplicity of manners. The women are modest and delicate: their garments, however coarse the material, are rendered becoming by an elegant carelessness of the folds; and their attitudes are peculiarly graceful. Agreeably to the practice of ancient days, the young women daily draw water from the public wells; and sometimes carry two or three earthen jars, placed over each other, upon the head, which requiring perfect steadiness, gives them an erect and stately air.’ pp. 77, 8.

ART. IX. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

We willingly comply with the request of Mr. Bowring, to assist in giving publicity to the following statement. Our language is much studied by the literary men of Finland.

"The dreadful conflagration by which the town of Abo was lately totally destroyed, and its inhabitants reduced to inconceivable distress, has been already made known to the British public, who, with their wonted benevolence, have subscribed between 800*l.* and 900*l.* for the relief of these distant and destitute sufferers. This amount has been judiciously distributed, and most thankfully received.

"When I visited Finland a few years ago, (says Mr. Bowring) the University of Abo was in a most prosperous and improving condition. It had many distinguished professors, and was the seat and the source of the civilization of the whole country. A literary journal was established there, and almost all the works published in Finland issued from the press of Abo. Attached to the University were a valuable Museum of natural history, extensive philosophical apparatus, and a library consisting of more than thirty thousand volumes, rich in records and unpublished manuscripts relating to the history of Finland and Sweden. With the exception of about eight hundred volumes, of which not more than two hundred form perfect works, the whole of this interesting collection perished in the flames; and the circumstances were so much the more distressing, as the library funds had been wholly exhausted, and even anticipated for years in order to gain possession of works which were then obtainable, and which were deemed of great importance to the establishment. In a country like Finland, so little visited, so far removed from the attention and sympathy of the civilized world, the destruction of the only large public library is a calamity, the greatness and extent of which can hardly be estimated here.

"I have been addressed by some valuable Finnish friends on the subject, and have been requested to ascertain whether many of the literary and scientific individuals of our country would not probably contribute their own writings or those of others, to repair the dreadful loss with which Finland has been visited. And I have ventured to say, that I feel persuaded numbers would be

found cheerfully to assist in the re-formation of their library. The inhabitants of Finland are almost universally poor, but as universally desirous of instruction; and of late many men have appeared among them, who have done no inconsiderable services to science, philosophy, and the belles lettres. So much have even the Finnish peasants been touched by the destruction of the Abo library, that, in some places where money is little known, they have subscribed the produce of their farms towards its restoration. The University of Dorpat has contributed 394 scientific works, besides many philosophical instruments and collections in natural history. One liberal Russian bookseller (Mr. Hartmann of Riga) has presented books to the value of 5357 silver rubles, or nearly 800*l.* sterling. Many other useful and generous donations have been received. Messrs. George Cowie and Co. of No. 31, Poultry, have kindly undertaken to receive and forward any works, instruments, &c. which may be liberally given to the Abo University Library."

Preparing for the press, in two volumes, 8vo, *Roman Catholicism Displayed, in its Doctrines, Spirit, Ceremonies, and Polity*; to which is prefixed, an *Historical View of the Rise, Establishment, and Decline of the Papal Supremacy*. By the Rev. H. C. O'Donnoghue, A.M. of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Speedily will be published, *Letters on the Effects of a Sulphurous Spring in the neighbourhood of Donegal, in the cure of Bilious, Nervous, Gouty, Rheumatic, Cutaneous, and other diseases.*

The *Evangelical Spectator*, a series of weekly papers, by the Author of the *Evangelical Rambler*, will be commenced in August.

Preparing for the press, *The Abomination of Desolation*; or, proofs that the destruction of Jerusalem was not foretold in the xxivth chap. of Matthew, &c. By T. Parkin.

Mr. Britton's *History and Illustrations of Peterborough Cathedral*, containing accounts of this very fine edifice, and of its bishops and deans, with 16 engravings, is published; also, the first and second numbers of his *Illustrations of Gloucester Cathedral*. The whole of the letter-press by the same author, to accompany the *Architectural An-*

tiquities of Normandy, is likewise announced to be given away to the Subscribers to the engravings of that work. The reasons for this unusual circumstance are detailed in the preface, which contains an address to the Legislature, urging the repeal of that odious tax of presenting eleven copies to private corporate bodies of all published books, however expensive in the getting up, and however limited the sale of such books. "We cannot sufficiently commend this Author for his perseverance in reprobating this grievous and oppressive legislative enactment."

On the first of July will appear, the first Number of a new topographical work, entitled, "Picturesque Antiquities of the English Cities," containing 12 engravings by

and under the direction of M. Le Keux, illustrative of the Architectural Antiquities of York, Gloster, and Lincoln. This publication is to be comprised in six Numbers.

We are informed that the Proprietors of "The Juvenile Forget Me Not," and of "The Evergreen," two newly announced Annuals for Young Persons, have united their interests in the production of one very superior Publication, which will be entitled, *The Juvenile Forget Me Not*; a Christmas and New Year's Gift, or Birth-day Present for 1829. The work will be beautifully illustrated, and will contain contributions from many distinguished Authors, particularly those who have written most successfully for the Young.

ART. X. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of Robert Leighton, D.D. Archbishop of Glasgow. By Thomas Murray, F.A.S. Scot. 18mo. 3s.

HISTORY.

History of the Inquisition, from its Establishment to the present Time. 18mo. 3s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Letters to the Young. By Maria Jane Jewsbury. Foolscap. 6s.

POETRY.

Sacred Gems. A Selection of Poetry on Religious Subjects. 18mo. 2s.

THEOLOGY.

An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. By Thomas Hartwell Horne, M.A. Sixth Edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged. Illustrated with numerous Maps and Facsimiles of Biblical Manuscripts. 4 large vols. 8vo. 3l. 3s.

Daily Helps to Devotion, for Christians in Retirement. Being a Selection of Topics for Prayer, Intercession, and Thanksgiving, for every Day in the Week; accompanied by suitable Texts from the Holy Scriptures. By A. Westaby, M.A. Curate of Stagen, Bedfordshire, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Glasgow. 12mo. 3s.

Annotations on the Apocalypse; intended as a Sequel to those of Mr. Elsiey on the Gospels, and of Mr. Prebendary Slade on the Epistles; and thus to complete a Series of Comments on the whole of the New Testament, for the Use of Students

in Prophetical Scripture. By John Chapel Woodhouse, D.D. Dean of Lichfield. 8vo. 12s.

Carpenter's Popular Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures. With Maps and Plates. Part I. 1s. To be continued monthly.

Scripture Illustrations. Series the First. Scripture Difficulties examined, with a View to their Solution. (Published for the Catholic Mission.) No. 1. 1d. to be continued weekly, or in monthly Parts, 6d.

An Exposure of Civil and Religious Despotism, in explaining parts of the Prophecies of Daniel, Paul, and John: with an Answer to Mr. Irving's Letter to the King. By T. Parkin. 5s.

The Works of the English and Scottish Reformers. Edited by Thomas Russell, A.M. Vol. II. (First published.) 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Lectures to Young Persons on the Intellectual and Moral Powers of Man; the Existence, Character, and Government of God; and the Evidences of Christianity. By the Rev. John Horsey. 8vo.

Eight Lectures on the History of Jacob; delivered during Lent, 1828, at the Church of St. Luke, Chelsea, by the Rev. Henry Blunt, A.M. Curate of the Parish, &c. &c. (The Profits of this Publication will be given to the Chelsea Infant School.) 12mo. neatly bound in Cloth, 4s. 6d.

The Confession of the Church of England practically elucidated in Seven Discourses, preached, during the Season of Lent, at the Parish Church of St. Andrew, Canterbury. By Thomas Bartlett, A.M. Rector of Kingston. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW,
FOR AUGUST, 1828.

- Art. I. 1. *Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles the First, King of England.* By J. D'Israeli. In 2 vols. pp. 730. London. 1828.
2. *Historical Inquiries respecting the Character of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor of England.* By the Hon. George Agar Ellis. Small 8vo. pp. 182. Price 6s. 6d. London. 1827.

THERE goes more, much more, to the making up of an historian, than Mr. D'Israeli seems to dream of. To have been, through a pretty considerable term of years, a diligent discussor of Ana, a mighty hunter of Memoirs and Memoranda, an inquisitive amateur of Diaries and Correspondences, may qualify an industrious person for a collector, but will be found, in the end, to have done but little towards the furnishing of an accomplished writer of history. Neither is it by any means an advantageous preparation for the higher tasks; since the accumulation and arrangement of details, tends to habituate the mind to inferior operations,—to a sort of index-making, a subsidiary and subservient labour, not merely distinct from, but at variance with, that vigorous exercise of the loftier faculties, that is demanded for the selection, comparison, and concentration of the materials of history. We admit that these minor inquiries have their value, and that they may frequently throw a very strong light on doubtful or difficult points; but, indispensable as they may be for the purposes of illustration, they are perverted from their true and proper use, when, from auxiliaries, they are raised into principals, and occupy the place of leading events and major circumstances.

The proper sources of authority for the great outlines of history, are to be found in public records and official documents;—sources, we allow, liable to occasional suspicion, and

not unfrequently demanding much elucidation, both argumentative and comparative, but still, the most available and trustworthy monuments of national story. With respect to all that comes to hand in the shape of personal memoir or private information, the probabilities of corruption are indefinitely multiplied: malice, self-love, interest, affection, individual character, with a thousand other peculiarities, essential or adventitious, mingle and effervesce, and their subsidence produces, as it may chance, a neutral, a nauseous, or a noxious deposit. It may happen that, from these dubious and uncertain processes, there shall occasionally be obtained, the only clew to the true understanding of some cardinal point of historic narrative,—of some strange and apparently unmotivated transaction; but it will more commonly occur, that gossiping tales, inventions or exaggerations, the hearsay of the marketplace or the tattle of the ante-chamber, will usurp the place of sound and original information.

To deal with all these matters fairly and discreetly, it is obvious, that powers of a higher order are required;—a strong and clear head; a mind, not only of native shrewdness and discernment, but practised in sifting, balancing, and applying the various kinds and degrees of evidence; an impartial temper; a lucid and nervous style. In all these particulars, Mr. D'Israeli, in our view, comes somewhat short of that line on the scale of excellence, which may be taken as the mark of average skill in historical composition. We shall, however, decline the task of following him through his details and authorities; the more especially, since he has, with respect to the latter, adopted a plan which, although it may be well enough suited to his own purpose and convenience, is but little calculated to secure the confidence of his readers.

‘With regard to my authorities’, he informs us, ‘I have not chosen to cover the margins with perpetual references for facts with which few readers are unacquainted, and to books too well known to require a transcription of their titles. Whenever my narrative, or my opinions, are founded on manuscript information, I have scrupulously registered the authorities.’

We are too thoroughly hackneyed in the ways of writers, and more particularly of party-writers like Mr. D'Israeli, to be imposed on by such palpable evasion as this. There are other methods of falsifying history, than the gross and outrageous mis-citation of its records; and dexterous men have availed themselves of these mystifying processes in furtherance of their objects, sometimes with mischievous effect. Happily, we anticipate no such result from the unskilful partizanship of

the present commentator. His authorship is of too slight a quality, his style and reasoning are of a fibre too relaxed, for the arduous task of canonizing the first Charles, vindicating the patriotism of Buckingham, and darkening the bright fame of Hampden. His preface is a singular and rather amusing production; distinguished by very sufficient self-complacency, by sundry coarse and ineffective criticisms on Harris and Brodie, and by a bold eulogy on the 'sagacity' and 'indifference' of Hume. The first is denounced as a practiser of 'mean and 'disingenuous arts'; and Mr. Brodie, after being designated as a 'Scotch covenanter', is abused in language *equally* distinguished by elegance and humour.

'The historian cannot boast of the skill of the executioner of Charles, who at least performed his evil task with the dexterity of a master. With such warmth and such bitterness, one might have expected at least an animated narrative; yet, such as it is, it may still be accepted as authentic history, should there still remain some Rumpers of that secret society of which we used to hear something in our youth; and in that case, we would hail Mr. Brodie as the historiographer of "The Calves-head Club."'

Mr. D'Israeli does not stop here: he has been fearless enough to break a lance or two with Mr. Hallam. In one instance, he rebukes Mr. H. for venturing, with reference to Buckingham's impeachment, to assume that many of its articles 'were *probably* well founded.' '*Probably*', sententiously observes Mr. D'I.,

'is a term of nullity in historical evidence; it includes neither the labour of research, nor the force of argument; it is the cypher of prejudice, which, placed by an unit of fact, swells out into a mighty sum what in itself is of very small amount.'

'This was lofty'—'this is Eccles' vein.' Who but will sympathize with Mr. Hallam, helpless and trembling in the grasp of his antagonist! There is, however, an old proverb that might have given Mr. D'Israeli a cautionary hint to beware of pelting his adversary too unmercifully, since he himself lies open to a severe retaliation. Without canvassing his volumes for multiplied evidences, we shall content ourselves with a reference to the character of Hampden, as a most sickening specimen of determined, though impotent rancour. It is surcharged with hints and innuendoes, with guesses, and glosses, and perversions, all tending to undermine the fine English feeling that exults in the spotless fame of Hampden as a national distinction. 'The intentions of men', we are significantly told, 'may be purer than their practices.' Hampden is stated by Anthony Wood to have been 'a person of

'anti-monarchical principles'; and Mr. D'I. holds, that Anthony is right; not that Anthony's opinion is worth a straw, but because Cromwell and Hampden were cousins and intimates.

'I have been informed' (writes this implacable opponent of uncharitable surmise) 'of papers in the possession of a family of the highest respectability, which will shew that Hampden had long lived in a state of civil warfare with his neighbour, the Sheriff of the county;—*they mutually harassed each other.* It is probable that these papers may relate to quarrels about levying the sixpence in the pound on Hampden's estate, for which he was "cessed." *It is from the jealousy of truth that we are anxious to learn, whether the sixpence was refused out of pique to his old enemy and neighbour the Sheriff, or from the purest, unmixed patriotism!!!*

We question if the whole 'circumscription and confine' of party pamphleteering can produce a parallel sample of disingenuousness, betraying and defeating its own cause, either from sheer inability to conceal its spirit and temper, or from an over-weening notion of its skill in making the worse appear the better reason.

'When we view Hampden at the head of his Buckinghamshire men, inciting several thousands to present petitions, *we may doubt* whether this instigation were patriotism or insurrection. His repeated journeys to Scotland, his secret conferences at home, *indicated* the active plotter! . . . *Is it possible* that Hampden resembled the Abbé Sieyès in his facility of drawing up constitutions?'

And this is the liberal and equitable gentleman who chastises Mr. Hallam for adventuring an opinion that the charges against Buckingham were *probably* just! In truth, the 'cipher of 'prejudice' is here, but we look in vain for the 'unit of fact.' The character of Pym is handled in precisely the same way, and loaded with 'a suspicion of having taken a bribe from the 'French minister', though Mr. D'Israeli admits, that he has forgotten his authority for the disgraceful imputation.

Our readers are by this time aware of the character under which this Writer presents himself to their observation. He has, in common with every citizen of a free country, a right not only to his opinions, but to their avowal, even though they should be unfavourable to those very circumstances which have enabled him to put them forth in safety. We do not quarrel with him for his attachment to the Stuarts; he may, for any thing we care, run a tilt in behalf of Buckingham's purity; but let him abstain from our Hampdens. With his sympathies we do not interfere; nor do his antipathies move us: but, for his own sake, we would recommend him to desist from in-

trusion into a region beyond his proper sphere: He has hitherto been fortunate in the choice of subjects suited at once to his intellectual range and to the popular taste for light reading; but he is now getting beyond his last and awl, and meddling with matters that require the skilful and consummate artist.

'The characteristic of the mind of Charles the First, was that inflexible firmness to which we attach the idea of strength of character. Constancy of purpose, perseverance to obtain it, and fortitude to suffer for it, this is the beautiful unity of a strong character. We should, however, observe, that this strength of character is not necessarily associated with the most comprehensive understanding, any more than the most comprehensive understanding is necessarily supported by this moral force. Hence, the stronger the character of the man, the stronger may be its errors, and thus its very strength may become its greatest infirmity. In speculating upon the life of Charles the First, through all the stages of his varied existence, from the throne to the scaffold, we may discover the same intellectual and moral being. Humiliated by fortune beneath the humblest of his people, the King himself remained unchanged; and whether we come to reproach, or to sympathise, something of pity and terror must blend with the story of a noble mind wrestling with unconquerable fate.'

It is not easy to discover whether, in this very oracular and confused paragraph, Mr. D'Israeli does or does not mean to ascribe moral and intellectual excellence to Charles, in an equal degree. If he intends to intimate that the King possessed great strength of character, without corresponding vigour of understanding, he has said nothing more, than that his Majesty was a very obstinate man; since it would be scarcely possible to define obstinacy better, than by qualifying it as the 'inflexible firmness' of an inferior intellect. If, on the other hand, it is meant to comprehend, in 'beautiful unity', decided character and intellectual energy, as the attributes of King Charles, how is it to be accounted for, that his whole career was but an advance from error to error; that he was continually conceding, and at the same time manœuvring to neutralize or to recal his concessions; that he disavowed Glamorgan, and sacrificed Strafford?

Laud, however, is no favourite with Mr. D'Israeli. His ingratitude to the Lord-keeper Williams, his subserviency to Buckingham, his superstition, his 'unstatesman-like qualities', his vindictiveness, are fairly brought out. We do not know how this matter may strike Dr. Southey; but to us, it has always appeared the most unaccountable of perversions and partialities, that a man like Laud, personally and intellectually insignificant, mean and malignant in motive and disposition, and without, so far as we can discover, a single bright or-at-

tractive quality, should have ever been held up as an object of admiration. It is true, that the extenuation of his delinquencies, might be taken as re-inforcing the crimination of his opponents; and it may be good policy to merge, in the sympathy sought to be awakened by the detail of his sufferings, all remembrance of the ferocious persecutions of Leighton, Prynne, and Bastwick. Be it observed, in passing, that the preference of such men as Laud and Buckingham, over Williams, one of the ablest politicians of his day, does not depose in favour of the sagacity of Charles the First in the estimation of character.

After all, this is a paltry and inadequate mode of discussing questions of such transcendent importance as were involved in the transactions of those fearful yet glorious times. With both parties, there were errors, infirmities, crimes; but on which side was the maintenance of right? Who were the men that stood for high principles, for social rights, for justice and the law?—and who for power and privilege, uncontrolled and irresponsible? If Charles had conquered, what would have been the result then, and what would be the state of England at the present time? Charles or the Parliament—James or William—the Stuart or the Brunswick? We find no difficulty in the choice, and Mr. D'Israeli probably feels as little.

We have connected Mr. Ellis's little work with the present article, not only that it may operate as a corrective to Mr. D'Israeli's admiration of the 'majestic Clarendon', but because some time might elapse before we could again direct our attention to the subject; and we feel it inexpedient to devote a separate and specific article to a topic not particularly gratifying. It is, however, of great importance, that the character of one who has been usually ranked among the highest and purest authorities of English history, should be thoroughly examined and understood, though the task may be irksome, and the result painful. Mr. Ellis has taken up the matter in a spirit of apparent fairness, and conducted the investigation with ability and much distinctness. He comes to the decided conclusion:

'That the strongest suspicions attach to the character of Lord Clarendon, upon the score of rapacious and corrupt practices; and that it is evident, that such was the general opinion of his contemporaries.

'That his measures against the sectaries were of a most cruel and tyrannical nature.

'That various circumstances of different kinds favour very strongly the belief of his having been an unconstitutional, and, in some respects, an unprincipled politician, whose religion was also, probably, more of a political kind than any thing else.

'And, lastly, that his character has been unjustly favoured by historians from various motives;—for party purposes; from pity for his subsequent misfortunes; from admiration of his talents, and especially of his historical work; and from a just dislike and contempt of his successors.'

All these heads of accusation are supported by evidence, both documentary and circumstantial, making out something more than a *prima facie* case against Lord Clarendon, and inducing the wish, rather than the expectation, that a satisfactory vindication may be produced.

Art. II. *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. David Bogue, D.D.* By James Bennett, D.D. 8vo. pp. 446. Price 12s. London, 1827.

CIRCUMSTANCES of a nature accidental and unimportant to our readers, have occasioned our having hitherto delayed to call their attention to this volume, the announcement of which afforded us high satisfaction. After being almost satiated with memoirs and remains of young men, whose lives could afford, at the best, but slender materials for the biographer, we were gratified with the prospect of a volume intended to commemorate a life of more than ordinary activity and usefulness;—the memoirs of a man of commanding character, of intrepid zeal, of inflexible purpose, from the pen of an individual himself occupying an influential station in the Church, who was long in habits of intimacy with the deceased, and who would have access to all the sources of private information as well as to every existing document. We cannot say that we feel altogether satisfied with the manner in which Dr. Bennett has discharged his task; but possibly we expected too much in this instance from the Biographer. Before we offer any animadversions, however, upon the style of his performance, we shall present to our readers an outline of the memoir.

David Bogue was born in the year 1750. He was a native of Berwickshire. After receiving, at the grammar-school of the parish in which his parents resided, the rudiments of a classical education, he entered the university of Edinburgh, where he studied nine years, and took the degree of Master of Arts. He was regularly licensed to preach in the Church of Scotland, and had the prospect of a living. His not obtaining this, is accounted for by the following circumstance, which highly redounds to the credit of his father, who seems to have been both a pious and a noble-minded man.

'It was expected that he would be presented to the living of Coldingham, by Lord Marchmont, the patron. But the father of

David Bogue had disputed with his lordship about the choice of a minister for that parish. The law of patronage introduced into the church of Scotland, or at least revived there, in the reign of queen Anne, often forced upon the parishes men whom the wise and good regarded, not as pastors that "entered by the door into the sheepfold, but as thieves and robbers who climbed over some other way." Such was the zeal of Mr. John Bogue of Hallydown against these forced settlements; and such his independence of spirit, that though it was believed Lord Marchmont would, notwithstanding the quarrel, show his high regard for the father by granting his request, if he would ask a living for his son, the good man could not be induced to try. "I have given you", said he to his son, "the best education, and you must now make your way in the world. I would advise you to go to London, and I will provide you with the means." pp. 17, 18.

Dr. Bogue accordingly visited London, where he became an assistant in three different schools. In the first two, he remained a very short period; but in the last, that of the Rev. W. Smith, who preached both in Silver Street, London, and at Camberwell, he continued for some years. Here, also, he regularly officiated as a preacher, by assisting Mr. Smith at both the places of worship just named. While in this situation, he was invited to preach, as a candidate, at the Scotch church in Amsterdam. He went over to Holland to view the place and the people, 'as he deemed it right to take the affair into serious consideration.' He was soon, however, satisfied that it became him to decline it; and he returned to his various duties in connexion with Mr. Smith. Being invited, towards the close of the same year, to supply at Gosport, he visited that place, and eventually took up his abode there, being ordained, as the pastor of an Independent Church, on the 18th of June, 1777.

The chapter of which this is an outline, exhibits several proofs of the decision and fervent piety of Dr. Bogue when but a young man. By settling at Amsterdam, he might have escaped from a laborious occupation, and secured a liberal and certain income; but the spiritual apathy that appeared in the people, seems to have deterred him from accepting the station. The extracts from his journal indicate the solicitude he felt respecting his personal interest in Christ, and how ardently he aspired after practical conformity to the Divine image. His diary, by the way, is remarkable, as he was seldom known to make any allusions in conversation to experimental religion; nor was he suspected, we believe, to have kept such a record of his feelings. We have an incident recorded, illustrative of the serious habits of his early youth, interesting in itself, but far more so when regarded as cherished to the last among his most hallowed recollections.

'In the neighbourhood of the school where David Bogue was laying the foundation of his learning; he is said to have acquired some pious acquaintances, who nourished in him that fear of God which too often declines when a youth of the best education and principles quits the paternal roof. A little band in humble life, meeting for social prayer, in the parish of Coldingham, attracted the notice of the young scholar, and from their devout exercises he derived so much edification and delight, that he cherished the hallowed remembrances when he had risen to esteem and consequence in the church of God. To a poor mechanic, a member of this fellowship meeting, as it was called in Scotland, David Bogue was in the habit of sending, during many years, small sums of money, which materially alleviated the ills of poverty in advancing life. "To the last, I know," says the Rev. Mr. Maclaurin of Coldingham, "that the Doctor retained a lively recollection of these meetings, and great affection for those who belonged to them. I believe he seldom wrote to his relations here, but he sent his regards to Alexander Dickson; blacksmith, who was one of the number; and I never had the happiness of meeting with him, but he made the kindest inquiries respecting the same individual." pp. 9, 10.

We could have wished that some parts at least of the letters introduced in this chapter, from some of Dr. Bogue's college companions, had been omitted. They are not congenial with that feeling which we should like to preserve uninterrupted and unimpaired in reading the memoirs of such a man. He, indeed, is not to be considered as accountable for the levity and folly of his friends; nor are *they* to be judged severely, since we all know that young men, from mere playfulness, will, in moments of confidential intercourse and buoyant excitement, both speak and write in a manner confessedly incapable of defence. Every one, however, is not disposed to make allowance for this; and even those who are, may not like to meet, in the life of a venerable minister, with any thing that disturbs, for a moment at least, the feelings of hallowed complacency with which they dwell upon his memory.

From the disgraceful consequences which, in many instances, flowed from the operation of the law of patronage in the Scottish Establishment, the mind of Dr. Bogue seems to have been led to inquiries respecting the scriptural constitution of a church. He preached, when he first came to London, in places belonging to his own communion, as a licentiate of the Church of Scotland. Dr. Bennett has endeavoured to prove, that, by doing so, he may be regarded 'as having acted as a dissenter, not 'only from the Church of England, but from all state establishments, as such.' This, however, is going too far, if it be meant that ~~he~~ thought so. It may be true, that an Episcopalian in Scotland, and a Presbyterian in the South, by retaining

their respective modes of discipline and worship, virtually 'act on the principle of the English dissenter, viz that, not the variable institutions of civil governments, but the eternal distinctions of truth and error, form the Christian's clew to duty.' But the impression which Dr. Bennett seems desirous to convey, is, that, on the part of his deceased friend, this was viewed as a 'leading step' towards his quitting his original communion. We have no proof that Dr. Bogue left Scotland with any feelings that would have forbidden him to officiate in her Establishment; we rather think he would have done so, had a charge been offered him; and once in, we are not certain that he would ever voluntarily have come out, from any repugnance which he *then* had to 'a state establishment, as such.' In fact, though it would appear, that he soon began to adopt the sentiments of the Independents, yet, his independency seems never to have acquired a very rigid character. A minister of the Presbyterian body is the only one who is mentioned as having taken part in his ordination; he both offered the prayer and gave the charge. Two years after this, when in Scotland, his Biographer informs us, 'he preached in the Established Church, *for he was recognized as a minister of that communion.*' At p. 88, it is further observed, that, 'from the commencement to the close of his pastoral character, he adopted this system' (the independent) 'as the only safe retreat he knew from greater evils, which he saw raging elsewhere, rather than as a chosen dwelling where he felt himself a child at home.' 'The predilections of his education followed him through life.' These predilections, probably, prevented his carrying out fully and practically, in the government of his Church, the characteristic principles of independency. He acted, we have understood, a good deal *alone*. It is not insinuated, that he did this, either with an air of dictation, or from a mere love of rule. But, while he was acting for the people, and acting well, the people were not learning to act for themselves; and to this very circumstance, it is highly probable, much of that distraction may be attributed, which afflicted the Society at Gosport, after the sole directing agency was removed.

The best form of civil government, it has been sometimes asserted, would be despotism, provided that the despot were *perfect*. It should have been added, provided he were also *immortal*. If this perfect being, under whose wise arrangements we should be so happy, is to die, and if power is to revert to its original source, the people; it would soon, we fear, be seen, that there is but one step from a perfect despotism to perfect anarchy. In this case, a nation would be called to the exercise of rights and the discharge of duties, for which they were unfitted,

—unfitted by the very circumstance of having lived under a prince who, by his eminence in virtue and wisdom, saved them the trouble of studying the principles of political government, and of acquiring the habits of political action. The supposed case is applicable to any large body, into whose hands circumstances may throw the exercise of power, and who may be required to act in concert, without the superintending agency of some binding and controlling intelligence. The question is not, how such a body may advance under the commanding influence of a superior mind; but, how it may be disciplined into such knowledge and practices, as to retain its strength and activity after that influence shall be withdrawn. In no voluntary societies, whether sacred or secular, to which there may come to be made a popular appeal, ought the possibility of this to be forgotten, or the habits necessary to meet it to be neglected. It will perhaps be found, that those Independent Churches continue the most permanently united and harmonious, in which their professed theory is most distinctly understood and most practically recognized. Others may be less liable to little temporary agitations during the life-time of an individual pastor, but they seldom preserve inviolate their consistency and unity in passing under the rule of his successor.

From the introductory paragraphs of the second chapter, we select the following just and pointed remarks, the latter part of which, more especially, we beg to press upon the attention of those whom it may concern.

'When we consider the inexperienced youth of many who are chosen to the pastoral care, the unfavourable circumstances of their birth, the volatile society from which they have just emerged, the tendency of public speaking to generate vanity, and the disgrace to which it inevitably exposes the giddy head, we are astonished that Christian churches exhibit no more solicitude for the youth of their choice. The reckless indifference to his religious advantages, which is too often betrayed—the neglect of providing for him a suitable abode, where his piety may be cherished, scandals avoided, and his character may be happily formed or fixed—are often punished with just severity, by the cruel disappointment of their own dearest hopes.'

pp. 78, 9.

There is much in this part of the Memoir that is well adapted to impress and benefit the young minister. The solemn feelings with which Dr. Bogue anticipated his ordination, the devout consecration of himself to the service of God, and the rules he laid down for the regulation of his private and public life, are highly instructive. Many of Dr. Bennett's remarks may be read with advantage. The following passages appear to be worthy of particular regard; and we may be allowed to

add, that it affords us pleasure to perceive their entire coincidence with our own view of a subject, upon which, a few months ago, we took the liberty of expressing our opinion.

'On the eighth anniversary of his ordination, he adores God for the good that was done. "Many are become attentive to the word. Family prayer has been set up this year in many houses. Several have been admitted members of the church. Many are going on well in the ways of God, and more attend on public worship than ever before. . . . As to my preaching, I see more and more, that plain and serious preaching is most useful. Much that is elaborate, is thrown away."

'At this time,' continues his Biographer, 'he records the increased plainness of his preaching; and what is worthy of special regard is, that, at the same time, some of the most remarkable effects were produced. . . .

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'These powerful effects of the preaching of the gospel deserve the more regard, because it is well known, that none but legitimate means were employed by the preacher. Here was no studied excitement of the passions—no attempt to produce a moral and spiritual effect by mere physical means—no noise, rant, or grimace; but all was rational, instructive, and evangelical. The special blessing conferred on this modest, humble, plain, but faithful preacher, just at the time he was studying plainness, should induce others to say, "The same Lord over all is rich to all that call upon him. We, therefore, having this hope, use great plainness of speech." If the design of preaching were to display the powers of the orator, there might be danger of failure by extreme simplicity; though even then, none but the ignorant would say, "we could speak this;" while the discerning hearers would discover, in what seemed so easy, an inimitable charm. But as the aim of the faithful servant of God should be, not to elicit comments of any kind upon his preaching; but to render them impossible, by so presenting the truth, that it shall swallow up the whole attention of the hearers, and annihilate all thoughts of the medium of communication, what can so powerfully contribute to this end as simplicity? In reading the evangelists, we cannot notice the servants, for thinking of their master; and faithless must that servant be, who, when speaking of such a theme, would say, "but let them think a little of me too." In just retribution for such idolatry of self, God has so ordered things, that men who begin with thinking about their idol, end with talking against him; for there is nothing in the mere creature that satisfies long. But he who, from the first, is well pleased to take his station in the Saviour's shade, may keep his place there to the last, having a boundless theme in Christ the crucified.' pp. 104—108.

In 1789, Dr. Bogue received under his tuition three young men, intended for the ministry; and the third chapter of the Memoir contains an account of the rise and progress of the Gosport Academy, with various animadversions on the Tutor's

mode of instruction. It owed its existence to the suggestion and liberality of George Welch, Esq., an opulent banker of London, who, at his own expense, or in connexion with only another individual, supported already one or two institutions of a similar nature. The number of students under Mr. Bogue soon increased. At one time, ten were added by the munificence of Robert Haldane, Esq., of Edinburgh, and the efforts of the Hampshire Association. After the establishment of the Missionary Society, those who were intended for its agents, were placed under Mr. Bogue's tuition, preparatory to their entering on active service. This further increased the number of students, and considerably changed the character of the seminary. There were always, however, some on the original foundation, which contemplated the supply of our own churches. Several useful and valuable ministers proceeded from this institution; and its importance was, perhaps, principally felt by the county in which it was established.

The fourth chapter contains an account of the rise and establishment of the London Missionary Society. Of this institution, Dr. Bogue has often been regarded as the parent. His claims to this honour would seem to be at least equal to those of any other man; although it would be difficult, we imagine, to determine, *whose* was the mind that first conceived the idea of the benevolent confederacy, and put forth the first impulse which, communicating itself to other minds, led at length to its formation. We are not ourselves anxious to ascertain the point. Human nature is so ready to worship any thing but God, that He often sees fit to conceal from our knowledge the instruments whom he inspires with any magnificent purpose; as he formerly hid from the Israelites the sepulchre of Moses. Dr. Bogue, indeed, three years before the rise of the Missionary Society, seems not only to have thought on the subject, but to have made a public effort to excite the attention of the religious world. In 1792, he preached at Salters' Hall, London, before the Correspondent Board of the Society in Scotland, incorporated by royal charter, for propagating Christianity in the Highlands and Islands. As the Society contemplated the extension of the gospel to other nations, as well as its diffusion in our own, the Preacher availed himself of this circumstance to depict the moral condition, and to urge the claims of the heathen. In September 1794, he published in the *Evangelical Magazine*, 'An Address to Evangelical Dissenters who practise Infant Baptism,' which awakened considerable attention to the subject, and mainly tended, perhaps, to induce their subsequent and consolidated effort. A few months afterwards, at a meeting held in Red Cross Street Library, London; several

of the principal ministers of the metropolis had their minds strongly drawn to the subject, by a conversation on a recent publication by the Rev. Melville Horne. Out of this sprang a private meeting once a fortnight, for reading and prayer; and, ultimately, in September 1795, the public formation of the Missionary Society.

On this occasion, one of the sermons was preached by the subject of the Memoir. It appears, from the copious extracts introduced into the volume, to have been a masterly defence of the project; an animated and argumentative appeal to the passions. He gave, however, a stronger proof than this, of the reality of his missionary zeal. Many a man has thus delighted applauding auditories, has eloquently expatiated on the sublimity of the missionary character and enterprise, who would shrink from *becoming* the sublime being he described. Not so Dr. Bogue. Though past the meridian of life, his habits fixed, a husband and a father,—he, in connexion with three other friends, made two vigorous efforts to obtain the sanction of Government, and the consent of the East India Company, to their proceeding as Missionaries to Bengal. This is one of the most interesting facts of his life; it strikingly exhibits the sense he entertained of personal obligation, and illustrates the intrepidity and decision of his character, his sincerity, his fortitude, and his faith.

These attempts were unsuccessful: insurmountable obstacles were then opposed to the introduction of Christianity into our Indian possessions. When it was ascertained that the project must of necessity be abandoned, Dr. Bogue consented to become the tutor of the Missionary students. This fixed his position, and determined the character of his subsequent history: from this period he assumed, in the view of the religious public, the elevation and individuality which he ever afterwards maintained. It was as the tutor of the Missionary College, as the advocate of the Society, appearing and pleading in every part of the kingdom as its prominent supporter, if not its acknowledged parent, identified with its existence, its name, and its anniversaries, that Dr. Bogue was most extensively known and most honourably distinguished. His life became one continued series of labours, bearing, immediately or remotely, on this object. One feeling had taken the possession, and assumed the direction of his mind; an interest intense and profound; no temporary excitement, no evaporating enthusiasm or blustering zeal; but a feeling that was kept calm by its very depth, and that was preserved and perpetuated by its originating in the understanding, rather than in the passions. His *intellect* was inflamed; the 'live coal from the altar' had fallen and rested

there; and the fire it communicated, was fed by materials supplied equally by reason and by faith.

' From this time, Mr. Bogue may be said to have lived for the conversion of the heathen. Missions occupied his thoughts by day and by night. For this object he pleaded in private conversation and in the public assembly; for this he prayed in the closet, in the family, and in the church. This theme always proved his inspiration. He kindled at its touch, and shewed that it was no false fire, but the genuine flame of principle; for he never grew tired in the cause himself, nor ever suffered the zeal of others to expire.

' Immediately on the formation of the Missionary Society, he adopted a practice, which he maintained through life, of consecrating every year a portion of his own property, and of preaching an annual sermon to excite the zeal and liberality of his flock, in support of a Society which required the revenues of sovereign states. The success of his appeal to his own charge was such, that he mentioned it in his diary among the mercies that demanded his gratitude to God. The pastor was much encouraged by the concurrence of his flock, which enjoys the high honour of having been among the first, most liberal, and most constant contributors to the support of a Society that has enjoyed the special smiles of Heaven.

' From this time, Mr. Bogue was frequently called to plead the great cause in other congregations, where he ever left the conviction, which had fastened on his own mind, that it was the imperative duty of Christians to attempt the conversion of the world to the faith of Christ. By the variety and force of his arguments, he displayed the comprehensiveness of his own mind, and the depth of his reflections on the grand theme; and if ever he blazed and rose to the eloquence of the sublime, it was when he fired the souls of Christians with the prospect of a converted world, or when he terrified the slothful Christian with a view of the aggravated guilt of leaving the millions of the heathen to perish for want of the knowledge of Christ.

' The spirit with which he pursued this object, was so infectious, that few came within his reach and escaped its influence. That he almost invariably communicated it to his students, it is scarcely necessary to assert. As I was among them at the formation of the Society, I can never forget how constantly the master mind of my tutor recurred to his darling theme, how his countenance lighted up at the prospect of rousing the Churches to efficient co-operation, and how fondly he courted that conversation which suggested or promised any valuable hints for maturing the noble scheme. The first sermons preached at the formation of the Society, were read over in his study at the time of lecturing, with many an interesting comment; and most of the early counsels for the improvement of the infant association, were suggested or improved there.

' With the neighbouring ministers, the pastor of Gosport was living on such terms, that he found little difficulty in engaging their active co-operation. Endued with a kindred spirit, they soon caught the generous ardour, and by their private conversations and official labours called forth the zeal and liberality of their flocks.

'When Hampshire was noticed for its early and powerful exertions for the heathen, it was observed, "That may be naturally accounted for from its being the residence of David Bogue." To the adjoining counties, the flame was, for the same reason, soon communicated. His extensive correspondence gave him many opportunities of recommending the object to the support of persons of piety and influence, and he never suffered such a means of usefulness to escape unimproved.' pp. 194—6.

From the last chapter of the Memoir, it appears that the closing years of Dr. Bogue's life were clouded by great and frequent afflictions.

'He was visited with painful and alarming sickness; child after child was taken from him, in circumstances most trying; the partner of his life, who had smoothed their dying pillow, fell a sacrifice to her attentions to him and to them; and he was left at last, if not solitary, yet, attended by only one child, and she so afflicted as to require from him the consolations which he needed to receive rather than to give.'

This preliminary paragraph prepares the reader for the subsequent melancholy detail of domestic bereavements. Of two sons, extended and interesting notices are contained in this chapter, drawn up by a third, who, soon after, followed them to the grave. All had arrived at manhood, and were alike distinguished by respectable talents and amiable character; and each afforded, at last, satisfactory evidences of his faith. Severe as such strokes must have been, they were exceeded in intensity by that which deprived Dr. Bogue of her who, for nearly forty years, had been the affectionate and beloved companion of his pilgrimage. A daughter had also died in the interim; another, settled in a distant country, was denied the satisfaction of alleviating, by her presence, a father's sorrow; and a third, herself the subject of affliction, increased while she participated her parents' distress*.

Amid such domestic calamities were the last years of Dr. Bogue passed. And to these, indeed, personal suffering was added; which at one time was so severe as to compel him to remit for a season his customary duties. With this exception, he still prosecuted, uninterruptedly, his various and valuable labours for promoting the conversion of the world, and rousing the zeal of the Church. To these objects he had consecrated his talents and his life. He pursued them with invincible resolution. He travelled annually through different parts of the kingdom; and twice he undertook journeys to the Continent, for the purpose of exciting, sustaining, or directing Christian

* Miss Bogue is since dead.

benevolence. He died as he had lived. The circumstances connected with his death are peculiarly interesting, from their associating the event with transactions in which his mind had so long found its congenial element, and which, more than any thing else, had developed and illustrated the character of the man.

Many incidents, in themselves trivial, rise into importance, and are spoken of as remarkable, after death has removed the individual to whom they referred, and has thus imparted a sanctity to our minutest recollections. We are disposed, indeed, to believe that, at such seasons, many things may occur, apparently accidental, yet arranged and adapted by Divine Providence for the very purpose of admonishing or soothing the living, by strongly directing the mind to considerations connected with the character or the state of the dead. We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of adverting to some circumstances of this kind, connected with the last days of Dr. Bogue, which, though minute, we regard as peculiarly instructive and touching. For some time previously to his last illness, he had dwelt much, in his public services, on the glory and happiness of the heavenly state. We remember a friend's informing us, that he had just heard him preach at his own place, on the vision of God to be enjoyed by the pure in heart; on which occasion he was struck with the elevated spirituality which the aged Preacher displayed, the grandeur of his views, and the sublimity of his devotion. In a course of sermons which he delivered on the Transfiguration, we learn from his Biographer, that these qualities were eminently conspicuous. The venerable saint appeared like Moses on Pisgah, within view of the promised land, or like the Apostle Peter, as already a "partaker of the glory that shall be revealed." * The very last time he ever addressed his flock from the pulpit, was on the apostolic benediction—"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God; and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all." He then administered the Holy Supper, and committed his charge to the Lord, and to the word of his grace. One of the most aged members of the church, the daughter of his predecessor, on hearing this text, and marking her Pastor's spirit and manner, said, "He will never preach in that pulpit again." And he never did. The meeting-house was closed for repairs, and he took a journey into Warwickshire for missionary purposes. On his return, he found the place still unfit for worship; the people assembled in the vestry, and there he forever closed his labours among them. On

* 1 Peter v. 1.

the afternoon of the last sabbath in which his services were enjoyed, he addressed them from the words: "*Enoch walked with God*"; and in the evening, on the latter part of the same text: "*He was not, for God took him.*" 'Thus', says his friend, 'he unintentionally closed his ministry with a description of his own past character and approaching bliss.'

He had engaged to assist at the anniversary of the Sussex Auxiliary Missionary Society, and for this purpose he proceeded to Brighton during the ensuing week. He was much indisposed when he commenced this journey. His disease was of a nature to be aggravated by travelling, and when he arrived at Brighton, it was observed, that 'though there was something about him peculiarly interesting and cheerful, he could not entirely conceal the natural signs of the pain under which he was then suffering.' Here he closed his public career in a manner that partakes more of the sublime, than any thing of a similar nature we ever remember to have read. We know not how the following passage may affect others, but, for ourselves, having our minds full of what had formed the predominant characteristic of the man, it produced in us emotions of no ordinary kind.

'The venerable sufferer ascended the pulpit for the last time, to finish his services in the sanctuary, in the very way which he himself would have chosen, had it been referred to him, by offering up the prayer: "*Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven: let all the nations call the Redeemer blessed, and the whole earth be filled with thy glory. Amen, and Amen. The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended.*"' p. 355.

From that evening, the progress of his disorder was rapid and alarming. He was incapacitated from attending the public meetings, 'but he inquired after the services as they advanced, with an interest that shewed the ruling passion strong in death.' With those who visited him, he conversed on the progress and prospects of the Society to which his time and energies had been devoted; he expressed great satisfaction in the thought, that so many young ministers appeared to be actuated by a missionary spirit; he rejoiced in intelligence received of missionary success; and he afforded instructive demonstrations of his own personal interest in that gospel which he had lived to preach, and had laboured to diffuse. He expired on Tuesday morning, October 25th, 1825. So gentle was his departure, so peculiarly calm his last moments, so placid the expression of his countenance in death, that the nature of the event may best be described in the language of Holy Writ: "*he fell asleep.*"

From the concluding chapter of the work, we select the following passages, as containing a view of some of the most prominent and interesting features of his character.

'As a preacher, Dr. Bogue was valued chiefly for the simplicity, gravity, and useful tendency of his discourses. He commenced his career with what might be called a more elevated style; and not unfrequently read his sermons, especially those which he delivered on extraordinary occasions. But when he reviewed his discourses in his closet, at the throne of grace and in prospect of the judgement-seat, he condemned these more laboured compositions, as defective in simplicity, and not sufficiently adapted to general edification. Adopting, therefore, a more simple style, and not having a memory for words, he came at last to prepare little but thoughts; and therefore seldom exhibited the *curiosæ felicitates*—those more happy turns of expression which are often of great use, by rousing attention and fixing themselves on the memory. This was rather to be regretted, as he was not endowed with that promptness or power of extemporaneous illustration, which might supply the place of previous careful composition. Nor was his voice distinguished by that vivacity, or flexibility, which would give relief to the simple uniformity of his style. Tones deep and sonorous, and little varied, imparted to a style that was cut down to the bare simplicity of Euclid, an appearance of dullness; but all felt that the preacher's weight of character bore down upon their heart and conscience with a force and an authority that few could resist, and fewer still acquire.' pp. 414, 415.

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'In prayer, he was peculiarly reverent and lowly; equally remote from all affectation of finery, from any approach to talking saucily to the Most High, from every thing that could with any reason be called whine or cant. When he led the devotions of the church or the family, there was a comprehensiveness and a propriety that taught others how to pray; yet there was nothing that led to the thought, "here is a great man on his knees," for we felt how all our distinctions vanish when viewed from the footstool of the Eternal, and how little we all are before the Infinitely Great. He was copious without being tedious; and though often elevated to the verge of the sublime, never obscure. I retain, to this hour, the impression of some of the prayers which I heard him offer thirty years ago. His person, his thoughts, his tones, his zeal, his fervour, often recd to me the inspired expression—"the spirit and power of Elijah." On those days of devotion which he kept with his pupils in his own study, he was often peculiarly fervent, solemn, and edifying; and when he came down from his closet to conduct the morning and evening worship of his family, he showed the fulfilment of the promise, that if we pray to our Father in secret, he will reward us openly.' p. 398.

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'The discipline which he maintained over his own soul, produced extraordinary self-knowledge. No powers of language could enable me to describe my emotions, when, on looking over his papers, I

found a little book, on which was inscribed, "*My Faults*." Many, perhaps most, who have kept a diary, have recorded their faults amidst their devotional reflections; but few, I suspect, have kept a book for the sole purpose of containing these humbling records. Among these are some which he set down in consequence of the censures of enemies, or the faithful admonitions of his friends.' p. 384.

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' Though his large frame, his iron muscles, his heavy brow, his deep-toned voice, his firm step, and decided movements, gave him the reputation of a *Cœur de lion*, he was constitutionally timid. He was, indeed, often called a bold man; and so he was by principle, but not by nature. His courage was the triumph of duty over natural temper.' p. 382.

We have many proofs of the noble disinterestedness and genuine benevolence of Dr. Bogue. His pecuniary donations to private cases of distress, as well as to public objects, were of great extent. He was economical to a degree that seemed parsimonious, but it was from the principle of lessening an expenditure on self, of what might be employed for the benefit of others. He refused the sum of 200*l.* voted to him by the Missionary Society, for the use of his library to the students, although his books were rendered of less value to his family in consequence. He often refused his travelling expenses, when journeying to serve the churches. He would smile and say, ' We shall be repaid at the resurrection of the just.' All this

' gave him a right to do what often gave offence—urge to liberality with an energy and authority which some were pleased to censure, as savouring of harsh dictation. But it never could be said of him, that he bound heavy burdens upon men's shoulders, and grievous to be borne, which he himself would not touch with one of his fingers. It is also consoling to think, that he produced—some would say extorted—contributions for the good of others, when he would not utter a word for himself; and while the cause of religion and benevolence was thus promoted, those who censured him were the very persons who most needed a prompter of so much energy and weight.' p. 404.

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' His modesty was so great, that it sometimes gave him an air of shyness and reserve, which surprised and embarrassed those who had known him only by his great name and by those important labours which had filled the world.' p. 408.

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' Those who knew him at a distance only, and judged of him by the features of iron strength which distinguished his countenance, or by the unyielding force with which he pressed on, wherever duty seemed to call, imagined that he was stern and tyrannical. But they

were utterly mistaken. His failings were entirely on the other side. He was a most kind-hearted man, and suffered himself to be drawn into approbation of those whom his better judgement would have pronounced unworthy of the patronage he accorded. Those discerning and candid men who had previously viewed him with prejudice, were, on closer inspection, surprised and vanquished by his ineffable kindness.' pp. 406, 407.

We had wished to give a few passages relating to his *mental* character, and we had marked them for the purpose, but their length precludes our inserting them. We are more anxious, indeed, to exhibit such views of him as the preceding extracts afford; and we wish to find room for a few closing remarks.

As a man, the character of Dr. Bogue has often been very differently represented. It has suffered alike from indiscriminate censure and extravagant eulogy. Perhaps, it is not saying too much, to affirm, that the general impression respecting him was unfavourable. He was seen at a distance by far more than *could* see him closely. There was something in his personal appearance, which suggested the idea of sternness and severity,—something that inspired an awe partaking more of fear than of veneration, and that led the observer to suspect that he should shrink from bearing the reproof, or being abandoned to the tender mercies of such a man. Owing to the circumstances in which they occurred, some instances of conduct or demeanour apparently assuming, repulsive, bigoted, or severe, were most known, frequently referred to, and always exaggerated. The *worst* of Dr. Bogue lay on the surface: the best was the permanent and the interior excellencies which were known and felt, in all their lustre and loveliness, by those only whose intimacy gave them a survey of the hidden treasures of his heart. We have on this account selected the above passages, illustrative of his private virtues. We believe that there are those who will wonder at being told, that David Bogue was one of the most humble of men; was distinguished by mildness, extreme forbearance, great candour, and unaffected modesty.

It is not unnatural, philosophically considered, that these virtues should, in certain characters, be found co-existing with the appearance, and at times, perhaps, with something of the reality of the opposite qualities. Independent and decided minds, inspired with great purposes, will often appear repulsive to general observers. Bent on the accomplishment of their object, perceiving it with the plainness of demonstration, and pursuing it with passionate intensity, they are apt to despise the objections, and scarcely to conceal contempt for the little scruples and limited views of ordinary minds. Prompted by feeling, or

impelled by principle to lead, they may forget that others are to be subjugated to their use by the influence of reason, and not by the dictates of power; and hence, they are in danger of displaying a spirit that shall exhibit any thing but the *amiable*; of exciting hostility where they might secure co-operation, and of provoking censure where they might command respect. Unable to sympathize with ignorance, apathy, indecision, or sloth, they are prone to express their impatience in no palatable way, so as to leave a very erroneous impression of their real character as a whole, which may present the union of apparently opposite qualities.

Without meaning to say that these remarks are precisely applicable to the character of Dr. Bogue, we think that they may serve to explain the contradictory descriptions which have often been given of the man. Those who knew him best, loved him most. Those who saw the interior of his character, almost worshipped him. He was even unfortunate in the indiscriminate admiration which he sometimes inspired. The perception of so much positive excellence, prevented the acknowledgement of obvious defects. His true greatness was mistaken. A mental pre-eminence was claimed for him, to which he was but doubtfully entitled; while the moral grandeur, the true and intrinsic sublimity of his mind, was inadequately felt and imperfectly appreciated. Statements were made, in which many found it impossible to concur; they tended, therefore, to obstruct or to obliterate the impression of his actual superiority. There is no surer way to excite prejudice and to bring a man into contempt, than to employ the praises of partial friendship. Dr. Bennett's book is not entirely free from this fault, although, in general, he is sufficiently moderate in the estimate of his friend. This inconsistency, indeed, pervades the work; the inconsistency between paragraphs of faint praise, and sentences of eulogy of such infinite import as to leave nothing even to the imagination to supply. For instance,—in the midst of a singular passage, in which the Writer describes Dr. Bogue's study, there occurs the following expression in allusion to the sad disorder often apparent in that 'cabinet of learning,' from his permitting none but himself to interfere with his books.

'In this his peculiarity, was seen the littleness of a great man—the solitary mistake of a mind who had otherwise left us nothing to console us under a sense of our inferiority.' p. 411.

In perfect keeping with this extravagance is another passage at p. 422.

'It has been attempted to express his character in one word. But

in what language shall we find it? The French call him *profondeur*, depth. This was true; but it was not enough. Of our own countrymen, one would call him "magnanimity";—but another says, I should prefer "benevolence in action." I despair of finding a word sufficiently expressive; and *therefore leave him to be, as he deserves, the study of his species.*

This is absolutely puerile, and can tend only to injure the fair fame of his friend. Dr. Bogue was a great man; yet, he was neither a man of splendid genius, of fascinating eloquence, nor of profound erudition. He was not an intellectual prodigy; nor was his mind in itself such as would have been seen, under any circumstances, to be a master spirit, framed to discover or to create new worlds in the universe of thought, and to have the image of his greatness impressed upon succeeding generations. He was not this: and yet, he has left an impression behind him by means of the moral power he wielded or awakened, such as shall convey his name and perpetuate the influence of his character to remote posterity. There is a moral sublimity that far surpasses mere intellectual greatness,—a sublimity of character arising from the intense appreciation and undeviating pursuit of a great object. Dr. Bogue's object was the *greatest*. He saw what was the highest aim to which humanity could be devoted; what the loftiest purpose for which it is possible to live. His decision was regulated by this perception, and his life was governed by his decision. If any thing broadly distinguished him from ordinary men, it was this; and it is the distinction of few. Although the most honourable to our nature, yet, it is less sincerely sought after than any thing which places man above man.

Dr. Bogue unquestionably possessed a powerful and well balanced mind. His faculties were strong, though not brilliant; and, by dogged assiduity, he would probably have reached, in any profession, an honourable standing. In him, however, religion supplied the place of genius. She indulged him with her holiest inspirations, and endowed him with a masculine eloquence. The mind of Dr. Bogue was, perhaps, roused to its most vigorous action by those great political events which, at the close of the last century, absorbed the attention of Europe, shook the foundations of society, and appeared like the harbingers of a new era in the history of the world. Dr. Bogue was among the number of those who, imbibing the spirit without the madness of the times,—catching the enthusiasm, but changing the object,—were distinguished by applying them to the purposes of sanctified ambition. They gave a new and extraordinary impulse to the public mind; they imparted that direction to its resources, which

did much to change the character of the age; they rekindled the fervour of apostolic zeal, and led, perhaps, in a considerable degree to the formation of those great institutions that illustrate the period in which they flourish. To the cause of the whole species, to the present improvement and future salvation of mankind, Dr. Bogue bound himself as with the solemnity of an oath. From that moment, he could give, so to speak, no explanation of his life, but, that the world needed knowledge which it was his to impart. This principle, applied to the phenomena of his character and mind, explained all. He had 'one thing' to do;—he had to 'serve his generation 'according to the will of God.' He saw his object wherever he was; and he saw it always the same,—the same in importance, obligation, and grandeur. This rendered his zeal a vigorous and lambent flame, and gave it at once permanence and purity. No man, perhaps, ever walked more emphatically by *faith*, as being the "*evidence*", or persuasion, "*of things not seen.*" This was the secret of his seriousness, the source of his magnanimity, the key to his character. If he coveted power, it was power to contribute something to the salvation of the universe. Hence, his habit of viewing all his acquisitions in connexion with his object, his neglect of subordinate excellencies as a public teacher, and his employment of any means and any opportunity, to excite in others the feeling that consumed himself. He was little sensible to mere human admiration, either as a motive or an end. His was an ambition too vast to be satisfied with the praise of contemporaries. He rose above the desire of this world's applause, by aiming at that of its Maker; by aspiring to be one of those who, having "turned many to righteousness, shall shine as the sun for ever and ever." He not only saw the speculative sublimity of this grand aim, but he practically obeyed it. And, by thus acting for so many years, he exerted, on the vast number of minds that came into private or public contact with his, an agency and an influence seldom equalled. Hence, it is impossible to calculate the sum of holy and benevolent stimulus which he was the means of communicating to others; and, when we reflect upon the imperishable nature of such influence, its continued activity and constant re-production, who can estimate the number of human spirits who directly or remotely may owe their salvation, under God, to the existence and agency of this one man? If this be not true greatness, we know not what is.

To this view of his character, we are well aware, many will be ready to object, that such moral greatness, arising from the inspiration of religion, rather than of genius, is not to be re-

garded as so vast a distinction. But is it, we would ask, common? Are the higher stages of religious feeling and attainment, of ordinary observance? Is it a frequent thing to meet, even among the leaders of the faithful, those who are so eminently good? No: and what is more, this kind of eminence is by no means properly appreciated even in the Church. Why is it, that, in the lives of ministers, far more anxiety is so often displayed to substantiate their claims to intellectual superiority, than to exhibit their conformity to the image of their Master? There is a vicious and worldly standard of greatness in the Church. Exclusive consecration to God is not regarded in the light that belongs to it. If it were,—if it were generally appreciated and pursued as it ought to be, it would do more than any thing else towards transforming and saving the rest of the species.

Art. III. *A Manual of Heraldry for Amateurs.* By Harriet Dallaway. 12mo. pp. 169. London. 1828.

STEMMATA quid faciunt?—is a question which, unanswerable as it is, we seldom find asked by the happy possessors of bearings and genealogies; and this reluctance is but an additional instance of that marvellous perversity in human character, which leads men to take pride in the adventitious, rather than in that which is intrinsic and essential. It would be hardly possible to give a finer illustration of the difference between the abstract and the concrete, than by referring to the philosophical and the practical views of this important matter. Take the thing in the first light; separate it from the feelings of men and the condition of society, and what can be more obviously baseless and absurd than merely titular or heraldic honours; distinctions purely conventional, and adding nothing either to felicity or virtue. That a certain modification of phrase in personal address; a special accumulation of vowels and consonants in connexion with one's patronymic; a couple of yards of silk riband; a scutcheon gold and gules; that, for these toys of children, grown men should be gazing, and striving, and envying, and forfeiting integrity and tranquillity, would be incredible if it were told to us, *mutato nomine*, of a tribe of savages, or of the inhabitants of the moon. Were these trappings the proper emblems of wealth or power, it would be a different affair. Unsubstantial themselves, they would, at least, like the constable's staff, or the monarch's crown, be the outward and visible signs of that which is substantial. But to this they do not even make pretence: the

ceremonial personality of the peer, is as empty as the hunchback's nickname; and the whole resolves itself, at last, into the cap and bells.

If we reverse the picture, and contemplate, for a moment, the 'boast of heraldry' in its connexion with the prejudices of mankind, though we shall probably come to the same conclusions, we shall cease to wonder at the eagerness that candidates for honour invariably display. It is true, that all these things are the mere freaks of fancy, the creations of opinion; but then we are the slaves of opinion, and though it might be better to enjoy its more benignant influences, and to inhabit the affections of our fellows, yet, vanity is craving, and will be content with deference and 'blank awe,' where veneration and love are unattainable. It is true, after all, that 'men are but 'children of a larger growth', and a coronet is more dazzling than the civic wreath. While mitres and aiguillettes command the gaze and admiration of the multitude, no wonder that they form the idols of the favoured few.

Independently of all this, heraldry, whether important or insignificant in itself, is interesting in its associations. In one view, it is history, and tends materially to the elucidation of facts hardly susceptible of explanation in any other way. It enters into *minutiae*, invaluable as illustrations of character, manners, and events, that have disappeared from every regular document, and would have been lost to memory but for crests, and mottoes, and bearings, together with the praiseworthy anxiety that has been manifested by pursuivants and kings-at-arms, to preserve the traditions and *commerage* of their favoured science. There is, moreover, in heraldry, a good deal of the picturesque, with much of antique and gorgeous show and colour. The ors, and argents, and azures, and sables of armorial bearing, come in well as decorations, whether in a procession, a banner, a cathedral, or a vignette. Other reasons might possibly be found for the toleration of a pursuit essentially absurd but circumstantially interesting; but we shall, for the present, be satisfied with the loyal and lady-like plea of Mrs. Dallaway.

'In the College of Arms, there still exists the book which was expressly made for Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII., to teach him heraldry. If this knowledge was thought to be of so much importance, as to form a part of the education of the heir apparent to the Crown, no apology can be necessary for any attempt, however humble, to add this accomplishment to our other attainments.'

This little manual is got up very neatly, and, without making pretensions to extensive inquiry or systematic analysis, gives a

clear and easy explanation of Heraldic technology. It explains, cursorily, but, we imagine, sufficiently, Emblazoning—Escocheons—Colours and Metals—Ordinaries and Charges—Parts of Animals—Weapons and Armour—Crusading Inventions—Leaves and Flowers—Miscellanies—Armorial Bearings of English nobility—Cognizances, Crests, and Supporters—Helmets and Mantles—Crowns and their varieties; with other branches of Heraldic lore. The wood-cuts are neatly executed and liberally supplied; and, on the whole, we may recommend this little book as, a useful, though slight and summary introduction to the science of which it treats.

Art. IV. 1. *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay.* Vols. II. and III. 4to. London. 1820, 1823.

2. *Researches on the Tenets and Doctrines of the Jeynes and Boodhists*; conjectured to be the Brachmanes of Ancient India. In which is introduced, a Discussion on the Worship of the Serpent in various Countries of the World. By Lieut. Col. William Francklin, in the Service of the Hon. E. I. Company; Author of a Tour to Persia, &c. With Plates. 4to. pp. 214. London, 1827.

OF the first volume of the Bombay Transactions, published in the year 1819, an account will be found in the eleventh volume of our Journal. The Society itself was instituted in the year 1804, under the presidency of Sir James Mackintosh. The second volume, which escaped our notice at the time of its publication, contains sixteen communications of a very miscellaneous nature.

Art. I. by Mr. Hammer, of Vienna, is a notice, with extracts, of a work entitled *Miritol Memalik* (Mirror of Countries), written by Sidi Ali Capoodawn, admiral of the Egyptian fleet of Solimaun the Great, and giving an account of his journey overland from Gujerat to Constantinople. The title of *Sidi* or *Siddee* (supposed to be a corruption of *Syud*, lord,) became in the subsequent century the common designation of the Abyssinian naval officers who entered into the service of the Mohammedan sovereigns of the Deccan. Possibly, this person might be an ancestor of the famous Siddee Jore. It appears that both his father and grandfather had distinguished themselves in the Turkish navy.

Art. II. is 'A small but true account of the Ways and Manners of the Abyssinians, by Mr. Nathaniel Pearce;' dated Abyssinia, 1814. This is a very interesting document, on account both of the information which it conveys and the cha-

racter of the writer. The view which it gives of Abyssinian society, is most deplorable.

Arts. III. and V. by Captain Vans Kennedy, are Essays on Persian Literature, and on the Chronology of Persian History previously to the Macedonian Conquest. The latter paper is learned and ingenious, and though far from sound in its conclusions, merits the attention of such persons as feel interested in historical inquiries stretching back to the remotest eras. Art. XI. by the same gentleman, contains a notice respecting the abortive attempt made by the Emperor Akbar to introduce a new religion into India, 'a system of Deism as pure as the weakness of mankind would possibly admit;' in point of fact, a compound of the systems of Mohammed and Zoroaster. It is remarkable, that a similar attempt at innovation was made by his descendant, Sultan Dara, the elder brother of Aurungzebe, who wrote a treatise in which he endeavoured to harmonize the doctrines of the Vedas with those of the Koran. Father Buzée, a Jesuit, and Molana Shah, a Cashmerian Brahmin, were his instructors, and probably his coadjutors in this philosophical enterprise, which, by rousing the jealousy of the Moslems, is supposed to have cost the Prince the loss of empire and his life. A curious chapter in history might be occupied with the various unsuccessful attempts to introduce new systems of religious faith and worship. With the exception of Mohammedism, it will be found, that all such human innovations as have partaken of the character of reform, have been violently and successfully resisted; while innovations of an opposite nature, however great,—all corruptions of a simpler faith or ritual, the multiplication of rites or of deities, the descent from gross to grosser idolatry, have, almost uniformly, been either implicitly received or triumphantly imposed. Mohammedism itself, which, in its original character, forms so singular and striking an exception, presents, in the history of its sectarian corruptions, abundant illustration of the remark.

There are three other interesting and valuable papers bearing on the same general subject. Art. XIV. Some account of Mahummud Mehdi, the *Wali* or Saint of the Mehdivis: translated and abridged from the books of his disciples. XV. On the Sacred Books and Religion of the Parsees. By William Erskine, Esq. XVI. On the Authenticity of the *Desâtîr*, with Remarks on the Account of the *Mahabadi* Religion contained in the *Dabistan*. By the Same. We must, however, content ourselves with simply referring to topics which embrace too wide a field of discussion for our narrow limits.

Among the contributions to Asiatic Topography are the fol-

lowing papers. IV. Description of a Volcanic Eruption in the Island of Sumbawa. By Andrew Stewart, Esq. V. On the Ruins of Boro Budor in Java. By John Crawford, Esq. IX. Account of the Caves near Baug, called the *Panch Pandoo*. By Capt. Dangerfield. X. Account of the province of Cutchi, and of the countries lying between Gujerat and the Indus. By Capt. Macmurdo. This last is a very important geographical document. The remaining four papers are: VII. A curious Case in Surgery. By Charles Linton, Esq. VIII. Account of the Progress made in deciphering Cuneiform Inscriptions. By Mr. Charles Bellino. XII. Description of a curious Bird of the *Otis* genus. By Captain John Stewart. XIII. Notice respecting the Trial by *Punchiet*, and the Administration of Justice under the late Peishwa. By Thomas Coats, Esq.

The labours of Dr. Grotefend in deciphering the cuneiform inscriptions, do not yield the palm of ingenuity to the hieroglyphic discoveries of Dr. Young or M. Champollion. The results at which he has arrived, are of the greatest interest in an historical point of view. In the first place, he has ascertained, that all the known cuneiform inscriptions of the first three species of writing, (those of the third species found at Babylon excepted,) relate to Cyrus, Darius, Hystaspes, and his son Xerxes; to whom, therefore, the origin of the edifices on which these inscriptions are seen, must be ascribed. Secondly, the language of the first species of cuneiform writing proves to be Zend; and the discoveries of Anquetil Du Perron with regard to that language are thus ascertained to be genuine. Thirdly, the deciphered inscriptions speak only of Cyrus, Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, and of the last three as grandfather, father, and son; but nowhere give the title of king to Hystaspes. By this, it is remarked, 'the history of the Persian kings, as preserved by the Greeks, is completely confirmed, and cannot be refuted either by the corrupt traditionary history of the modern Persians, or by the incoherent accounts of the biblical writers.' If, by the biblical writers, the inspired historians are meant, the remark might have been spared. We are not aware of any irreconcilable discordance between the Jewish and the Greek historians; certainly none greater than exists between different classic authorities; but, if there were, we must still regard Daniel and Ezra as authorities not less trustworthy than Herodotus or Xenophon. Captain Vans Kennedy, on the other hand, is for setting aside the Greek historians altogether, as destitute of all credibility so far as regards the affairs of Persia. In his life of Cyrus, Herodotus, he remarks, is at variance both with Xenophon and Ctesias; and he contends, therefore, that the preference should be given to Ferdousi and

the native legends. We cannot say that we agree with him. Hitherto, the researches of modern travellers have tended only to confirm the authenticity and accuracy both of the Scriptural historians and of the father of profane history. The discovery of the tomb of Cyrus at Mourgaub (the ancient Pasargadae), with the identical inscription which it is stated to have contained, ought to put us upon our guard against that hypercritical scepticism which would disturb the landmarks of ancient history. 'That the Cyrus of Xenophon is the *Jemsheed*, or 'rather one of the *Jemsheeds* of Persian tradition, seems,' it has been remarked, 'in the highest degree probable.'* The words *Jemsheed* (or *Shemsheed*) and *Khoursheed*, are conjectured to be of similar import. *Khour*, it is well known, signifies in Persian, the Sun; and from this word, the Greek *Kuros* and the Hebrew *Koreish* were derived. *Shemsia* in Pahlavi, (the *Shemsh* of the Hebrew Scriptures,) has the same meaning, corresponding to the Arabic *shamu*. *Edo*, in the Moorgaub inscription, according to Professor Grotefend, answers to *Dominus*; and supposing it to occur in composition, it would give us *Shemsed* or *Shemshed* in the one instance, and *Khourshed* in the other.

Independently of all other results, Dr. Grotefend's labours lead us far back into the history of alphabetic writing. Cuneiform writing, Professor Heeren remarks, is evidently so simple in its elements, that it must have been originally alphabetical: it cannot have been derived from a symbolical writing; 'for this 'must, in its very origin, bear the characteristics of variety; 'which an alphabet derived from it would also preserve.' Dr. Grotefend has shewn, that it is not strictly syllabic, nor could it be derived from a syllabic writing.

'The first species of cuneiform writing, especially, appears to Professor Heeren to bear in a remarkable manner the very characteristic of the infancy of alphabetical writing, in the quantity of characters in so many single words; which circumstance shews that it was anxiously spelt after pronunciation. This seems already to be less the case with the second and third species; and from that alone, Professor Heeren thinks these last to be of a less ancient origin, though their characters are more complicated.

'Cuneiform writing is undoubtedly of Asiatic origin: it differs so completely from Egyptian, both hieroglyphical and alphabetical writing, that there is not even room for any comparison between them. The discoveries hitherto made in Persia and at Babylon prove, that this writing had been adopted by several nations; with such variations, however, that, from its two fundamental strokes, they formed new alphabets. Its origin is certainly much remoter than

* Mod. Trav. Persia, Vol. II. p. 74.

that of the Persian empire, since it exists already on the monuments of Persia, in three different alphabets. But to fix precisely where this writing took its origin, is now almost impossible. However, as the language of the first species, the simplest of all, is Zend, we must feel inclined to consider Media, where that language and the doctrine of Zoroaster were national, as the country in which it was invented. But when, on the other hand, we observe cuneiform writing on the remains of Babylon, which are certainly also of a very remote age; we may be easily disposed to consider this writing as of Arabian origin. This conjecture acquires some weight from the probability, that the writing which the Greeks and Persians called *Assyrian*, is no other than cuneiform writing. Professor Heeren infers this principally from the passage in Herodotus, iv. 87, where two columns are mentioned, on which Darius, after having passed the Bosphorus in his Scythian expedition, caused the names of the nations in his army to be cut; on one, in Assyrian, and on the other, in Greek writing. As cuneiform writing was generally used by the Persians for inscriptions on monuments, it is not likely that Darius would have employed another kind of writing on his columns.' pp. 189, 90.

The Third Volume of these Transactions does equal credit to the Literary Society from which it proceeds. It also contains sixteen communications, some of them of considerable length.

Topography and Statistics.—II. and XVI. Account of a Bed of Native Sub-carbonate of Soda, found in Malwah; and Geological Notes on the Strata between Malwah and Gujerat. By Captain J. Stewart. III. Notice respecting the principal Ruins at Bejapoor. By Captain W. H. Sykes. VIII. Account of the present State of the Township of Lony, in the Valley of the Beema. By Thomas Coats, Esq. IX. Account of the Caves of Ellora, with Drawings. By Captain W. H. Sykes. X. Description of the Pandoo Coolies in Malabar. By J. Babington, Esq. XI. Statistical Account of the *Pergunna* of Jumboosur. By Thomas Marshall, Esq. XIV. Account of a Journey from Katif on the Persian Gulf, to Yamboo on the Red Sea. By Captain G. T. Sadlier.

History.—Art. I. Remarks on the State of Persia, from the Battle of Arbela to the Rise of Ardashir Babegan. By Major Vans Kennedy. VII. Remarks on the Sixth and Seventh Chapters of Mill's History of British India. By the Same. XIII. Remarks on the Character of Mohammed. By the Same. IV. Account of the Origin of the *living god* at Chinchore near Poona. By Captain W. H. Sykes. V. On the Institution of the Hindoo Festival of the *Dusrah*. By Major General Sir John Malcolm. VI. Papers relating to the Earthquake which occurred in India in 1819. XII. Translation of a Grant of Land in the Coucan. By Dr. Taylor. XV. Observations on the Remains of the Bouddhists in India. By William Erskine, Esq.

Appendix. Biographical Sketch of Captain Macmurdo.

The description of the ruins of Bejapoor, by Captain Sykes, is by no means so full and satisfactory as that given by Captain Sydenham in the thirteenth volume of the Asiatic Researches; but it is not unacceptable as being a somewhat more recent account. Bejapoor has been emphatically termed by Sir James Mackintosh, who visited it in 1808, the Palmyra of the Decan. Yet, till of late years, few places of importance in India were less known, though few are more worthy of being visited. Tavernier's account is strangely inaccurate. To trace the limits of the city, would be a day's work, so immense is the mass of ruins; but, from the innumerable tombs, mosques, caravansaries, and edifices of every description which it exhibits, it must have been one of the greatest cities in India.

'As the traveller approaches the city from the north, the great dome of Mahomed Shah's tomb is discerned from the village of Kurnoor, fourteen miles distant. A nearer view gives the idea of a splendid and populous metropolis, from the innumerable domes, and spires, and buildings which meet the eye; and though the road up to the walls, leads through ruins, the illusion of a tolerably inhabited capital is still preserved by the state of the walls, the guns mounted on the works, and the guards stationed at the gates. On entering, the illusion vanishes, and the most melancholy contrast is exhibited between the number and admirable state of repair of the buildings to the memory of the dead, and the total destruction of those formerly inhabited by a swarming population. Jungle has shot up and partially obliterated streets which were once thronged with a busy people in pursuit of their various avocations; and the visiter may now lose himself in the solitude of ruins, where crowds were formerly the only impediments to a free passage.' p. 56.

The foundation of the Adil Shah dynasty dates from the first year of the sixteenth century, and the last of the Bejapoor sovereigns was subjugated by Aurungzebe, A.D. 1685. Within those two hundred years, therefore, were finished the costly and stupendous structures which cover many miles of country. The city walls extend between six and seven miles, and though decayed in many places, there does not appear a complete breach in any part. The most conspicuous object within the fort, is the *Makbara* or mausoleum of Sultan Mahommed Shah, which was forty-two years in building. It is a large quadrangular building of brick and chunam, 150 feet square, and, including the dome, 150 feet high. The dome itself is only 10 feet less in diameter than the cupola of St. Peter's, and its perpendicular height is 65 feet. A circular ledge projects from the bottom of the inner circumference, which is so ingeniously laid upon supports inclining inwards to the side walls in graceful

curves, that it does not apparently diminish the width of the room, but is rather an ornament to it. 'It cannot be called a cornice, but affords the same relief and effect.' The echo here, as in the whispering-gallery at St. Paul's, is so perfect, that the visiter is ready to fancy it the voice of another person mimicking him. At the four corners of the tomb are octagonal minarets, about 140 feet in height. The general style of the tomb is grandeur and simplicity, and its construction does equal credit to the taste of the architect, and the munificence of its projector. The style of the adjoining mosque corresponds to that of the mausoleum.

The next object which presents itself is, the *Jam Mesjeed* or public mosque. It consists of a large but light dome, rising to the height of 140 feet from the ground, resting upon parallel rows of lofty arches. The unfinished mausoleum of Ali Adil Shah is also a grand object, resembling, at a distance, a splendid Gothic structure in ruins. All the buildings within the citadel are in ruins, except a beautiful little mosque, the inside of which is of finely polished black granite. The most conspicuous among the buildings outside of the fort, is the *Makbara* of Sultan Ibrahim II.

'On the outside of the body of the mausoleum over which the dome is raised, the walls are carved into Arabic inscriptions, sculptured with great skill, and disposed in every variety of ornament. The gilding and enamel are, however, entirely defaced, excepting in a small part of one of the sides, where its remains give a faint idea of its former lustre. A person looking at the illuminated page of a beautiful oriental manuscript, magnifying this, and fancying it to be represented by sculpture, painting, and gilding on the face of a wall of black granite, will have some conception of the labour, skill, and brilliancy of this work. The whole of the Koran is said to be carved on the four sides of this elegant structure, in which the utmost art and taste of the architect and the sculptor have combined to produce the richest effect.'—*As. Res.* xiii. 447.

Captain Sykes describes 'Aurungzebe's brass gun,' called *Malek-i-Maidan*, king of the field. This immense piece of ordnance (which was not, however, cast by Aurungzebe, but was taken by him at the conquest of Bejapoor) is nearly fifteen feet long, and yet, its diameter is such as to give it the appearance of a vast howitzer. 'It would require an iron ball weighing upwards of 2,500 pounds.' It was originally made by a Turkish officer in the service of one of the Nizam Shahs. It is greatly to be regretted, that the pencil of the British artist has not hitherto been employed in illustrating these splendid monuments of the wealth, power, and taste of a short-lived Moham-

medan dynasty, scarcely known to history. Designs of the principal buildings would be highly acceptable and valuable.

The statistical accounts of Lony and Jambusir, though professedly descriptive merely of a small village in the Deccan, and a small district in Gujerat, contain observations and remarks applicable respectively, with a few exceptions, to nearly the whole of those provinces. They are highly valuable as giving us an insight into the interior of Hindoo society. Mr. Coats resided for seventeen years at Poonah, during which period he successfully extended the benefits of vaccination to the surrounding country; and Mr. Marshall was also employed as vaccinating surgeon in Gujerat, and in other situations which gave him a familiar access to the natives. To the opinions of these gentlemen respecting the character of the natives, we shall hereafter advert. The following remarks are particularly deserving of attention in the highest quarters.

‘The township of Lony came under the dominion of the British government in the beginning of 1818, which was hailed as a happy event by all the cultivators; and the abolition of the farming system, which followed, and the liberal remissions of revenue in consequence of losses by the war, confirmed the high expectations that had been formed of our justice and liberality. The inviolable respect which has since been shewn for the prejudices and ancient customs of the people, and the arrangements in progress for the further improvement of their condition, by the enlightened and able statesman under whose administration our late conquests in the Deccan have fortunately fallen, will, if followed up, not only secure a permanence to this feeling, but substantial happiness and prosperity. If we may form an opinion, however, from the result of our government in many of our old possessions, this perhaps is too much to expect. With the best possible intentions, our revenue and judicial systems have not always had the effect of making the most of the fair resources of the country, and, unfortunately, have not tended to improve the morals of the people. We have still a great deal to learn regarding the institutions and peculiar ways of thinking of our Indian subjects; and in any attempt to improve their happiness and condition, innovations and theorizing cannot be too carefully avoided. Particularly, European notions are totally incompatible with those of Asiatics, in their present state of civilization. The only means, perhaps, of making the condition of the ryots (cultivators) really comfortable, is permanently to lower the land-tax, and to look to an increase of revenue from other sources. But this is not to be done without making considerable sacrifices, at least for a time. The revenues, at present, are almost wholly derived from the soil, which is so taxed, as barely to leave the cultivator the means of subsistence; while merchants, bankers, and the monied part of the community, scarcely contribute, in any shape, to the wants of the Government.’

pp. 214, 15.

The description of the Pandoo coolies given in Art. X., is illustrated by four engravings; to which, however, the references in the text do not accurately correspond. The '*Topie Kull C. No. 1*', does not appear to be given; and the text itself is in some parts obscure. If we understand the Writer, the *Topie Kull*, or mushroom-shaped cromlech, would seem to answer to the ancient *σπηλιὰ*; while the *Kodey Kull* is a tumulus or barrow. In one of these, which Mr. Babington opened, situated on a hill, which still bears the name of the field of death (*Chatamperamba*), a large *chatty*, or urn, was discovered, about five feet in height, and four in diameter, composed of a thick clay mixed with sand, and not more than half baked, the centre being black and gritty. On lowering a lamp into it, a smaller urn was observed within, with several still smaller round it, half filled with a light shining sand, mixed with bones. In one of the *chatties* was found a smaller one, better made and highly glazed, containing some white transparent beads, and a small greenish stone, also transparent, which fell into small pieces on being exposed to the air. On a ledge of rock in the cave were found a few iron instruments, such as spears, swords, knives, and axes. That the bones discovered in these barrows, are human, Mr. Babington is satisfied, as, in one instance, he found a lower jaw with the teeth entire. The absurd and conflicting theories of the natives, with regard to the origin of these sepulchral mounds and monuments, render it tolerably certain, that they must be referred either to a foreign colony, or an extinct race; probably to some tribe of the eastern Archipelago.

Art. IX. is an elaborate account, accompanied with outline engravings, of the far-famed caves of Ellora. It was drawn up previously to the Writer's having seen Sir Charles Malet's paper in the *Asiatic Researches*, with which it for the most part coincides; but Sir Charles did not visit all the caves, and on some points, there is an occasional variance. We shall not follow the Writer into the details of his description, having, in a former volume, inserted a general account of the '*Wonders of Ellora*'*; but some of his remarks are deserving of attention, as bearing upon an historical question of considerable difficulty, the prior antiquity of the Brahminical or the Buddhic system of faith. This subject is treated at length, and with great ability, by Mr. Erskine in Art. XV.

The most remarkable circumstance connected with these stupendous excavations, is the unquestionable combination which they exhibit, of the rival and irreconcilable superstitions.

* *Ecclectic Review*, N.S. Vol. XXV. pp. 60—64.

It is true, that Booddh has been adopted into the Hindoo mythology as an avatar of Vishnoo; but the heresiarch is the object of execration with all orthodox Brahminists, and Indian history exhibits the two great sects as at perpetual variance. How, then, are we to account for the prominent and distinguished place which an obscure *avatar* of Vishnoo (according to the Pouranic creed) occupies in this magnificent pantheon?

'In the hill about 200 yards above *Indra Subbah*,' (the third cave from the north,) 'in a mural rock of black basalt, is sculptured a colossal figure of Booddh, perfectly naked. It is in a sitting posture, on a throne, from the centre of the front of which a wheel projects to half its diameter: on either side of the wheel are elephants and tigers' heads supporting the seat. On a tabular projection immediately above the wheel, an astronomical table is carved; thus associating the image with ideas respecting the motions of the heavenly bodies. The image, which is ten feet high, sits with the legs crossed; the hands in the lap are laid one into the other, with the fingers extended and the palms upwards; the head is covered apparently with curly hair, and is shaded by the seven-headed snake, the folds of whose body, doubled behind the image, serve it as a cushion to rest against. There are six figures in attendance, in the attitude of prayer; five sitting and one standing. One of them has a beard, and they are all decorated with earrings, necklaces, bracelets above the elbow, and chains for the ancles. This image, which corresponds in every respect to the figures of Booddh all over India, is the object of worship with the Goojur Buneas, and the Boodhists generally: it is called Parusnath, and there is a yearly pilgrimage to it. The *poojah*, however, is too expensive for the vulgar, as the offering must never be under the value of a maund of *ghee*.' p. 267.

Besides this colossal figure, the name of which identifies it with the Jain deity, many of the excavations are considered by both Captain Sykes and Mr. Erskine as decidedly Booddhic. The latter divides the caves into three classes; the northern, which are either Booddhic or Jain; the central, which are Brahminical; and the southern, which are certainly Booddhic. The names now given to them are arbitrary and modern, and have been imposed by the Brahmins in total ignorance of the mythology of the sculptures. The four northern excavations contain no appearance of any Brahminical deity, except a four-armed figure, supposed to be more modern. One reason given for concluding them to be Jain, rather than Booddhic, is, that they contain some naked images not unlike the naked figures of the Jains; 'whereas all Booddhic images are clothed.' Captain Sykes, however, says, that the figures of Booddh are commonly naked; and whenever any kind of clothing is discoverable, it appears to resemble a *sarhee*, consisting of a single piece of cloth encircling the waist and brought over the left

shoulder, in the manner in which the Jain priests wear their dress at the present day. At all events, Mr. Erskine says, the four southern caves are purely Boodhic.

‘ They are filled with curly-headed Boodhic figures. The cave opprobriously called the *Dehr-Warra*, corresponds to the school-room of the Boodhist temples. Two benches of stone run up its whole length, with passages between ; and there are a number of cells for monks hewn out from the sides of the excavation. Inscriptions in the ancient unknown character are found in these southern caves.’

p. 525.

That the Boodhic caves are of posterior formation, no one, we presume, will contend. From the number and magnitude of those which abound on the western side of India, it is plain, as Captain Sykes remarks, that the power and wealth of an established government, in active operation for ages, could alone have produced them. To suppose the prior antiquity of the Brahminical caves, would imply the subversion of the Brahminical faith and power by the Boodhists. The question then is, whether the two religions existed coëtaneously, so that we may regard the Brahminical and Boodhic caves as nearly of equal antiquity, or whether the obscene worship of the Hindoo pantheon was established on the overthrow of Boodhism. Mr. Erskine is disposed to think, that the two religions existed at the same time in India, on a friendly footing, so late as the eleventh century of the Christian era ; and he appeals to existing inscriptions in proof, that the aspersions cast upon Boodh in the Pooranas, are of modern origin. At Buddha-Gaya, in Bahar, there is an inscription dated in the year 1005 of Vikramaditya, answering to A.D. 1061, in which Boodh is honoured as ‘ the author of happiness and a portion of Narayan (or Vishnu). The following expressions are highly remarkable:

‘ Reverence be unto thee in the form of Boodha ! Reverence be unto the Lord of the earth ! Reverence be unto thee, an incarnation of the Deity, and the Eternal One ! Reverence be unto thee, O God in the form of the God of mercy ; the dispeller of pain and trouble ; the Lord of all things ; the Deity who overcometh the sins of the *Kalee-yoog* ; the guardian of the universe ; the emblem of mercy toward those who serve thee ; *Om* ! the possessor of all things in vital form ! Thou art Brahma, Veeshnoo, and Mahesa (Mahadeva) ! Thou art the Lord of the universe !’

With regard to this inscription, however, it may be observed ; first, that, if genuine, it proves nothing as to the prevailing sentiments respecting Boodh at that period, but looks more like the attempt of an individual to revive, in a form accommodated to Hindoo prejudices, the ancient faith ; and se-

condly, that the ideas are neither Hindoo nor Boodhic, but excite the suspicion of being derived from a foreign—probably a Romish origin. The assertion, that, at Boodha's shrine, 'even the hosts of heaven worship with joyful service day and night,' could never have originated with a native Hindoo. Nor can any more stress be laid upon the Islamabad inscription, which relates to a project for establishing a new place of worship, in honour, as it should seem, of a new *avatar* of Buddha. Mr. Erskine's conclusions from these and similar *data*, we cannot therefore but regard as very precipitate and premature. That individuals in India, may, even up to a late period, have maintained the more ancient faith, is not merely probable: it is a fact, that the Jain religion, which is a modification of Booddhism, has maintained itself in some parts to the present day. The question relates to the prior antiquity, prevalency, and ascendancy of the two systems.

When, indeed, we speak of the Boodhic and Brahminical systems, we are in danger of imposing a deception upon ourselves, as if those words had a distinct and unchangeable meaning. The fact is, that Brahminism, properly speaking, has ceased to exist, if we suppose that it had any relation, originally, to the worship of Brahma. Who the *Brachmanes* of ancient India were, whether they bore a nearer affinity to the modern Brahmins or to the votaries of the rival system, is precisely the point to be ascertained. The religion of the Vedas, differs not less widely from that of the Puranas and Tantras, in every respect, than the doctrines of Gaudama do from those of the Lingamites. The present sects of Boodhists and Jains may be comparatively modern; and yet, they may possibly be the remnant of a primitive faith, and they are certainly of higher antiquity than the existing forms of Hindooism. According to Mr. Colebrooke, whose opinion claims the greatest deference, 'the earliest Indian sect, of which we have any distinct knowledge, is that of the followers of the practical Vedas, who worshipped the sun, fire, and the elements, and who believed in the efficacy of sacrifices for the accomplishment of present and of future purposes. It may be supposed, that the refined doctrine of the *Vedantis*, or followers of the theological and argumentative part of the Vedas, is of later date; and it does not seem improbable, that the sects of Jains and of Buddha are still more modern. But I apprehend that the *Vaishnavas*, meaning particularly the worshippers of Rama and of Crishna, may be subsequent to those sects, and that the *Saivas* also are of more recent date.' *

* Asiat. Res. ix. 293.

We can have no doubt that the older Vedas are of higher antiquity than the philosophic systems of the present sects of Booddhists and Jains, by whom their authority is rejected. But, if the popular Hindoo mythology, as represented in what are called the Brahminical caves, is admitted to be of a date more recent than those sects, the question as to the priority of the Boodhic caves and monuments, is at once decided. The era of the *last Boodh*, is pretty well ascertained.

‘The traditional chronology of the two sects assigns nearly the same period to their Gautama respectively; for, according to the Bauddhas, the apotheosis of Gautama Buddha took place 543 years before the beginning of the Christian era; and according to the Jainas, the apotheosis of Mahavira, Gautama Swami’s teacher, was somewhat earlier, viz. about 600 years before the Christian era. The lapse of little more than half a century, is scarcely too great for the interval between the death of a preceptor and of his pupil; or not so much too great as to amount to anachronism. Without relying much upon a similarity of name, it may yet not be foreign to remark, that the Buddha who preceded Gautama Buddha was Casyapa; and that Mahavira, the preceptor of Gautama Swami, was of the race of Casyapa. I take Pars’wanatha to have been the founder of the sect of Jainas, which was confirmed and thoroughly established by Mahavira and his disciple Sudharma; by whom and by his followers, both Mahavira and his predecessor Pars’wanatha have been venerated as deified saints (Jinas), and are so worshipped by the sect to this day. A schism, however, seems to have taken place after Mahavira, whose elder disciple, Indra Bhuti, also named Gautama Swami, was, by some of his followers, raised to the rank of a deified saint, under the synonymous designation of Buddha; for Jina and Buddha bear the same meaning according to both Booddhists and Jainas. . . . The appellative Gautama is unquestionably a patronymic, however Sacya Sinha may have come by it, whether as descendant of that lineage, nearer or remoter, or for whatever other cause. The gentile name of the last Buddha has prevailed in China and Japan, where he is best known under the designation of Sacya.’

Trans. of R. As. Society, i. 521, 2.

The sect of Boodha itself was very soon split by a schism into four sub-sects; all of whom were, however, indiscriminately persecuted, when the Booddhists of every denomination were expelled from Hindostan and the Peninsula. The precise date of this expulsion is not easily determined. The last Boodhic sovereign of Magadha is stated to have been destroyed about 300 B. C. But the system is supposed to have maintained itself in India two centuries later. And though extensive emigrations took place, the recognized successors of Boodha appear to have resided in Western India, until Bodhi-dharma, who is stated to have been a son of the king of Marwar, re-

moved to Honan in China, where he died, A.D. 495 *. For a considerable period, therefore, the rival sects must have flourished contemporaneously; nor did the persecution against the Boodhists take place, till the Brahminical faith had assumed a very different character from that which Mr. Colebrooke considers as its primitive form. 'The establishment of particular sects among the Hindoos who acknowledge the Vedas, does not,' he contends, 'affect the general question of relative antiquity. The special doctrines introduced by Sancara Acharya, by Ramanuja, and by Madhavacharya, and of course the origin of the sects which receive those doctrines, may be referred with precision to the periods when their authors lived; but the religion in which they are sectaries, has undoubtedly a much earlier origin.'† Allowing this, if the worship of the *Ling* and the foundation of the existing Hindoo sects of *Saivas* and *Vaishnavas*, occurred while the Boodh religion was flourishing, (and it is with those new sects, Mr. Colebrooke supposes, that the persecution of the Boodhists commenced,) the superior antiquity of the Boodh caves at Ellora, is established. 'The Brahminical excavations,' Captain Sykes says, 'are all dedicated to the *Ling*; and the Boodhists could scarcely have had opportunity to perfect their works on the grand scale on which they are found in many parts of India, after the persecution.'

Mr. Erskine supposes, that the Boodhists were, from whatever cause, put down long before the Jains.

The probability is, that, on their discomfiture, the more obstinate remains of the Bouddhists took refuge with the kindred sect of Jains; and hence, in the course of ages, have conformed to their doctrines, and disappeared as a separate sect. It would seem, that the Jains, in various quarters, were driven to adopt a temporizing policy. When subdued and persecuted by the Brahmins, they connected themselves with the prevailing faith by the ties of caste, and probably by frequenting the religious ceremonies of the Brahmins, as is still customarily done by the Jain Banians of the northern parts of Guzerat. They secretly preserved their ancient doctrines, however; and, even in the countries where they were most persecuted, gradually formed themselves into separate religious associations. In Bengal, and in a great part of the provinces of Hindustan, they seem nearly to have died away; but, in the south of India, Kanara, Guzerat, and Marwar, they seem always to have preserved some political consequence, and exist in great numbers; and in the latter countries at least, the Jains and Hindoos intermarry. In some instances, till very recently, both in some parts of Guzerat and in the Mahratta

* Ward's Hindoos, ii. 207—10. Remusat. *Mel. Asiat.* 125.

† *Asiat. Res.* ix. 302.

country, where they were in more complete subjection, their temples were under ground, to escape the observation of the Brahmins; and materials are said to have been kept in readiness for filling up the entrance, or covering the images, in case of suspicion. Their connexion with the Brahmins has gone so far as to induce them, at some of their temples, to admit into the sacred enclosure certain gods of the Brahmins, Vishnu, Ganesh, and Kartikeya, and to new-model some of their religious books, to suit the change. But this laxity appears to be quite unauthorized by the more pure and ancient religion both of Jains and Boudhists, and merely proves how far religions once hostile and not very ready to admit of innovation or to receive proselytes, may yet to a certain degree mingle, to suit the convenience or fancy of their adherents.' p. 502.

In one important respect, the Jains differ from the Boodhists, and approach to the Brahmins: they have castes among them, although their priests are selected from different castes, and do not marry. One of Mr. Colebrooke's reasons for maintaining the superior antiquity of the Brahminical institutions, is, that, in the very earliest accounts of India, transmitted to us by the Greek writers, the existence of castes is referred to; that the Brahmins appear to have been, even then, the priests of the country; and that the Boodhists could not have been, so far back as the time of Alexander, the prevalent sect. The information conveyed by the ancient Greek writers is, however, extremely vague, and their knowledge of India was confined almost entirely to the north-western provinces. In the descriptions of Arrian and Strabo, we can scarcely recognize, with any probability, the quadruple division of society upon which so much stress has been laid. 'All the Indians,' says Arrian, following Megasthenes as his authority, 'are free, they having no slaves among them . . . They are chiefly distinguished into seven ranks or classes among themselves, one of which is their sophists or wise men: these are much inferior to all the rest in numbers, but vastly superior to them in honour and dignity.'*

This distribution of the Indians into seven classes or orders, is mentioned by Strabo, who enters into the subject at greater length. A distribution of society into four orders, was not, however, peculiar to the Brahminical legislator. Jemsheed is said to have divided the Persians into four classes; and a passage in Herodotus, cited by Mr. Mill, appears to shew, that such a distinction existed among the Medes at the commencement of the monarchy. It obtained also among the Colchians, Iberians, Athenians, Egyptians, and Peruvians.† What is most peculiar about the Brahminical law of caste, is, the wide and impassable distance which the laws of Menu interpose be-

* Rooke's Arrian, ii. p. 203.
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† Mill, i. 157—9, note.

tween the Brahmin and the rest of his species; the political immunities, the mysterious powers, and almost Divine attributes which they confer upon him, and the sanguinary penalties by which they are guarded against violation. A Soodra who should offer to give instruction to priests, was to have hot oil poured into his mouth and ears. That this diabolical code was ever in force and operation as the established law of India, may reasonably be doubted; and it may be proved from those very Institutes, that the hypothetical division into four pure castes, never had any but an imaginary existence. Still, the distinction between the Brahminical system and the Boodhic, is strongly marked. In the former, the sacerdotal caste is an hereditary order, invested with peculiar privileges, a sort of nobility; and the sacerdotal character, once assumed, is indelible. The priests of the Boodhists are taken from among all classes of freemen; and, when tired of their function, they may lay it down, and return to the secular state. So far from its being an hereditary distinction, their priests profess celibacy. But we have seen that the Jains have castes among them, although their priests are of different castes, and do not marry. The institution of castes may then, in some form, have existed in India prior to Brahminism. Yet, we have no proof of its existence at so remote a period as that to which the Boodhic caves and monuments must be referred. Admitting it to have been introduced by the Brahmins, it could not at once have become universal; and the fact, that the nations with whom the Pali or Magadha is a sacred language, have never received the institution of caste, is sufficient, in our opinion, to shew that it was not indigenous in India. Mr. Erskine has with great fairness and force stated the arguments in favour of the superior antiquity of Boodhism, at the same time that he is inclined, with Mr. Colebrooke, to adopt the opposite conclusion, assuming the era of Gaudama to be the origin of the sect.

‘Those who favour the pretensions of the Bouddhists affirm, that we find indubitable historical proofs of the existence of their religion, and of their priests, the *Samanæi*, in very early ages: That, from the remains of great works, evidently referrible to their sect, existing in the whole extent of country at present enjoyed by the followers of the Brahminical religion, from Bamian to Ceylon and Java, and thence back to Kashmêr, we are justified in concluding, that the Bouddhists inhabited that extensive region long before the era of regular history; as these monuments are found scattered over countries in which Brahminism has long been most deeply rooted; and, in many instances, where, at the present day, no Bouddhist is found, and at no recorded period is known to have existed: That the total absence of every living remnant of the Bouddhist religion throughout India, is the best proof of the early period at which the expulsion or

conquest took place: That these arguments are supported by the acknowledged fact, that the Brahmins derive their origin from the North, and do not regard themselves as the *aborigines* of India: That they probably expelled the older Bouddhist inhabitants, and destroyed the exercise of the religion, as they gained the ascendancy: That the war of Ram against Ravan, of the good spirits against the demons, of the north of India against Ceylon and the south, was probably one of these holy wars, the conflict of Brahminism and Bouddhism: That, mild and tolerant as the Brahmins in our times are, or affect to be, the sanguinary destruction of the Jains in the South of India, is a proof to what extent they may, under the influence of their religion, indulge the most inhuman passions: That the Bouddhist is probably the more ancient religion, as being the more simple; especially as wanting the artificial division into castes: and that, finally, the very local position occupied by the two religions, seems to point out the Bouddhist as being the more ancient; the Brahmins occupying the richer plains and the whole central champaign country, while the Bouddhists seem as if thrust out of them into the hills and strong land all around: That, in one instance, that of Ceylon, the line of communication with the other nations of their religion has been broken off, the Brahminists having driven them forward, and shut them up beyond the very extremity of the peninsula.

‘The arguments for the superior antiquity of the Jains, very much resemble those used to favour the pretensions of the Bouddhists,—the fact, that indubitable monuments of their religion exist in many countries which have long been occupied by the Brahmins: That several Jain principalities remained to a late time unsubdued in the South of India; and that, in that quarter, the Brahmins, even at this day, are regarded as strangers and intruders: That the native and the indigenous literature is very different from that of the Brahmins; and that the Sanscrit is less the base or root of the southern languages, than the accessory and ornamental part: That their religion is simpler; and that it was only in consequence of the innovations of the Brahmins, their absurd tales about the gods, and the introduction of bloody sacrifices, that the Jains, seeing the new doctrines and impious practices of the Brahmins gain ground daily, found it necessary to cast them off, to preserve the purity of the original faith.’

pp. 497, 8.

But let us for a moment attend to the distinctive characteristics of the opposite systems: they are forcibly stated by the learned writer.

‘The Brahmins agree with the Bouddhists in holding, that the world has occasionally been reformed, or benefited, by extraordinary beings who have appeared in it. But while, according to the Bouddhists, this has been effected by human beings, who, by superior virtue, have become saints and almost gods; according to the Brahmins, it is effected by gods who descend upon earth, and assume a human or other form. The saints of the Bouddhists are men, and have the human shape: the gods of the Brahmins are without number, of every shape and figure, filling heaven and earth with their various

classes and dependents. The one system presents men who have become gods; the other, gods who have become men.

'The truth, however, is, that the Bouddhists do not deny the existence of God, though they have no idea of him as taking any part in the concerns of the world. He exists quiescent, the operations of nature being directed by agents of a much lower class. The Brahmins see the agency of Deity in every thing: he is the fountain of all life and of all action.' p. 504.

Between the atheistic and the pantheistic idolatry, the *moral* difference, however, is neither great nor essential. Both alike exclude the First Cause, the One Creator. 'The spirit of religion,' remarks an eloquent writer, in a work now on our table, 'goes directly to this First Cause, and sees it, and acknowledges it, and feels it in all things. It regards second causes, whether they be the elements of nature or the actions of men, as mere channels through which this First and Only Cause operates. It stops not at them. It regards life as a holy thing flowing out of this Fountain, and returning thither. It lives, and moves, and has its being in God, by the spirit of its will, as well as by the necessity of its nature. Atheism and Idolatry both stop at second causes: they see independent powers in every thing, and they are themselves independent. They acknowledge that there are powers superior to their own, as one man is stronger than another. But they regard their existence as their own property, though liable to be invaded and affected by superior powers; and on this property they can stand, and parley, and make conditions with those powers, whatever they may be. The spirit of dependence is the spirit of religion, and the spirit of independence is the spirit of atheism and idolatry'.

The Brahminical idolatry is essentially that of Greece and Rome, travestied and orientalized in adaptation to the grosser conceptions and more sluggish imaginations of a people whom their foreign instructors despised. Brahminism, like the classic idolatry, has its esoteric and its popular creed. Like Romanism, it has its sacred language, and proceeds upon the principle of withholding its sacred books; and taking away the key of knowledge from the vulgar. It thus interposes the priest between its fabled deities and their votaries, as the real and ultimate object of worship. It does not deify the dead, like Boodhism, but the living; and it appeals less to the imagination than to the senses of its worshippers.

There is some difficulty in ascertaining the origin and primitive form of the Boodhic faith. It is, we think, highly pro-

* Erskine on the Freeness of the Gospel, pp. 87, 8.

bable, that, like Brahminism, it has undergone considerable modification, and that the doctrines taught by Gaudama were grafted upon the more ancient superstition which has left its memorials in the caves of Ellora, Karlee, Salsette, Bamian, and Beligola. One of the most remarkable peculiarities of these caves, is the appearance of curly or woolly hair upon the figure of Boodh, which has been supposed to mark him out as of Ethiopic or negro origin. The Brahmins, however, Captain Sykes says, do not admit the curls to be representations of hair.

‘ They suppose his head to be covered with something called a *muggoth*; and in proof of its being an artificial covering, they point out the small cupola rise in the centre of the head, of which hair in its natural state would never give the appearance. After viewing a number of the Boodh figures, I am almost induced to acquiesce in the opinion of the Brahmins.’ p. 302.

Mr. Erskine says, that the regularly curled, wig-like hair generally given to Boodh, is ascribed by his followers, ‘ to the hair having been plucked out or cut with a golden knife.’

‘ Beings with hair of a similar appearance are, indeed, found in temples of Shiva; his *gan*, or suite of *peishaches* or demons, having hair quite similar. But in temples of Buddh and of the Jains, this *tête* appears on the object of worship; in those of Shiva, on the deformed attendants. One might be tempted to imagine, that, in the course of the feuds between the two religions, the priests of Shiva had, from contempt, bestowed the head-dress of the Bouddhist saint on the meanest slaves of their god.’ p. 515.

M. Klaproth, in his life of Booddha, drawn up from Mougl documents, gives the following account of the figures of the saint. ‘ Before his death, Shakia Moonee’ (under which name Gaudama is best known to the nations of Tibet) ‘ had enjoined his disciples to unite after his decease, to remind each other of all the points of his doctrine, and to form a complete collection of his principles, which should serve as a fundamental law to future generations. He directed them also to make an image of his person, which should have the virtue of strengthening their belief as often as they should adore it. Soon after his death, Wichowa Karma*, a distinguished artist, executed a model of the figure of Shakia Moonee, which represented him at the age of eight years: after this model, a statue was cast, of a mixture of the most precious metals. The second image of Booddha was made by order of his son Rakholi: it repre-

* The *Vishnu-kurmu* (or architect of the gods) of the Hindoo pantheon.

‘ sented him at twelve years of age, and was a composition of
 ‘ precious stones. In the head of this figure, there was fixed a
 ‘ reservoir, from which water was insensibly diffused through
 ‘ the whole body by very small ducts, and dropped below into
 ‘ gilded vases. This sacred water served to purify the wor-
 ‘ shippers of the statue, and became an infallible remedy for all
 ‘ sorts of infirmities. A monarch of India caused a third image
 ‘ of Shakia Moonee to be made by the hands of Wichowa Kar-
 ‘ ma : it was of precious stones, and represented him at twenty-
 ‘ five years of age. One of these colossal statues was thirty-six;
 ‘ and another sixty yards in height. After this, Wichowa Kar-
 ‘ ma executed the image of Boodha in a sitting posture, letting
 ‘ his right hand hang from the knee, while he held in his left a
 ‘ golden *kurda* (*roue de prières*, prayer-wheel). He wore the
 ‘ sacerdotal ornaments, and his hair, having become very long
 ‘ during his eremitical life, was frizzed in numerous curls all
 ‘ over his head. This is the true reason why many images of
 ‘ Shakia Moonee appear to have the hair curled. The late
 ‘ M. Langles was mistaken in supposing, on account of this
 ‘ head of hair, that Boodha had been of Ethiopian or African
 ‘ origin. His throne was (in this image) supported by 800
 ‘ lions, adorned with the symbol of the goddess *Dara Eklé*.
 ‘ All the images now to be found among his followers, are only
 ‘ copies or imitations of those already mentioned.’*

Colonel Francklin, who is a zealous oriental antiquary of Bryant’s school, is quite confident that Boodh was an Ethiop.
 ‘ In all his images,’ he says, ‘ we may trace an appearance re-
 ‘ sembling that of the Egyptians and Ethiopians; and both in
 ‘ features and dress, they differ from the acknowledged deities
 ‘ of the modern Hindoos. The flat nose, thick lips, and coarse,
 ‘ crisped, woolly hair, are permanent throughout India.’ (p. 141.)
 Permanent, we suppose he means, in the representations of Gaudama. In the engraving, however, which he has given, representing the semi-colossal figure of Boodh, found near the ruins of the city of Jeynuggur in the Jungleterry district of Bahar, the head-dress bears certainly little resemblance to the woolly head of a negro, but looks more like a Welsh wig, with an artificial ornament rising from the crown, somewhat like the crest of a helmet, or a braided knot of hair. A flat nose and thick lips are physiognomical characteristics, of which we need not go out of India to discover the types. The Author of “Sketches of India” describes the ‘Hill people’ whom he saw at Rajmahal, (the *Puharrees* of Bishop Heber,) as having ‘the

* Mémoires relatifs à L’Asie. Par M. Klaproth. Paris, 1826. Tom. ii. pp. 86—88.

'African nose and lip.' Lientenant Shaw, in his description of the same people, says: 'A flat nose seems the most characteristic feature; but it is not so flat as in the Caffres of Africa; nor are their lips so thick, though they are in general thicker than in the inhabitants of the plains.* The thick lips and 'Caffer-like nose' are not less marked in the *Pukharrees* of the Garrow Hills.† So that we might almost venture to conclude, that Gaudama, the original seat of whose religion was certainly Magadha or South Bahar, was himself a Bheel, one of that aboriginal race who have been driven to take refuge in the Jungleterry, the Vindhyan mountains, and the recesses of Gondwana; the *Palli* of Colonel Wilford, and Bishop Heber's Hindoo Welahmen.

Gaudama, however, was confessedly not the original Boodh. He is believed to have been the *fourth* Boodh who has appeared to reform and regenerate mankind. His immediate predecessor, we have seen, is supposed to have been Casyapa. Who the first Boodh was,—whether, as learned mythologists of England and Germany contend, the same as Woden and Mercury,—whether a hero or a planet, or the Sun himself,—or whether, as Col. Francklin imagines, the same as Osiris, Neptune, and Dagon, as well as Vishnoo, Jugger Nauth, Boötes, Cadmus, Hermes Trismegistus, Mahiman, and Noah,—we will not venture presumptuously to decide. We will content ourselves with stating our opinion, that the Boodhism of India, (that superstition we mean, which is identified with the colossal statues and caves that constitute its most remarkable antiquities,) is decidedly older than the era of Gaudama, anterior to Brahminism and the institution of caste; that it was, in fact, the prevalent creed of the Bheel tribes, as well as, perhaps, of the Tamul nations, who seem to have the strongest claims to be regarded as the aborigines of Central, Eastern, and Southern India.

We have left ourselves little room to advert to the remaining contents of this interesting volume. The account of 'the living god' at Chinchoor, exhibits an instance of modern fanaticism, mingled with the most shameless roguery, which we strongly commend to the notice of all admirers of the Hindoo character. Captain Sykes, however, admonishes the civilized European not to exult over the weak and unlettered Asiatic, who has in this instance allowed 'his admiration of the practice of piety and virtue to mislead his judgement'; seeing that 'our times bear testimony to equally monstrous cre-

* *Asiat. Res.* vol. ii. p. 93.

† See p. 309 of our last volume. (Elect. April.)

'dulity and superstition in the case of Johanna Southcott's followers, without *similar* foundations for reverence and faith.' This clumsy way of vindicating the Hindoos at the expense of the good people of England, is borrowed from the Abbé Dubois. How far admiration of the practice of piety has any share in misleading the judgement of the Hindoos in the case before us, this gentleman has fortunately enabled us to ascertain.

'The imposture should have ended here; but the Brahmins, with a laudable determination to preserve the valuable bequests to the temple, and not without hopes of still further profiting from the credulity of the *pious*, have endeavoured to persuade the public, that the god is satisfied to continue the incarnation for some time longer; and they have set up a boy of the name of Suckharee, a distant relative of Dhurmedhur (the last *Deo*). The god will want neither votaries nor champions, as long as his friends will admit of his continuing the practice of giving a dinner to a limited number of Brahmins once a month, and annual entertainments (on two different days) to unlimited numbers.' pp. 71, 2.

We had intended to notice the attack made upon Mr. Mill's History of India, by Major Vans Kennedy; but we reserve this for a future article, in which the character of the natives of India will come under distinct consideration. We shall take leave, therefore, for the present, of the volume before us, after transcribing the following short account of the Kurradee Brahmins, communicated by Sir John Malcolm, and requiring no other comment than the feelings of our readers will supply.

'As connected with the *Dusrahs* (an annual commemoration of Rama's victory over Rawan, king of Ceylon), by the festival being the period at which they were celebrated, I cannot refrain from mentioning the horrid human sacrifices (now, *I hope*, no longer in existence), formerly offered by the Kurradee Brahmins to the *sactis* (infernal goddesses) at the close of this feast. I had often heard this sect accused of having made human sacrifices, and I asked my Brahmin friend if it was true. "There is," said he, "not the slightest doubt of it; and still more horrible, sometimes the victim is nearly connected with the person by whom he is sacrificed to the infernal and sanguinary gods". . . . "These sacrifices", continued he, "were often made at Poonah, till put an end to by Balajee Badjerow." He promised to note down for me all the particulars he knew; and I was soon presented with an account, of which the following is a literal translation.

"The tribe of Brahmins, called Kuradi, had formerly a horrid custom of annually sacrificing to their deities (*sactis*) a young Brahmin. The *sacti* is supposed to delight in human blood, and is represented with three fiery eyes, and covered with red flowers. This goddess holds in one hand a sword, and in the other a battle-axe.

The prayers of her votaries are directed to her during the first nine days of the Dusrah feast; and on the evening of the tenth day, a grand repast is prepared, to which the whole family is invited. An intoxicating drug is contrived to be mixed with the food of the intended victim, who is often a stranger whom the master of the house has for several months, perhaps years, treated with the greatest kindness and attention; and sometimes, to lull suspicion, given him his daughter in marriage. As soon as the poisonous and intoxicating drug operates, the master of the house, unattended, takes the devoted person into the temple, leads him three times round the idol; and on his prostrating himself before it, takes this opportunity of cutting his throat. He collects with the greatest care the blood in a small bowl; which he first applies to the lips of this ferocious goddess, and then sprinkles it over her body; and a hole having been dug at the feet of the idol for the corpse, he deposits it with great care to prevent discovery. After perpetration of this horrid act, the Kurradee Brahmin returns to his family, and spends the night in mirth and revelry, convinced that, by this praiseworthy act, he has propitiated the favour of his blood-thirsty deity for twelve years. On the morning of the following day, the corpse is taken from the hole in which it had been thrown, and the idol is deposited till next Dussarah, when a similar sacrifice is made. The discontinuance of this horrid custom, however, of late years, is said principally to have arisen from the following circumstance. At Poonah, a young and handsome Carnatic Brahmin, fatigued with travel and oppressed by the scorching heat of the sun, sat himself down in the verandah of a rich Brahmin, who chanced to be of the Kurradee sect. The Brahmin shortly after passing by, and perceiving that the youth was a stranger, kindly invited him to his house, and requested him to remain till perfectly recovered from the fatigues of his journey. The unsuspecting Brahmin youth readily accepted this apparently kind invitation, and was for several days treated with so much attention and kindness, that he showed no inclination to depart. He had seen also the Kurradee Brahmin's beautiful daughter, and conceived for her a violent attachment. Before a month had elapsed, he asked and obtained her in marriage. They lived happily together till the time of the Dussarah arrived, when the deceitful old Brahmin, according to his original intention, determined to sacrifice his son-in-law to the goddess of his sect. Accordingly, on the tenth day of the feast, he mixed an intoxicating poisonous drug in his victuals, not however unperceived by his daughter. She being passionately fond of her husband, contrived unobserved to exchange the dish with that of her brother, who in a short time became senseless. The unlucky father, seeing the hapless state of his son, and despairing of his recovery, carried him to the temple, and with his own hands put him to death, and made to his idol an offering of his blood. This being perceived by the young Brahmin, he asked his wife the meaning of so shocking and unnatural an action. She replied by informing him of his recent danger, and the particulars of the whole affair. Alarmed for his own safety, and desirous that justice should be inflicted on the cruel Brahmin, he effected his escape, and repairing to the Peishwa, fell

at his feet, and related the whole affair. Orders were instantly given to seize every Kurradee Brahmin in the city of Poonah, and particularly the infamous perpetrator of the horrid deed. He was, with a number of others similarly convicted, put to death; and all the sect were expelled the city, and strict injunctions were laid on the inhabitants to have in future as little connexion with them as possible.

"By this well timed severity," says my authority, "Balajee Badjerow effectually prevented the recurrence of similar crimes; and the Kurradee Brahmins now content themselves with sacrificing a sheep or buffalo." pp. 86—89.

And so do the priests of Kalee *now*, at Calcutta.

Art. V. *Narrative of an Ascent to the Summit of Mont Blanc, on the 8th and 9th August, 1827.* By John Auldjo, Esq. Quarto. pp. 129. Price 1*l.* 1*s.* London. 1828.

THIS volume affords a striking exemplification of the proper use and judicious application of Lithography. Mr. Auldjo, on examining the details given by De Saussure and others, found that, while little remained to be done in the way of scientific description, there was yet ample opportunity for picturesque and topographical illustration, in connection with Mont Blanc, its scenery, and the surrounding country. This he has given in a very interesting and effective manner, through the medium of a well-chosen and skilfully executed series of lithographical drawings, from sketches made chiefly by himself. The draughtsman is Harding, who appears to us the ablest of all our artists in the management of this species of graphic representation; and who has succeeded to admiration in expressing the peculiar character of the scenery to be portrayed. If the quantity and quality of decoration here given, had passed through the more elaborate processes of the engraver, we should imagine that, instead of the very reasonable rate at which the volume is now tendered, it could hardly have been afforded at three times the price. We have much jealousy in this matter; we dislike exceedingly to witness the slightest approach to trespass, and we are not without our fears of injurious consequences to line engraving from the simple machinery of Mr. Hullmandel, and its cheap and easily multiplied productions; but, in cases like the present, its employment is not merely unexceptionable, but indispensable. The chief attraction of the volume is derived from the spirited vignettes, representing the casualties and hazards of the route up the mountain, in an exceedingly lively and expressive manner. The more comprehensive landscapes are not so effective; they are executed on a scale better adapted to the point or the burin, than to the coarser and less definite touches

of the crayon. It would have gone far towards remedying this defect, if the size of the views had been doubled.

There is a great deal of difference between the escalade of Mont Blanc and the ascent of Ben Nevis. An umbrella, a stout pair of shoes, and a glass of whiskey, are ample precaution against the risks of the latter; while the very guides, skilful, intrepid, and active as they are, shrink from the hazards of the former. Mr. Auldjo found considerable difficulty in procuring a sufficient number of assistants, and had to sustain the bitter reproaches of their wives and relatives, for tempting them to an enterprise of such complicated dangers. No longer ago than 1820, a party of thirteen was swept away by an avalanche, after passing the *Grand Plateau*, and three perished; a catastrophe of which a deeply interesting account was given to Dr. Clarke by Julien Devouassoud, one of the survivors, who himself most narrowly escaped. And Mr. Auldjo's expedition must have had a termination yet more tragical, but for the providential discovery, not long before, of a new path near the summit. Soon after they had diverged from the old track, they heard the rush and burst of an avalanche, but had no conception, until their return, of its critical direction.

'I have before observed,' writes Mr. A., 'that during our ascent, a tremendous noise was heard, which was thought to be produced by some avalanche on the Italian side of the mountain; but we now discovered the real cause, and saw the danger from which we had escaped by following the new route. The noise had proceeded from an avalanche similar to, though greater than the one which destroyed the three unhappy guides already mentioned. It had passed exactly in the line of ascent which we must have taken, had not the new tract been discovered; and it had fallen at the very time when we should probably have been in the centre of it. We should all have been inevitably carried away by its vast body; for so great was it, that a great part of the length of the plateau appeared to be covered with huge blocks of ice, and mounds of snow, which had formed parts of its overwhelming mass. I cannot describe my feelings when I saw the poor guides turn pale and tremble at the sight of the danger from which they had escaped. Clasping their hands, they returned most heartfelt thanks for this deliverance.'

Many vain attempts had been made, at different periods during the last century, to scale this magnificent elevation; but none of them were successful until the daring enterprise of Jacques Balma and Dr. Paccard, in 1786. These resolute adventurers were followed by M. de Saussure, in the succeeding year; and his atmospheric observations have formed the basis of all the calculations that have since been made. On the whole, there seem to have been made about sixteen successful, among a greater number of unsuccessful efforts; and the marvel is, that

there have been so many. The main motive to the attempt is nothing better than the gratification of having climbed higher than other travellers; and, after all, we suppose that Humboldt has stood on some still loftier pinnacle; while he in turn must veil his bonnet to the first adventurer who shall scale the summits of the Indian Caucasus. Mr. Auldjo had the rare advantage of a clear day, and 'gazed on the stupendous scene' with the average quantity of delight and astonishment. For our parts, we shall conceal our envy at being thus outdone, by preferring the opinion of the Swiss gentleman and the German baron, who came down grumbling and wondering what in the world could lead people to engage in such unprofitable expeditions. At all events, Mr. A. was the hero of his day. Ladies plied their telescopes to watch his progress, and an applauding crowd hailed his descent. Seriously, however, we quite agree with the writer of this interesting volume, that, although avalanches, storms, *crevasses* of awful depth, *glissades* along the edge of precipices, bivouacs on ledges of rock, and actual suspension over dark and dreadful gulfs, are not very pleasant things in the actual encounter, yet, they call forth the most intense exertion of both mental and physical power; that they try the man; and especially, that they furnish the material of delightful and spirit-stirring recollections.

Mr. Auldjo commenced his ascent early in the morning of August 8, 1827, and very soon encountered some of the minor difficulties in the way. After winding along narrow paths athwart the face of precipices, and clambering up the loose *débris* of the 'Moraines', an accumulation of rocky fragments, earth, and gravel, lying against the sides of the glacier, they reached the ice. Here, the utmost care became necessary; both activity and caution were required to secure a safe passage over the rugged and slippery surface. Ropes, six yards in length, passed from one to the other, connecting two individuals together, excepting in Mr. A's case, who made one of three, thus secured.

'The benefit of being secured to each other by ropes, is shewn almost every instant, as not a minute passed without some one of the party slipping on the ice; and falling, had he not been linked to another, would have glided into some crevice, and inevitably have perished. We were surrounded by ice piled up in mountains, crevices presenting themselves at every step, and masses half sunk into some deep gulf; the remainder raised above us, seemed to put insurmountable barriers to our proceeding; yet, some part was found, where steps could be cut with the hatchet; and we passed over these bridges, often grasping the ice with one hand, while the other, bearing the pole, balanced the body, hanging over some abyss, into which the eye penetrated, and searched in vain for the extremity.'

Several of these crevices were passed on ice-bridges; in some cases, the communication was nothing more than a mass of snow, and a guide, having managed to get across, drew the remainder over while they lay on their backs; in one case, a narrow pontoon was made by laying the poles close together. A number of beautiful caves, with fairy baths of melted snow, invited an examination that leisure would not allow. In their approach to a mass of rock called the *Grands Mulets*, they were intercepted by a tremendous chasm eighty feet in width, and bridged by a narrow acclivity of ice, terminating in a wall twenty feet high. This was partly scaled, and partly ascended by the aid of ropes and of steps cut in the ice. A very striking representation of this perilous pass is given among the views. Soon afterwards, Mr. A. fell on a sharp declivity, and was sliding rapidly towards a precipice, when he was arrested at the very edge, by the ropes that fastened him to his guides. Having reached the '*Mulets*', the party took up their lodging for the night, on an elevated shelf of rock. At half-past three on the following morning, the march was re-commenced, under the same circumstances as before. Two or three excellent sketches, aided by some clear description, exhibit part of the dangers of the route; travelling along a thin cornice of ice projecting over a fearful abyss—traversing a crevice along the face of a frozen mass—halting on a snow-bridge—and crossing a deep fracture on a narrow ledge. One of the guides slipped 'up to his neck', through one of these bridges of snow, and had a narrow escape with his life. The sufferings of the whole party now became severe. The cold, sharp wind was on one side; on the other, a scorching sun. The rarified atmosphere and the fatigue of the ascent, overcame Mr. Auldjo, and he was with difficulty forced to proceed, by the persuasions and efforts of the guides. At length, the summit was gained, and a short sleep restored him sufficiently to give him the full enjoyment of his lofty standing. He tells us what he saw; but we shall decline repeating what must altogether fail of conveying an adequate idea of so magnificent a panorama.

At twelve, the party began their descent, symptoms of a storm promising to give variety to its dangers. Presently it came down in full force, and, to increase the interest of the affair, the guides missed the route in the midst of a labyrinth of fissures and precipices. Mr. Harding has given an admirable drawing of the party taking '*shelter*' from the pelting of the tempest, in a 'recess formed by the projection of a part of the glacier over a narrow ledge in the side of a deep crevice.'

'The storm raged with most awful fury; the gusts of wind, the

pelting showers of hail, accompanied by most vivid lightning and peals of thunder, alternating with a perfect calm, were enough to appal the bravest of the party. We waited some time in this situation, when, in one of those moments of calm, was heard the loud halloo of one of the exploring guides, who was returning to us, and called to us to advance, for they had found the angle which we had so much difficulty in climbing up the day before. We soon joined him and his companion, who conducted us to it. Nearly deprived of the use of my limbs, from the excessive cold and wet state of my apparel, I could scarcely walk, my fingers were nearly frozen, and my hands so stiffened and senseless that I could not hold my baton, or keep myself from falling. Supported by one guide, (the bank on which we were proceeding would admit of no more than two abreast,) I moved slowly forward, and in this state arrived at the angle. The only change which appeared to have taken place, was on the neck or tongue below the cliff. The day before, it touched or slightly rested on the wall, but the end of it had fallen in, so that there was some difficulty in getting to it from the last step in the wall. One or two of the guides betrayed evident signs of fear; for the black, thick clouds in which we were involved, caused a gloominess approaching to darkness, and which was actually produced in the gulf of the fissure. The lightning flashed every moment, immediately followed, or rather accompanied by claps of thunder, showing its proximity to us, and the loud peal rolling among the mountains and glaciers, reverberated with most terrific grandeur, shaking the broken masses of the latter in such a manner, that we dreaded, at every explosion, to be hurled into the deep crevice, or crushed by the fall of some part of the glacier.

‘This was not a time or situation to remain in longer than was necessary for cutting steps in the wall, instead of those which had been injured; nor was it a position in which any attempt could be made to restore life to my hands or animation to my body. I had now nearly lost all feeling, from the effects of the cold, and, being incapable of making any exertion, I was lowered down to the guides, who were already on the ledge beneath the wall. At the very moment I was rocking in the air, a flash of lightning penetrated the abyss, and showed all the horrors of my situation; while the crash of the thunder seemed to tear the glacier down upon me. I was drawn on to the neck of ice, and set down until the other guides had descended. The hearts of two or three failed, and they declared that we must all perish; the others, though conscious of our awfully dangerous position, endeavoured to raise the courage and keep up the spirits of the depressed. All suffered dreadfully from the cold; but with a solicitude for which I shall ever be deeply grateful, they still attended me in the kindest manner. They desired me to stand up, and forming a circle, in the centre of which I stood, closed round me. In a few minutes, the warmth of their bodies extended to mine, and I felt much relieved; they then took off their coats, covering me with them, and each in turn put my hands into his bosom, while another lay on my feet. In ten minutes, I was in a state to proceed: we divided equally the last half bottle of brandy, and then moved

down the neck of ice. A guide gave me his thick cloak, which, though wet, kept me warm. I walked between two batons held horizontally by two guides, one before and the other behind me, and which I could grasp without taking my hands from under the cloak.'

Mr. Auldjo's safe return was welcomed, with much cordial greeting, by a crowd of loiterers of all ages, sexes, and nations. He got, however, at length, his supper, a warm bath, and a good night's rest. On the following day, he gave his guides a dinner; and it is to the credit of all parties, that there were tears at separation. Mr. A. did not omit to furnish himself with a regular certificate of his performance, signed by the Syndic of Chamonix, and by all his companions. Of this official document, a fac-simile is given.

An appendix contains a description of the most interesting general views of Mont Blanc, in illustration of the lithographic drawings; an index to the large and very interesting 'sketch of the chain of Mont Blanc taken from the Breven'; notes on the natural history and geology of the mountain; an account of the different ascents; and a statement of the height of the principal mountains of Europe.

Art. VI. *The Typographical Gazetteer*, attempted by the Rev. Henry Cotton, D.C.L. 8vo. pp. 235. Oxford, 1825.

WE regret that we have not, until very recently, been sufficiently aware of the character and merits of this very useful little work, to feel an interest in recommending it to our readers. It supplies, if not entirely, yet with a fair approach to completeness, a deficiency that we have, in common with most extensive readers, felt as a great annoyance. In the pursuit of some local or typographical investigation, we have often been disagreeably checked by the occurrence of some out-of-the-way name at the foot of a title-page, or the close of an *ad Lectorem*, scattering our references in all directions, and, after all, leaving us too frequently to guesses and approximations. We have felt this at times rather painfully, and have been disposed to reproach ourselves for something like criminal ignorance on a subject with which scholars might be supposed to have familiar and indispensable acquaintance. Happily for our self-complacency, the learned Sub-librarian of the Bodleian has pleaded guilty to a similar want of expertness, and happily for our case, has employed much skilful and well-applied labour in removal of the occasion. During eight years of official duty, he had been necessarily busied in matters of arrangement and reference, requiring frequent and ready access to authorities,

and involving much inquiry concerning the dates and localities of typographical *expression*. In the course of these investigations, he often found himself 'utterly at a loss' to ascertain facts and circumstances with sufficient precision either for his own purposes or for those of others.

'Although a person in a public library might be supposed to be familiar enough with the ever-recurring names of *Lutetia*, *Hispalis*, or *Lugdunum*, yet, there were many minor towns of every European kingdom, with which I could not claim acquaintance of any sort: although I could not be ignorant of such places as *Dantzic* or *Helmstadt*, it did not necessarily follow that these should at once be recognized under the appellations of *Gedanum* and *Academia Julia*: and matters grew still worse when I found myself among the towns of Hungary and Bohemia, of Poland, Denmark, and Norway; among villages of which no vestige now remains, among monasteries and convents whose names bore nothing about them which might direct a stranger to the ascertaining of their localities. Neither from the dead nor the living could I gain the intelligence necessary in these cases.'

This is somewhat overcharged. To say nothing of more recondite sources, there is, in Ainsworth's Dictionary, a rather copious list of places with their English and Latin synonyms: unfortunately, the English stand first, and determine the alphabetical order. *Helmstadt* and *Dantzic* both occur; the first as *Helmstadium*, the latter as *Gedanum*. Littleton gives us *Gedanum* in the Latin order, but in neither do we find *Academia Julia*, a distinction confined to the university. We have not compared Dr. Cotton's list with Ainsworth's, nor is it expedient, since there can be no competition between a mere string of names, and a well-compacted *catalogue raisonnée*. It is to be regretted, that Dr. Cotton's removal to a different sphere of duty, compelled him to publish his work in a condition short of the perfection which he had contemplated, although it is, even in its present state, by far the most complete publication of its kind. We have felt a little temptation to offer a few suggestions;—such as whether *Nova Insula*, to which a 'qu?' is attached, and where a Hungarian version of the Gospels is said to have been printed in 1541, may not be the same place with Neuhausel, situated on a river tributary to the Danube, at no great distance from Comorn. But we shall abstain from an unprofitable labour, and confine ourselves to a sample or two of the work before us. The following is a fair specimen of the more interesting articles, as well as of the manner in which the Writer gives the results of his own personal examinations.

'*Wintonia*, Winchester, an ancient episcopal city of England, in the county of Hants. I do not know that Winchester has any other

claim to a place in this volume, than that which arises from the colophon of one of those violent publications which abounded in England about the time of the Reformation. The book to which I allude, is called; *The rescuing of the Romishe fox, and the seconde course of the hunter at the Romishe fox and his advocate*, published by William Turner, under the assumed name of Wraughton: it is a violent attack on Stephen Gardiner, then Bishop of Winchester. At the end of the volume we read, *Imprinted have at Winchester, anno Domini 1555, 4 nonas Martii. By me Hanse hit prik*. Now my own opinion is, that the book in question was certainly not printed at Winchester, nor indeed in any part of England. The types are of Swiss make, similar to those of the first edition of Coverdale's Bible; the spelling is not English; the sentences printed in Roman letter, found on the title-page, are made up with Gothic w and y. Turner, the Author, was at this time an exile on the continent, on account of his religion, and had dated his first *Hunting of the Romishe Foze* from Basle, only two years before. The phraseology of the colophon also deserves examination. It is evident, that the expression *Imprinted have*, is of German or Dutch idiom, not of English: *at Winchester* may mean against the bishop of Winchester (Gardiner): the printer's Christian name is not John but Hans (the German for John), and *hit-prik* is a name which perhaps the author assumed for the sake of shewing that he had not failed in his object, but had succeeded in *hitting the pricke*, or mark. *Hit-pricke*, i. e. τὸ τοῦ σκοποῦ τυχόν. This very rare and curious volume may be seen in the Bodleian library.

By the aid of machinery and the division of labour, our modern printers beat their venerable ancestors hollow in speed, if not in admirable execution; unless we may venture to take literally the singular illustration of the Parmesan typographer, Corallus, who states himself, on some occasion of urgent competition, to have turned out his work *citius quàm asparagi coquantur*! Before dismissing this volume, we shall extract from the preface a paragraph or two illustrating the history and geography of printing.

As for China, I had little dreamed that the European mode of printing was in use there more than two centuries ago; that it had been practised in more than one of the islands of Japan—in the Philippines—the Azores—in Ceylon—in the Balearic Islands—in Armenia—in Macedonia—on Mount Libanus—in Iceland—and in Otaheite; that it was known both in the northern and southern parts of Africa, both at Cairo and at the Cape of Good Hope; that it had visited the new world at a very early period after its discovery; that it was practised at Mexico before it was received into Ireland—in Peru—in the West India islands—in the British settlements of North America: and finally, that it has transplanted itself to the shores of the newly-discovered continent, and bids fair to take root and flourish both at Sydney and in Van Diemen's land.

* * * * *

The art may be said to have sprung to life, mature, vigor-
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ous, and armed for war; having been successfully exhibited in Germany in the year 1457.' It 'was carried to Bohemia in 1461: four more years saw it in Italy: France and Switzerland were enjoying it in 1470: in the next year it was practised in Holland: Sicily and Hungary possessed it in 1473: the next year brought it to England: Spain enjoyed it in 1475: Denmark in 1476: Portugal in 1489: and by the close of the fifteenth century, it had travelled to Constantinople. Scotland had it in 1509: Sweden in 1510: Macedonia in 1515: the snows of Iceland in 1530: by the year 1549, it was introduced to a new world at Mexico: in 1561, it was in Ireland: in 1563, in Poland: in the next year, in Russia: in 1576, in Sardinia: by the year 1582, it had winged its way even to Japan: it was in the Azores in 1583: in India and China in 1590: in 1603, in Peru: in 1610, on Mount Libanus: in 1621, in the Philippine islands: and in 1639, in the British settlements of North America.'

In addition to the Alphabetical 'Gazetteer' which forms the staple of the work, there are, an index of *Pseudonymes*, a list of the Bodleian Vellums, and a general Index to the volume.

- Art. VII. 1. *Notitia Historica*: containing Tables, Calendars, and Miscellaneous Information, for the Use of Historians, Antiquaries, and the Legal Profession. By Nicholas Harris Nicolas, Esq. Sm. 8vo. pp. 277. Price 12s. London, 1824.
2. *The Companion to the Almanac*; or Year-Book of general Information for 1828. Containing Information connected with the Calendar, and Explanations of the Celestial Changes, and the Natural Phenomena of the Year; General Information on Subjects of Chronology, Geography, Statistics, &c. Useful Directions and Remarks. 12mo. pp. 186. Price 2s. London, 1828.

MR. Nicolas has furnished an exceedingly useful volume, though its character is somewhat professional, and its information is mainly adapted to the requirements of the classes enumerated in the title-page. It commences with an elucidation of a peculiarity in the 'Style', which, as it has heretofore puzzled ourselves, it may be acceptable to our readers to have explained.

'Considerable difficulty is often felt by persons unaccustomed to Antiquarian Literature, in understanding the alteration in the Style; and likewise in comprehending the year intended to be expressed when written,

167 $\frac{1}{2}$ —172 $\frac{1}{4}$.

The following short explanation is therefore submitted with the hope of rendering the subject perfectly clear.

'Previously to September 1752, the Civil or Legal year in this country commenced on the day of the Annunciation, the 25th of March, whilst the Historical year began, as at present, on the day of the Circumcision, the 1st of January; thus a confusion was created

in describing the year between the 1st of January and the 25th of March, for Civilians called each day within that period, one year earlier than Historians. For example, the former wrote,

January 7th, 1658,

and the latter,

January 7th, 1659,

though both described the 25th of the following March, and all the ensuing months, as in the year 1659. To prevent errors, that part of each year is usually written agreeably to both calculations, by placing two figures at the end; the *upper* being the Civil or Legal, and the *lower* the Historical year; thus,

February 3, 164 $\frac{8}{9}$ Civil or Legal year.
 Historical year.

Hence, whenever the year is so written, the lower figure always indicates the year now used in our calendar.

The alteration in the calendar, which formed what is usually called the Old and New Style, took place on the second of September, 1752, on which day the Old Style ceased, and the next day, instead of being called the 3rd, became the 14th of September.

The second division gives a series of tables illustrating the parallel course of the regular year with the *Anno Regni* of each of the English kings from the Norman Conquest. Next comes the Roman and Church Calendar, with a tremendous muster-roll of Saints and their festivals, and explanations of the Moveable Feast, Easter Day, and Dominical Letters. A minute account follows, detailing various particulars connected with the preservation and printing of the Public Records. Then the 'Ancient Names of Land' and sundry genealogical Abbreviations are explained; and these are succeeded by 'An Account of the different Registries of Wills in the several Ecclesiastical Dioceses, with a List of Peculiars within the same;' an arrangement of Diocesan territory; and an 'Alphabetical List of Surnames and Names of Places as they are found in Ancient Records, explained by the Modern Names.'

The Companion to the Almanack comes before us under the high auspices of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and is intended to be the first of a series of annual publications. The title is not a new one; but we have never before seen such a mass of various and useful information comprised within so small a compass, and presented in so cheap a form. The Manual (for such it may justly be termed) is divided into four parts. The first contains explanations of the various subjects of inquiry connected with the Calendar, such as the changes of style, the festivals, the celestial phenomena, the seasons, the weather, the tides, &c. In the first section, the changes explained by Mr. Nicolas, are briefly referred to; and we have, besides the English Calendar, the Jewish and the

Mohammedan. From these, the reader may learn, that we are now in the 5587th year of the Jews, and have just entered upon the 1243rd year of the Hejira. The year of the Julian period is 6541. Part II. comprises a series of useful Tables, Chronological and Statistical; including a table of the population of the World, the last census of our own kingdom, the longitudes and latitudes of remarkable places, measures, ancient and modern, equalized, &c. So far as these are taken from official documents, they are highly valuable, and they bear on them the stamp of authority. In a few instances, however, we have to regret that the sources of information are not specified; more especially as the correctness of some of the statements is very questionable. For example, assuming the population of the world to be a thousand millions, the Jews are stated to amount to only two millions, five hundred thousand: a computation nearer the truth, makes them to exceed six millions. The population of India is, we believe, much under-rated; a larger population is assigned to China, than to the Chinese empire,—an obvious blunder; and many of the calculations rest upon very imperfect and doubtful data. This table is apparently copied from a foreign newspaper, as the orthography is not English; neither is it correct. We have 'Ivan (Western Persia),' for Iran; Dsehgatai for Jagatay; Beludschistan and Baloochistan as two different countries; Arabistan for Arabia, &c. In the Table of Longitudes and Latitudes, the selection is arbitrary and defective. New York is omitted; so are Delhi and Benares, although we have Chandernagur and Pondicherry, and a number of obscure places in France. Shiraz, Teheraun, Bogota, Caraccas, Corunna, and others of not inferior importance, might also have been given.—Part III. consists of 'several short chapters of information and advice, 'supplementary to the Useful Directions in the British Almanack.' In the first chapter, 'Advice to the Poor,' we meet with the following remarks on the Poor-Rate.

'The poor-rate is become the stumbling-block to the independence and happiness of the labourers. They have been taught to look forward to it as a resource on most occasions, and very often on occasions where their own industry and economy might easily have supplied its place.

'The poor-rate may have, perhaps, become a necessary contribution, to lessen occasionally the misery, sudden poverty, and want of employment, arising from the changes in the value of money and property, and from the unexpected diminution of different branches of trade and commerce; but the poor person, when he takes or applies for relief, should always reflect, that he who claims it is not honest, if his own labour and work can suffice to provide for his wants. Suppose two labourers of equal strength, and with equal means of

getting employment; the one is prudent and saves; the other is often idle, and squanders all he gets: if the latter should, in any distress, apply to the former for assistance, his answer would be, you can work; forbear, and save as I do. Why should I labour to supply you? Now, there is no difference between the case of these two labourers, and between the labourer and the poor-rate. It is as immoral and unjust to take unnecessarily from the industrious and saving, under shelter and pretence, and by force of a law which is made, and a tax which is raised, for other objects, as to pillage it from the pocket of your fellow-labourer.

'The labourer is too apt to consider the poor-rate as a portion of his property, as a part of a charity estate held for his benefit; but the true nature of this fund is, that a portion of the industry, labour, and savings of the prudent and wise, are called for and employed to provide for their fellow-creatures, from mere motives of mercy and kindness. All frauds upon such a fund are disgraceful, and wherever they are detected, are sure to bring the person guilty into disrepute, suspicion, and ill-will.' pp. 108, 9.

In a note to this chapter, we are told, that the advice it contains, is meant to be read not only by the poor, but 'to furnish 'useful hints to all who attend to the physical and moral improvement of their humbler neighbours.' To persons of the latter class, this 'advice' may be useful, if it serves to convince them of the immorality of paying any portion of the hire of their labourers out of the poor-rate. But, as regards the poor themselves, the advice, however salutary, can have little force, so long as the labourer is taught by his employer to consider parochial relief as the compensation for inadequate wages.

Part IV. of this Companion, contains an admirably condensed view of the legislative enactments, public improvements, and inventions of 1827.

'The Acts of Parliament most important to be generally known, have been carefully abridged from the statutes, retaining the original phraseology where necessary; the Parliamentary returns for 1827, which form several folio volumes, have been condensed into a dozen pages, so as to afford an accurate Tabular View of the state of Finance, Commerce, Jurisprudence, and Public Morals and Intelligence in the United Kingdom; and the work concludes with a brief account of the more important public buildings commenced, advanced, or completed during the past year, and of the most striking Mechanical Inventions which this period has produced.'

Upon the whole, the thanks of the public are due to the Compiler of this Manual for the useful service he has performed; and we earnestly hope that it will be continued.

Art. VIII. *Sermons on Various Occasions.* By Charles Webb Le Bas, A.M., Professor in the East India College, Hertfordshire; Rector of St. Paul, Shadwell; &c. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. 528. Price 12s. London, 1828.

THE former volume of these Sermons has been brought under the notice of our readers; and it will not be necessary, therefore, for us to use many words in characterizing and recommending the present publication. The Sermons are twenty-four in number, chiefly on occasional subjects, and of a practical nature. Professor Le Bas seldom ventures upon theological discussions, or enters deeply into what is termed experimental religion. But his sermons have this great excellence; they always contain a clear, judicious, and satisfactory exposition of the sacred text; and the morality they enforce, is not that of Epictetus, but of Paul. Considered in connexion with the audiences for which they were designed, they possess, too, the merit of being well adapted for their purpose. They may be thought to read rather too much like a lecture, to be adduced as models for general imitation. More freedom, familiarity, and earnestness seem to belong to the sermon. Like Bishop Horsley's discourses, these may be thought deficient in searching appeals to the conscience, in close application, in fervour and pathos. Still, they are highly impressive and instructive, worthy of a Christian teacher, and in every respect creditable to the talents of the Author.

The first three Sermons, preached before the University of Cambridge, are founded upon Romans xii. 1, 2. The subject of non-conformity to the world, which is treated in the second sermon, is one which might be regarded as delicate ground in such an assembly, and the Preacher was evidently aware of this, but he has not shrunk from his duty.

‘The world, against which this caution is directed, was a world which had nearly lost all knowledge of God, and was under the degrading domination of superstitions, which, not only tolerated, but deified almost every human corruption. And the first thing that strikes us, is the pervading and omnipresent spirit of that Paganism, which then had the earth for its inheritance:—a spirit which haunted the land and the sea, the grove and the mountain, the crowded resorts of the city, the dreary solitudes of the wilderness, the schools of sophists and rhetoricians, the councils of statesmen, and, the houses of private men! From this influence it was impossible to escape. The convert to the Gospel had to live and move in the midst of it. He was surrounded on all sides by memorials of the faith he had deserted. He could not take a step without encountering an altar or a fane. He could visit no spot that was not peopled with divinities. He could scarcely pass a day without being witness

to idolatrous solemnities. Every thing he saw was perpetually tempting him to conformity with the world which he had abandoned. And the reproaches, the menaces, and the tears of his kindred conspired with all external objects to shake his resolution and his faith.

'Of the frightful dissolution of morals, produced by the reign of idolatry among the Gentiles, it cannot be needful to speak at large. In proof of it, we might appeal to your own studies, and recollections; to the disgust and indignation, with which you must have often turned away from the pages of their most illustrious writers; to the sorrow and the shame inspired by the sight of transcendent genius debased, as it often is, by an alliance with the vilest turpitude. We may appeal, still more confidently, to the dreadful picture of human depravity given by St. Paul, in his first chapter to the Romans: an exhibition, which presents every form and variety of wickedness which eye had seen, or ear had heard, or it could enter into the heart of man to conceive. It shews all the heights and depths of that unrighteousness, against which the wrath of God was then revealed. And the source of all these abominations was the perverseness, which *changed the truth of God into a lie, and which worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator.* For these things, the righteous displeasure of God abandoned them to a reprobate mind. They were given up to strong delusions, and to vile affections. And thus did the Deity, in his mysterious wisdom, make known *what was in man.* Thus did He disclose the abyss, to which the race of Adam rush blindly forward, when once they have broken off all communion with the Author of Holiness.

'It is most awful to reflect, that the condition of the chosen people was in no degree more hopeful than that of the heathen world. Nay, their degradation appears to have been, if possible, more desperate than that of the Gentiles themselves. The Israelite had trampled upon blessings, and revelations, which the Greek had never known. On him, accordingly, the curse of judicial infatuation seems to have descended in its darkest terrors. Their own historian Josephus declares, that in his days Jerusalem contained a race, so utterly godless and abandoned, that had not the armies of imperial Rome arrayed themselves against that devoted city, he should have expected to see the earth opening to engulf them, or the floods bursting forth to sweep them from the earth, or the fires of Sodom and Gomorrah descending, once more, for their destruction. The same truth may be collected from writers regarded by the Jews themselves with the deepest veneration. From those writers it appears that about forty years before the destruction of the city the tribunals were positively overwhelmed by one vast deluge of iniquity. Deep called unto deep in a voice so tremendous as to appal the ministers of justice. For ages, the person of an Israelite had been almost too sacred for the arm of authority to approach. And by this impunity the people was, at last, nearly transformed into a generation of ruffians, which defied all law, divine or human. That the profligacy of the multitude was equalled by the almost incredible hypocrisy and cowardice of their rulers, we may learn from this

single fact: The highest seat of judgment in ancient times was held within the Court of the Temple, in order that the administration of justice might be in the immediate neighbourhood of the Divine presence, which was supposed to rest upon the altar. About the period above-mentioned, the Great Sanhedrim removed its sittings from this spot, to a more obscure quarter of the sacred precinct; and the notorious reason was, that they might be more distant from that awful inspection. To the fear of man, they sacrificed the peace, and the very life of their country. Their fear of God compelled them only to change the scene of their iniquities; as if they could thus escape the rebuke of His countenance, and hide their unrighteousness from His inquisition!

In the Hebrews of that age, then, we have the image of a people, sinking fast into the lowest gulfs of wickedness: the officers of justice borne down by the universal irruption of crime, and yet content with their degradation; the people duped by a race of saintly and rapacious hypocrites, and yet glorying in that which was their shame; the higher orders settled down upon the lees of a gross and sensual unbelief, and loosened from the fear either of God or Demon! In the midst of this carnival of every human lust, this revelry of all the powers of evil, a voice was heard from the wilderness calling the world to repentance, and the Messiah quickly followed it, to claim his spiritual kingdom.

Such then was the world, both Jewish and Gentile, whose likeness the Apostle forbade his disciples to put on. In the midst of that world, the followers of Jesus then formed small, and almost invisible, communities. And when they were warned against the world, they would naturally look beyond the pale of their own community, for the things they were to avoid. They would at once seek them in the society which they had quitted, but whose influence was still near them, and around them, and which was incessantly alluring them to return. But what if we should suppose the Apostle to be now pronouncing these words to us? Where should we have to look for that image, to resemble which, is to put off all likeness to the Saviour? Must we not seek it in a world that calls itself Christian? Should we not find our danger in the very household of faith? And if so, does not our present condition demand almost as much fortitude, and much more vigilance and sagacity, than was needed for the guidance of the first followers of the Gospel?

* * * * *

Were we, indeed, to take the awful picture presented by St. Paul of heathen morality, and to compare with it the aspect of many Christian communities of modern times, the representation of the Apostle might, perhaps, appear to be somewhat overcharged. We should find; on examination, that some of the most appalling features have, since that age, been softened and mitigated; that some of the worst deformities have nearly been effaced. And, here and there, we might discover some beginnings of that heavenly character, which perhaps the hand of God will, in his own good time, impress so deeply and indelibly on the face of the world, that conformity with the world shall become the very essence and life of Christian duty.

But, one feature, I fear, there still remains, which, though somewhat subdued and changed, is but too true to the original likeness: I mean, a disposition to worship and to serve the creature rather than the Creator; a disposition to trust to created things for comfort and happiness, rather than to Him who is the sovereign and maker of all things, and consequently the Author of all genuine felicity. The idolater of modern days has no need of graven images, and carved and gilded figures. There is one vast idol constantly before his eyes, arrayed in a blaze of pomp and glory: and he is unable to stir in any direction, without finding himself surrounded by its votaries and its priests. There still are multitudes in this Christian land, who, in honour of this deity, like the Israelites of old, sit down to eat and drink, and rise up to revelry and sport. Some higher and keener spirits are indeed to be found, who spurn at such poor delights; they bear a loftier device: they gird themselves for the warfare of ambitious rivalry: and the bar, and the senate, and the field are too often, not merely the scenes of their legitimate exertion, but the high places of their adoration. And others, again, are content to wear the most slavish and sordid livery of their God; and to do the bidding of a base and *evil covetousness which enlargeth itself as hell*. In short, the spirit of the world can multiply itself without end; so that we seem, as of old, to be surrounded with *Gods many, and Lords many*. And by them the service of the heart may almost as effectually be diverted from the Creator, as if we were living in the midst of temples, and altars, and images, and processions, and festive sacrifices. Be assured there is idolatry, and the guilt and danger of idolatry, wherever the title of Jehovah to the service of our whole heart and faculties is not fully and practically recognized; where any created thing is set up in his stead, and placed between him and the human soul; wherever the will of men, and the habits, and notions, and interests of men, are the chief oracles at which we inquire; while the Voice that cometh from the sanctuary of God is set at nought and forgotten.' pp. 34—36.

In the third sermon, on the Christian Transformation, the subject is pursued. In modern times, the Preacher remarks, 'the breadth and distinctness of the line that separates the world from the church is almost, if not altogether destroyed.'

'Our entrance into the one is soon succeeded by our admission into the other. Our second and spiritual birth follows hard upon our first and natural birth. In this state of things, Christian instruction and discipline must, of course, come after Christian baptism; and the one being secured, the other is often most fearfully disregarded and forgotten. The result is, that while the Sacrament of Regeneration is almost universally administered, there are vast regions within the pale of the visible church, which seem as if the grace and blessing of regeneration had never descended upon them.'

pp. 49, 50.

A severer condemnation upon both the theory and practice of the Church of England in reference to church-membership, could hardly be pronounced, than that which is conveyed by this forcible representation of the effects of her doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration. We do not wish to put upon the words a meaning they were not intended to convey; but, certainly, the Preacher seems to attribute the obliteration of the boundary-line between the Church and the world, to a doctrine which substitutes a ceremonial initiation into the Church for a moral birth into the kingdom of Christ. The result of the rite of baptism, thus misunderstood and perverted, is a fearful disregard of Christian instruction, and a lamentable destitution of the marks of spiritual regeneration. Professor Le Bas would probably say, that this results from the abuse of the rite; but he has not shewn how the evil is to be obviated. It seems to us, that, by calling baptism 'our second and spiritual birth,' he countenances the very error he would deprecate; for where in Scripture do we read of a *third* birth? And if the word regeneration, the strongest of which language admits to express a transformation of heart and mind, be applied to the simple act of dedicating our offspring to the True God,—what terms are left to us to describe that moral renovation upon which it is the object of the Preacher to insist? How inevitably must the necessity of such a change be obscured in the minds of those who are taught to believe, that, in baptism, they were born again and made members of Christ, new creatures, and heirs of heaven? When will the Church of England shake herself free from this foul remnant of a corrupt creed, against which she professedly protests?

The Preacher proceeds to remark, that St. Paul addressed himself, in the words of the text, to persons whose very conversion, if sincere, must have been itself a transformation; a "putting on of the new man, which, after God, is created in "righteousness and true holiness."

'And yet, is it not most remarkable, that he is perpetually urging his disciples, as if the mighty work was always to be begun afresh?....What, then, it may be asked, would be the language of the Apostle, if he were to visit us now? He could not, if he were present among us, fail to perceive, that the principle of heathenism, against which he was perpetually warning his children in the Gospel, still continues to harass and infest the Church, though without assuming any separate form, to keep alive our alarms or our suspicions. It frequents our public assemblies, and it lurks in our social meetings, and it haunts our domestic hearths. It does not wear the semblance of an open adversary. It comes with the title and seeming of our common Christianity; or, like a treacherous and invisible foe, it is

about our path and about our bed. It is, in truth, an ever-present contagion, less violent, perhaps, but quite as subtle as that against which the Gospel had to maintain the first struggle for its life.

The necessity of a Divine change, the renewal and sanctification of the heart by the Eternal Spirit, is then forcibly insisted upon; and 'the glorious philosophy' of the Gospel doctrine is shown to be the only wisdom that 'can span the vast interval between the extremes of man's sublimity and man's degradation.' Pascal finely insists upon this as among the marks of the true religion. The discourse closes with an impressive appeal to the young men who formed the bulk of the Preacher's auditory.

'I behold around me an assemblage of many youthful and generous spirits, eager, doubtless, to acquire the ready use of all those capacities which will soon be put to trial by the duties and conflicts of this world. From their birth to the present hour, they have been passing through a change, which it is not in man to contemplate without exultation;—a change which separates them for ever from the multitudes whose heritage is toil and ignorance; a change which elevates them to the rank of thoughtful beings; a change which enthrones the intellect in majesty, and gives it dominion over the brute force, which else might soon shake the social fabric into ruins. They are undergoing a transformation, which makes men fit for admission to the confidence of Nature; which enables them to trace the laws which preserve the harmony of the universe; which discloses to them wonders and mysteries, as deeply hidden from vulgar eyes, as the secrets of the Unseen World. No tongue can tell, and scarcely any thought can calculate, the interval between the mind which emerges, in full accomplishment, from these retreats of erudition, and the mind which, from the cradle to the grave, is conversant only with low-born cares and labours, which stiffen all the human faculties. The understanding which hath passed that gulf, may be said, almost, to have undergone a new creation, and to be raised to a more illustrious order of intelligences. And yet, how fatal must this elevation be to the proudest son of genius or of science, if it removes him to a region where the God of Nature is forgotten! How worse than ignorant will he be, if he reflects not, that there is another change to be undergone, by all who would behold the Deity himself, and not content themselves with the barren contemplation of His works; by all who would enter within the mysterious tabernacle of His glory, instead of wheeling in restless flight around its precincts. I would, therefore, solemnly inquire of those whom long and anxious vigils are changing, as it were, into other creatures, whether they are content to rest in *that* transformation; or whether they are anxious to put on a higher nature, which is formed *after God*? Do they not know, that the pure in heart are they who shall see Him; that the meek and poor in spirit are they who shall inherit his kingdom; and that fulness shall be the lot of those who hunger and thirst after righteousness? And can they yet have to learn, that this purity and

this blindness, and this earnest longing after holiness, flourish not in the human soul, till it has been visited and renewed by the influences of Heaven? And can they be content to let their immortal spirits wander for ever in regions, which those influences may never reach, and in which the celestial principle may, after all, find no element to preserve it from decline, and ultimate extinction?

These are considerations awfully momentous to those who chiefly affect the grandeur of intellectual conquest, and who feel that such pursuits confer a sort of *redemption* from the bondage of degrading appetites. But what shall be said of those who suffer their deathless spirits to be debased by the familiarities of Belial? What shall we say of those, who have been consecrated to Christ in the waters of Regeneration,—who have since approached the altar to renew and take upon themselves, the solemn vow and promise made for them beside that holy laver,—and who, yet, admit the enemies of Christ into communion with their souls,—who enter into a league with the very lusts they have renounced, and cast off all likeness to the ransomed people of God? Shall we say of them, that the baptismal fontain has been opened for them in vain? Shall we assert, with some, that the Spirit, invoked at that solemnity, can never have descended upon their souls? Shall we not rather say, that they have suffered the earnest of the Spirit, which they then received, to be well nigh lost? that the principle of the divine life lies oppressed and buried beneath the load of their surfeitings and corruptions? and that, *if it so remains*, their condition will rather resemble that of apostates from the truth, than that of persons who, from their birth, have been aliens from the commonwealth of the Faithful? I would not be extreme or hasty to utter a fearful sentence against those, who, in the perilous season of youth, are ensnared by lusts which war against the soul; and yet, what less than this, can well be said of those, who seem to convert the period of their discipline and probation in Christian seminaries, into a vile apprenticeship to vice? who make the seats of “sound learning and religious education,” the schools of dissoluteness and profligacy,—the scenes of unfeeling and ruinous prodigality,—the abhorred sanctuaries of lust and riot? Must we not tremble even to name that sacred change and renewal, of which the Apostle speaks, when we think of those, who appear ambitious of a transformation which can only fit them for the society of degraded and rebellious beings? How can we, without a feeling which approaches to despair, urge them to the study of God’s holy and perfect will, while they are *rushing to their own way, even as the horse rusheth to the battle*? We may, however, adjure them, in the first moment of recovery from the delirium of passion, to look inward upon themselves; to compare their lives, their tempers, their words, their principles, with all that is *lovely, or honest, or of good report*. The contrast, peradventure, may give a shock to their spirits, powerful enough to burst the spell that is upon them, and to stir up the gift of God that is within them. Till that is done, their spiritual renovation is at a stand; and we have only to console ourselves with the thought, that what is impossible with man, is yet, at all times, possible with God.

But I will dwell no longer among these thoughts of trouble and of terror. My reflections and my hopes here, are of things which accompany salvation. I stand in the presence of men who have a near and direct access to the truth; whose powers are in constant training for the prosecution of it; and many of whom, I trust, like the Bereans of old, have that undaunted generosity of spirit, which will search for it at all costs, and follow it at all worldly hazards. To them, therefore, I commend,—as the most important of all inquiries which can form their occupation here,—this awful question; have the powers of the world to come seized on their hearts, and minds, and faculties, and consecrated them as an offering to the Almighty? Is that great change going on within them, which alone can qualify them to stand before the Son of man in the day of his glory? Is it their ambition and delight to know the will of God, in all its unspeakable perfection? I would implore that this inquiry may be carried on daily, while it is called to-day, and before the season of long-suffering is gone by. In the words of an illustrious father of our church, I adjure them to “take heed: for mercy is like the rainbow, which God set in the heavens, to remember mankind. We must never look for it after it is night. It shines not in the other world. If we refuse mercy here, we must have justice to eternity.”

pp. 66—73.

As we cannot extend our notice to all the Sermons in the present volume, we must content ourselves with pointing out those which have more particularly interested us. Sermons XI. and XII. are two striking discourses founded upon Psalm lxxiii. 18, in application to the ascension of Christ and the descent of the Holy Spirit. We shall transcribe the exordium of the first sermon as a fine specimen of judicious exposition.

“These words are found in that magnificent Psalm composed by David, on occasion of bringing up the Ark of the Covenant (which in the reign of Saul had been impiously neglected and almost forgotten) to the gorgeous tabernacle prepared for it in Mount Zion, a strong hold which he had recently won from the hands of the idolaters. On this solemn occasion, the monarch of Israel, in rapturous contemplation of the recent success of his arms, and probably looking forward to fresh triumphs over the enemies of Jehovah, bursts forth into this sacred song, commencing with the very words which, by the direction of Moses, were uttered by the Levites, when the ark set forward on its progress towards the land of promise. *Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered. Let them also which hate him flee before him!*”

This triumphant beginning naturally brings back the imagination of the Psalmist to the wonders of that deliverance, which laid the foundation of the greatness of his people, and marked them out to the world as the chosen of the Lord; their deliverance from the land of Egypt, from the realms of slavery, and idolatrous abomination. *O God!* he exclaims, *when thou wentest forth before thy people, when thou didst march through the wilderness; the earth shook, the heavens*

also dropped at the presence of God; even Sinai itself was moved at the presence of God, the God of Israel! In the same animated strain, the subject is pursued, till, at length, the whole series of God's merciful and wondrous dealings to his countrymen, in spite of their astonishing ingratitude and rebellious obduracy; and, above all, the hope and prospect that the Divine Glory would thenceforth be permanently manifested among them, and settle upon the abode which had been recently assigned to it;—all these things appear to rush upon his mind, and to fill it with the inspiration which breaks forth in the language of the text. *This is the hill in which God delighteth to dwell: yea the Lord will dwell in it for ever. The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels—the Lord is among them, as in Sinai, in the holy place. Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive, thou hast received gifts for men, yea, even for the rebellious, that the Lord God might dwell among them.*

'Such was the occasion on which these words were originally uttered. It is, however, well known, that there are many passages in the Psalms of David, which involve a signification more profound and interesting than that which discloses itself to a hasty, ill-informed perusal: nay, that they contain, sometimes, an application of which the author might himself be unconscious at the moment of their composition. David was, unquestionably, among the Prophets; and, like the other prophetic writers, was not always favoured with a full and distinct view of those splendours which he was instrumental in throwing forward on future generations. Many a time, when he *opened his dark saying on the harp*, he little knew that he was pouring out an illumination upon ages yet unborn; that he was sending forth a *light to lighten the Gentiles and to be the glory of his people Israel*. It is by no means improbable, that the occasion we are considering, was one which called forth these slumbering powers of prophecy within him; and that, while his soul was pouring itself forth in gratitude and exultation for great national deliverances, he was unconsciously bearing testimony to that Messiah, to whom all the prophets bear witness, and whose designs of mercy and deliverance extended to the eternal destinies of the human race!' pp. 247—250.

The genuine influence of the doctrine of our Lord's ascension, is thus beautifully illustrated.

'Surely if there be any thought powerful enough to raise the human soul above this sphere of its humiliation; if there be any *mystery* which can *draw men after their Saviour, who has been lifted up from the earth*—it is this truth,—that there actually exists One who, though still invested with our human nature, is adored by "angels and archangels, and by all the company of heaven;"—that there is at this moment at the right hand of the Eternal Father, a Representative of the human race, uniting all the affections and sympathies of man, with all the attributes of God;—that He who on earth *had not where to lay his head*, is the same awful and gracious Being, who now stands before the mercy-seat, the Mediator between God and man;—*the first born among many brethren*,—the intercessor for those with

whose griefs he is acquainted, and whose temptations he has encountered and overcome! If there be any who find a perverse delight in regarding themselves as the beings of a moment;—if there be any who would hide for ever in “the dishonours of the grave” the consciousness of their corruptions;—if there be any who *judge themselves unworthy of everlasting life*;—to them, as to certain arrogant triflers of old, the Gospel which propounds these doctrines, must needs be foolishness; and to them it is our solemn duty to announce, *that if the Gospel is hidden, it is hidden to them that are lost.*

pp. 262, 263.

As addressed to young men about to leave their native country, the land of Sabbaths and Christian institutions, for a land of moral darkness and the shadow of death, a land populous with idols,—India, the following solemn appeal must have come with equal force and propriety. Long as the passage is, we cannot withhold it from our readers.

‘You will, I trust, bear with me, if I close these meditations on the fruits of our Saviour’s victory, with one word of admonition; of parting admonition to some who now hear me. Remember, that one grand object of the designs we have been considering is, that the Lord God may dwell among men. That this object will at last be accomplished in its fullest extent, it is impossible to doubt. The kingdoms of the earth are, in the end, to become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ, and he is to reign King of Kings and Lord of Lords. If so, the very ground you are about to tread shall, in the fulness of time, be a part of his inheritance. Let me implore you then to consider those regions, not merely as the scene of worldly enterprise and ambition, but as the theatre on which your country has, through you, an arduous character to sustain, and a solemn responsibility to discharge. Her connection with those vast and interesting provinces is, perhaps, among the most astonishing events in the history of civilized man. It would almost border on impiety to imagine such a deviation from the usual march of Providence to have been appointed solely for the aggrandizement of the British name and empire, or for any purpose not connected with the most precious interests of mankind. I would beseech you to meditate profoundly on the language addressed by Jehovah himself, to the people whom he had ordained to take possession of a land of idolaters. *Beware lest thy heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord, and say in thy heart, My power and the might of my hand hath gotten me this wealth. But remember the Lord thy God, and understand this day, that it is He that giveth thee this power, and it is He that goeth before thee. . . . And speak not in thine heart, saying, for my righteousness the Lord hath brought me in to possess the land. . . . Not for thy righteousness, nor for the uprightness of thine heart, dost thou go to possess this land, but for the wickedness of these nations doth He drive them out before thee.* We have in truth much to learn, if these words strike not on our hearts with the solemnity of a most awful warning. It is true, that no express commission has been delivered to us, even to set our foot

upon the soil which you are soon to visit. But yet, it is scarcely possible to watch the growth of our dominion there, without perceiving that the hand of the Lord has been with us. We are actually bowed down with the exceeding weight of glory which He hath laid upon us, and stand appalled at the vast extent of our imperial responsibilities. And can we reflect on this burden of obligation, without remembering the words which the Lord spake unto Israel, when he gave them the land of the heathen for their inheritance? Do not those words admonish us, as plainly as if they had been expressly spoken to ourselves, that if we would hope for the stability of our Asiatic Empire, we must be content to build it up as a monument, not to our own perishable renown and greatness, but to the glory of our Creator and our Redeemer? They who know the true God, cannot surely doubt that he hath a controversy with the portentous superstition which rears its head over those vast regions; and looks down upon them with so horrible and withering an aspect. And does not every thing seem to point out this nation as delegated to an illustrious post in this conflict? Are we not loudly called to go forth in the cause of Jehovah,—not with the brand of persecution; not, like the Israelites of old, with the sword of extermination; but with the *weapons of a warfare which is not carnal; even with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; with the armour of light, the panoply of holiness, which becomes a soldier of the conquering Messiah.*

If, then, these things be so, what, I would ask, must be the guilt and the peril of those, who seem to array themselves against the gracious purpose of the Lord, that he will make his abode among the children of men? And how can they more audaciously array themselves against it, than by a walk and conversation among the Gentiles, which exhibits to them the covenant of our redemption as an unholy thing; which may almost be said to put the Son of God to an open shame; which invites the heathen, as it were, to tread him under foot; which causes the idolaters to scorn us as men enslaved to the powers of evil, rather than to honour us as servants of the living God? Think what bitter things must be written against them, from day to day, in the records of Eternal Justice, if they dare by their works to dishonour that cause, which must finally be triumphant; to retard (if human iniquity could retard) that consummation which the Lord hath ordained. What must be the condition of those, whose habits and actions pour contempt upon the promise, that the Holy One will dwell with men; and prompt even the worshippers of false deities to ask whether the European has a God? Among the most appalling spectacles on earth, we surely may reckon a Christian, who, by his life and manners, converts the Gospel into a *stone of stumbling and a rock of offence* in the path of unbelievers; who sends despair into the hearts of those that are labouring to enlarge the dominion of heavenly truth; who, though ranged under the banner of the Cross, (which is destined, in the fulness of time, to float over the world,) is yet engaged in perpetuating the kingdom of Satan; and who, therefore, at the last, may be numbered among the adversaries of the Redeemer!

Once more, then, I would beseech you to bear with me, for en-

teeming, that you would lay these things to heart: for speaking one last word of exhortation, which though, for the present, disregarded and forgotten may, by the blessing of God, rise up, at some future period, in your memory; recall you from the path that is encompassed with snares; and awaken you to deeds which are worthy of the vocation, wherewith ye are called. The time is now at hand, when you may become sojourners in provinces rarely gladdened by the ordinances of Christian worship, or sanctified by the power of Christian example. You may dwell, perhaps for years, where there is no eye to rebuke vice and impiety; no tongue to speak of "the hour of death, and of the day of judgement." You may live where religion appears only as the sovereign of a boundless empire, filled with forms of a grotesque and fantastic deformity: and, if the kingdom of heaven be not established in your hearts, you may turn from the spectacle with a secret persuasion, that the sons of men, throughout all their tribes, and families, and nations, are the abject dupes of priestcraft and imposture; and that faith and virtue, after all, are no more than mere empty names. And thus it is that *the whole head may become sick, and the whole heart faint*. The conscience may gradually sink under a fatal spirit of slumber. A treacherous apathy may creep over all the faculties, till the realities of an unseen world fade from the eye of the spirit, and leave the soul immersed in elements fatal to the life of all noble and self-denying energy. And then it is, that the man is made a spectacle for the heathen themselves to look upon with secret scorn and loathing. Then it is, that he practically becomes a traitor to his country. Then it is, that he betrays the secret of her strength; and weakens that power of opinion, which alone can bind together the ponderous mass of our Eastern Empire. Then, too, it is, that he becomes an open enemy to the Cross of Christ; and is in danger of that consuming wrath, which shall, one day, go forth from the face of *Him that sitteth on the throne*.

Knowing, as we do, these perils, which must await all who are destined to a residence in pagan lands, a solemn dispensation is laid upon us to arm them with the only principles able to resist the pernicious and enfeebling influence which will there surround them. And therefore it is, that I again urgently implore you to remember, that not only the prosperity of a vast empire may hang upon your actions and your counsels; but, that on your personal conduct it depends, whether the religion which you profess to have received from God, shall appear worthy of heaven; or shall become the object of contempt and abhorrence to ignorant idolaters. For this reason, I now affectionately commend to your meditations the grand mysteries of your faith; even the birth, and life, and sufferings of your Saviour, his deliverance from the grave, his ascension to glory, and his abode among men by that Spirit who, as on this day, descended on his followers. For this cause, I entreat of you to make it your pride to speak among the nations these wonderful works of God; not in their own tongues merely, but in a language which, to all nations under heaven, is intelligible and convincing; in the language of a holy and blameless conversation; in the accents of justice and of mercy; in the eloquence of a life devoted to that Saviour, who,

at last, shall receive the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession.' pp. 286—288.

We had marked for extract several other interesting and striking passages, which we must now withhold. None of the sermons have pleased us more than those which are expository of the parables of Our Lord. There is, in particular, an admirable discourse upon the Unjust Steward. The passage, (Luke xvi. 9.) as rendered by our Translators, is not free from apparent difficulty. Lightfoot's gloss, cited in a note, does not appear to us entitled to much attention. The sound criticism and sound theology which Mr. Le Bas has brought to bear upon the parable, leave us nothing to wish for, as regards the elucidation of its scope and practical reference. There is an excellent discourse on 'the Blessedness of the Meek'; but the most striking, perhaps, of the whole series, is the XXIII^d; on the Rich Man and Lazarus. The remarks on the Nature of Repentance, at page 494, are so just in themselves, and so eloquently stated, that, although we had intended to refrain from any further citations, we must make room for the entire paragraph.

What! is it credible that any human being should be so hardened in sin, as to resist the visitation of a spirit released from the body? to despise the testimony of a direct witness of the condition of departed souls? If any of us were to behold by our bed the form of a deceased relative or friend, and were to hear him proclaiming, in more than mortal accents, the secrets of the regions beyond the grave; if he were allowed to speak to us of *righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come*; if he were to portray, with appalling faithfulness, the *indignation and wrath, the tribulation and anguish, poured out on every soul of man that doeth evil, and the glory and honour reserved for every one that worketh good*; should we not listen, with a perfect submission of our faculties, to such a teacher? Would not these pleadings of an unearthly tongue subdue our stubbornness, and tear out the heart of stone from our bosoms? Would they not, by their mighty working, change, in a moment, the complexion of our souls? Would they not make us dead to the pleasures of sin, which are but for a season, and leave us no life but for holiness and God? Would they not cause us to tremble, and to repent?

That heart would be stout indeed, which should not fail and sink under the terrors of such a visitation from the departed. But who shall dare to pronounce, that the dismay of guilt would be followed by a change of the affections, and by a hatred of sin. Little do they know of true repentance, who look for it as the effect of some unnatural and sudden violence inflicted upon the soul. An agony of terror and astonishment may indeed be the forerunner of repentance; for manifold are the ways by which the grace of God can bring its purposes to pass. It disdains the confinement of all limits which may be imposed by our poor conceptions and our scanty knowledge. It

can speak in the roar of the tempest, the earthquake, and the whirlwind; or it can whisper, gently, in the still, small voice. No causes are too mighty, no circumstances or agents too mean, to minister to its designs of mercy. But, amidst all its multiplied resources, why should we look for signal efficacy and virtue, in a terrific and forcible seizure of the guilty soul? a seizure which, for a time, perhaps, might subdue and prostrate the man, but without inspiring a single sentiment of allegiance or love for the conqueror who brought him into captivity. Consider, I beseech you, what is implied by repentance, in its deepest signification. It is not merely the reluctant surrender of disreputable or pernicious habits; not merely an abstinence from overt acts of treason against the Most High. It is not the mortification practised by the sick man, who, perhaps, with secret pinings and curses, gives up the tempting poison which would inflame his blood and rack his joints. It is not the abandonment of certain hateful and forbidden practices, which marks the true penitent; but the renovation of the spirit of the mind; the putting on the new man which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness; the gradual transformation of the soul into the image and likeness of Christ. And can we believe that an apparition from the abodes of death would, of itself, accomplish this wonderful work? The spectre might, indeed, cause a horrible dread to fall upon us. It might confound our faculties and melt away our strength. It might cause the shuddering sinner to cry out, *How dreadful is this place!* but nothing, save power and virtue from above, could enable him to add, like the Patriarch of old, *Surely the Lord is in this place; surely this is none other than the house of God; and this is the gate of heaven.* No, my brethren, if the tomb itself were to yawn upon us, and render up its dead; if the accents of threatening and rebuke were to issue from the jaws of the sepulchre, for our conversion to the ways of righteousness; our souls might be shaken by the prodigy, our countenances might gather blackness, and our spirits might be bewildered with a sore amazement: and yet might all these terrors fail to expel a single vice from its hold on our affections, or plant in our hearts a single element or principle of godliness. The vision might depart, and leave us, in a tenfold degree, more than ever the children of hell. It might leave all our lusts and corruptions unchastised; and it might add to them the intolerable tyranny of abject and superstitious fear. So true is it, that the heart of man may, like ice, be crushed and broken into fragments by the force of heavy and alarming visitations; but that nothing can melt it into the flow of piety and love, but the sunbeam of mercy, that issues from the throne of God.

And does not the history of every false religion the world has ever seen, fix the seal of truth upon these reflections? What do the annals of superstition present to us, but the degrading spectacle of a perpetual conflict between earthly passions and unearthly terrors? a conflict ending, too often, in the utter destruction of the moral sense, and the entire depravation of the human character. What has been, in all ages, the true secret of priestcraft, but to keep the souls of men under the double slavery of impure appetites and preternatu-

ral alarms; and, by the skillful play and management of these instruments, to extort from the weakness of our nature, the revenues of a dominion which forms one ample province in the kingdom of Satan? Is it wonderful, that the true God should be sparing in the application of means, by the imitation of which, the sworn enemies of righteousness have, in all ages, made havoc and destruction among the souls of men? To say that He cannot, by terrible intimations from the unknown world, do the work of grace upon the human soul, that He cannot imprint repentance upon the heart in characters of this *strange fire*; to affirm this, would, doubtless, be the height of unblest presumption. But, if there be one principle more discernible than another in the ways of His Providence, it is to be frugal in the application of unusual agency. Omnipotence itself is never prodigal of miracles; because (among other manifold reasons) even miracles, strange as it may seem, have often a dreadful power to harden the heart. The history of Pharaoh—the history of God's chosen people—the history of our Lord's ministry on earth—and, more signally than all, the history of his rejection after he had risen from the dead—all conspire to prove this astonishing fact. The chronicles of Israel and of Judah form one continuous illustration of it. The same moral runs throughout the narratives of the Evangelists: and one is almost tempted to believe, that our Lord himself, when he pronounced the words we are considering, may have designed, prophetically, to shadow out his own rejection, when he should come forth triumphant over the power of the grave. The ministry of Jesus was carried on among those who *built and garnished the sepulchres of the Prophets*, while they defaced and overthrew their doctrine: and to them; we find, he appeared in vain, as *the first fruits of them that slept*; and as the conqueror of death and hell. And well might he say, in the spirit of prediction, touching that faithless and perverse generation, *Neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead*. The five sinful brethren, therefore, must be left to the ordinary, but abundant, opportunities of grace, with which they were already blessed. Lazarus must not be despatched to deliver them from the spirit of slumber that was upon them. If Moses and the prophets should plead with them in vain, a message from the realms of eternity might add much to their condemnation, with scarcely a chance of raising their affections from the lying vanities of the world, to the service of the living God.' p. 493—499.

We leave these extracts to justify with our readers, the *concomitum*, perhaps too faint and qualified, which we have pronounced upon a volume that has interested us in no ordinary degree. Such sermons as these may not succeed in rendering evangelical religion acceptable to men of taste, to the gay, the literary, and the polite; but they will leave them without apology for their distaste or hostility. We cannot but regard them, indeed, as admirably adapted to be useful to the upper classes of society.

Art. IX. *Down the Danube, from Ratisbon to Vienna, during the Autumn of 1827. With Anecdotes and Recollections, historical and legendary, of the Towns, Castles, Monasteries, &c. upon the Banks of the River, and their Inhabitants and Proprietors, Ancient and Modern.* By J. R. Planché, Author of "Lays and Legends of the Rhine," &c. 8vo. pp. xii. 320. Price 10s. 6d. London, 1828.

THIS is a very pleasant, lively volume, and was really wanted. While our print-shops teem with Views on the Rhine, and our Tourists have vied in extolling the beauties of its scenery, no English pen had hitherto been employed in illustration of the 'magnificent Danube.' Upwards of a century ago, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu descended the Danube from Ratisbon to Vienna; and she has well described in a few lines, the agreeable nature of the voyage. 'Within the space of a few hours, you have the pleasure of seeing a populous city, adorned with magnificent palaces, and the most romantic solitudes, which appear distant from the commerce of mankind; the banks of the Danube being charmingly diversified with woods, rocks, mountains covered with vines, fields of corn, large cities, and ruins of ancient castles.' Yet, few of our Tourists have been tempted by her Ladyship's description to take this route to Vienna. The upper part of a large river is almost always interesting, although it may terminate in swamps or ditches. The Danube has the advantage of the Rhine, in terminating more nobly, and swelling into political importance, as it advances towards the end of its course. But the scenery of its flat and swampy shores, where it forms the present boundary of Christendom, possesses few attractions; and our travellers who arrive at its banks from Moldavia, are eager to make their escape from the opposite shore. Thus, the Danube is generally connected, in the minds of Englishmen, bent more on politics than the picturesque, with associations very different from those which belong to the river 'that has witnessed the march of Attila, of Charlemagne, of Gustavus Adolphus, and Napoleon; whose shores have echoed the blast of the Roman trumpet, the hymn of the pilgrim of the Cross, and the wild halloo of the sons of Islam;' and the waters of which still reflect the chills where lion-hearted Richard of England languished for his native land.

Mr. Planché has certainly made the best of his subject. He has been at the pains of consulting various heavy German authorities, for the sake of diversifying his itinerary with authentic historic references, illustrative, as the title-page sets forth, of the towns, castles, &c. and their inhabitants and proprietors,

ancient and modern. His volume is rendered by this means an excellent and complete 'Guide' to the future Tourist, who may not be sufficiently versed in German to encounter the profixity and inversion of Herr Schultes.

There is a regular passage-boat from Ratisbon to Vienna, which, for about ten shillings English, will land the traveller in the Austrian capital, in five or six days, according to the weather. Our Author and his companion, however, preferred to hire a *weitz-nille* for themselves. This is a boat about forty feet long, composed of rough deal planks, rudely nailed together, the ribs being of natural branches, and caulked with moss. In the centre is a kind of hut of the same rude materials. It is flat-bottomed, as are all the craft upon this river, and is little more than a large punt.

'Sails are unknown upon the Danube; it is therefore rowed by two men, and steered by a third, with long, clumsy-looking paddles, tied to upright posts, upon which, every now and then, water is flung to make them work easy and avoid ignition. The *coche d'eau* or common passage-boat, is rather larger. Those used for the conveyance of merchandize are all of the same fashion, keel-less, sail-less; their plain deal sides daubed with broad perpendicular stripes of black paint, their only ornament. Some of the larger are nearly 150 feet long, and, in ascending the river, are towed, four or five together, by from thirty to forty horses. The drivers are called *Jodelen*, and a more singular set of beings can scarcely be imagined. In appearance, they are something between the English dustman and drayman; but the lowest of either of those worthies might pass for a scholar and a gentleman by the side of a real *Jodel*. From the moment the Danube becomes navigable, till it is again chained up in ice, these fellows never enter the humblest hovel, or mix with men of other callings, but even sleep upon the river's bank beside their horses. A miserable superstition exists among them. They believe that some of their number must every year be sacrificed to the Spirit of the waters; and consequently, when an accident occurs, they all scramble for the drowning man's hat, but never think of stretching out a finger to save him, whom they look upon as a doomed and demanded victim. Professor Schultes declares, that he once saw five *Jodelen*, with their horses, precipitated into the river, when their companions hastily cut the ropes, to prevent the rest of the team from following, and drove on, leaving the poor wretches to their fate.' pp. 4—6.

This, in civilized Europe! The boatmen to whom our Author entrusted himself, were doubtless honest men enough, for they had music in their souls. As they lazily plied their unwieldy paddles, they regaled the ear of Night by warbling in their own peculiar style, several wild but pleasing melodies. 'It is very provoking', remarks Mr. Planché, 'that the English should be the only people' (we suppose that he

means to confine the 'only' to Christendom) 'who have no idea of singing in parts.'

'An untutored boatman, peasant, or soldier of almost any of the continental nations, will suddenly strike in with an extemporary and very creditable bass, though the air be led off by an utter stranger to him. On the banks of the Main at Aschaffenburg, and at Möhdling in the Wienerwald, I was particularly struck with this pleasing talent, and have noticed it repeatedly both in France and Switzerland. The complaint that the English are not a musical nation, is, in my opinion, better borne out by this circumstance, than by the alleged deficiency of celebrated composers, or the want of taste in the mixed audiences of our concert-rooms and theatres. There is certainly no comparison between "the native wood-notes" wild of a Devonshire ploughman and those of a Bavarian *bauer*.' p. 42.

It is remarkable, that our best singers should be found in Lancashire and Yorkshire. It would form a curious subject of inquiry, whether the development of this *organ* be assignable to physical conformation, to moral temperament, or to social habits.

From Ratisbon to Straubing, the right bank of the river is almost uniformly 'low, sedgy, and Dutch-like'; but, on the left bank, the eye is soon attracted by the bold mountains, which follow the windings of the flood, with few interruptions, to within a few miles of the Austrian capital. Straubing itself is 'more like a Dutch than a Bavarian town': its inhabitants, we are told, are more celebrated for good living than hard work. According to Professor Schultes,

'On y mange et digère,
Compère, compère;
On y fait bonne chère;
Voilà tout le mystère.'

A 'long, low line of shore' continues still to form the right bank,—

'more in keeping with the sluggish stream of a Dutch canal, than with the rapid waves of the "boiling Danube"; an epithet, by the by, more descriptive than any other, of its singular current, which, whether running fast or slow, keeps up a constant whirling, eddying, and bubbling, accompanied with a low, hissing sound which (pardon, gentle reader, the humble comparison) reminded our English ears of nothing so much as the singing of a tea-kettle.'

A spot where three rivers meet, amid a quadruple chain of mountains rising 400 feet above the level of the water, is the site of the Roman *Castra-Batava*, to which has succeeded the modern Passau. As a specimen of the Author's graphic

powers, we shall transcribe his description of this part of the river.

'The view down the two rivers, (the Inn and the Danube,) from the point of their confluence, is, as I have already mentioned, in my opinion, far more beautiful, though not so extraordinary as that obtained from the heights above them. Standing in the stern of the boat, and looking back on the too rapidly disappearing scene, on our right arose the long walls and round towers of Oberhaus, upon a range of precipices richly hung with wood, and full four hundred fathoms high; on our left stood the Maria-Hilf-berg, crowned with its church, and the houses of the Inn-stadt picturesquely grouped at its foot;—in the centre, the town of Passau, forming a salient angle upon a plane of water, nearly two thousand feet in width, and standing like an island between two of the noblest rivers in Germany. The time allowed us to contemplate this lovely scene, was as brief as the enjoyment was exquisite. The Danube, reinforced by the waves of the Inn and the Ilz, rushes with redoubled speed round a rocky cape, and presto! your boat is gliding between banks so savage and solitary, that you can scarcely believe some necromantic spell has not transported you, in the twinkling of an eye, thousands of miles from that "peopled city," the hum of which still lingers in your ear. In its eccentric course, the river now forms itself, as it were, into a chain of beautiful lakes, each apparently shut in on all sides by precipitous hills, clothed with black firs that grow down to the very water's edge; while from amongst them peeps out, here and there, one of the little Swiss-looking cottages I have before mentioned, with perhaps a rustic bridge thrown across a small cleft or chasm, through which a mountain rivulet falls like a silver thread into the flood below. On doubling one of the abrupt points which produce this lake-like appearance, we came suddenly upon the chateau of Krempenstein, or Grampelstein, perched on a mass of rock, jutting out from a fir-clad precipice, that rises majestically behind it. It belonged, for nearly four hundred years, to the bishops of Passau, who, in conformity with the general practice of the time, levied contributions upon the passing vessels, translating the awkward term of robbery into the more legal epithet of toll. The peasantry and schiffers in the neighbourhood call it the Schneider-Schlüssel, and tell a story of some poor tailor who, in flinging a dead goat into the river from the walls of the building, fell over with it and was drowned; a circumstance which they think exceedingly comical. The age of the building, and the terrific beauty of its situation, deserve a more interesting tradition. On turning another sharp corner,—forgive, gentle reader, the unnautical expression, for I know of none other that will so well describe the acute angles that present themselves at almost every thousand yards upon this extraordinary river,—you perceive Burnwang, or Birchenwang, with its mill; and in the distance, on the left bank, the small market-town of Hafner or Oberzell. Little would a traveller imagine, on looking at this unpretending town, that its manufactures have been, from time immemorial, eagerly sought throughout the civilized world;—that, from the banks

of the Ganges, to the Gulf of Mexico, from St. Petersburg to Paris; there are no articles of commerce more generally circulated and esteemed, than those which are fabricated in this sequestered nook by the hands of a few German potters. The famous crucibles, known by the name of Ipser or Passaier-Tiegel, are all made at Hafner-zell. About three hundred persons are constantly employed in this manufacture; but as the towns of Passau and Ips are of greater consequence in the map, their names have been connected with the ware; and the goldsmith and chemist, while reaping the benefit of the industry, are ignorant probably of the existence of such a place as Hafner-zell. There are also here manufactories of black-lead pencils, and a particular sort of black earthenware, the materials for both of which are found in the neighbourhood, which is rich in mineral and other productions, worthy the attention of the geologist and natural historian.

Not far from Hafner-zell, on the right bank, stands the chateau of Fichtenstein, on the summit of a stupendous hill, clothed, like the rest of its giant brethren, with forests of pine and fir. A modern mansion is near it; and at the foot of the hill are a few poor cottages, with a little church, the spire of which is just visible above the trees. . . . Further on, a rock rises out of the middle of the river, and upon it stands a small building like a sentry-box. It is called the Jochenstein; and from the arms of the town of Passau and those of the Empire being cut on the sides of it, it is generally considered as the boundary-stone between Bavaria and Austria.

pp. 86—94.

The whole district from Marsbach to Engelhard's zell, a little further down, (where the Austrian custom-house is established, and which, Schultes contends, is the true boundary,)—is called the Reiklermark, and is supposed to have been, in the ninth century, the seat of the *Rheadarii*.

It is now that the banks of the Danube begin to assume their most magnificent character;—compared with which, Mr. Plancké says, the grandest views upon the Rhine sink into insignificance.

'The ruins on the banks of the Rhine, thickly interspersed as they are with smiling villages, busy towns, and sunny vineyards, swarming with holiday tourists, and echoing to the whips of Prussian postilions, and the rattle of Prussian *schnelwagens*, are more like modern antiques erected on the confines of some gentleman's park, than the bona fide relics of that truly iron age, "the days of the shield and the spear." From Mayence to Cologne, there is scarcely one mile of uninterrupted wild scenery; and even if there were, the charm would be broken by some pert galley, with its white awning and gaudy flag, some lumbering Dutch *beurtschiff*, or, worse than all, the monstrous anachronism of a steam-boat, splashing, sputtering, and fuming along at the rate of twelve miles an hour. The mouldering towers that totter upon the crags of the Danube, on the contrary, are surrounded by scenery rude as the times in which they

were reared, and savage as the warriors who dwelt in them. Nothing seems changed but themselves. The solitary boat that now and then glides by them, is of the same fashion as that on which their marauding masters sallied down, perhaps, three hundred years ago. The humble cottages that here and there peep through the eternal firs, and the church that rears its dusky spire upon some neighbouring hill, are of the same age. The costume of the poor straggling fishermen and woodcutters around them is scarcely altered; and, indeed, one cannot look upon their own walls, blackened by fire, and crumbling in the blast, as they mostly are, without conjuring up the form of their ancient lord newly returned from Palestine, and finding his mountain-fastness burnt and pillaged by some neighbouring knight or prelate, with whom he was at feud, and on whom he now stands meditating swift and bloody retribution. For hours and hours, the traveller may wind through these rocky defiles without meeting one object to scare the spirit of romance, which rises here in all her gloomy grandeur before him. From Passau to Vienna, there is but one city, Linz, where the glare of modern uniforms, and the rumbling of modern vehicles, would dissipate the spell; and, much as I admire convenient and expeditious travelling; I should almost weep to see a bustling post-road cut beside the lonely Schlägen, or a steam-boat floundering and smoking through the Strudel and the Wirpel.' pp. 106—109.

'It is only on arriving at the very foot of the rocky wall which forms an impenetrable barrier to the further progress of the Danube northward, that you perceive the outlet from this valley of precipices. A beautiful lake opens to the right, near the point where the Grosse Michl disembogues itself from a woody ravine; and the mountain chain gradually sinking on each side, the river widens and widens, till the passengers would almost fancy it had completed its seaward course, and that he was entering upon the broad and fathomless ocean. From the time we had entered the gorge at Hayenbach, to the period of our passing Neuhaus, a passage of at least two hours, we had never caught even a momentary glimpse of the sun. He now burst upon us in all the glory of his setting, and we seemed absolutely to breathe more freely as we emerged from between the stupendous galleries of granite and pine, which had imprisoned us nearly all the way from Passau. The mists of evening were fast settling upon bank and stream, as the lights of Aschach began to twinkle in the distance; and before we could reach the village on the opposite bank, where it was our steersman's intention we should sleep, it was quite dark.'

pp. 111, 12.

The banks of the Danube, from Aschach to Linz, the capital of Upper Austria, witnessed the greater part of those bloody struggles between the Protestants and their persecutors, which convulsed the provinces of Austria during the seventeenth century. In the two 'insurrections' of 1626 and 1632, which form but trifling episodes in the history of the thirty years' war, 'upwards of 50,000 subjects of Austria, upon a moderate cal-

culatation, were sacrificed to the childish superstition and inveterate bigotry of its ruler.' We shall not pursue the Author's route any further; but, as the Strudel and the Wirpel have been referred to in the preceding extract, we must make room for the description given of the most extraordinary scene on the Danube, from its source in the Black Forest, to its mouth in the Black Sea.

' As soon as a bend of the river has shut out the view of Grein and its chateau, a mass of rock and castle, scarcely distinguishable from each other, appears to rise in the middle of the stream before you. The flood roars and rushes round each side of it; and ere you can perceive which way the boat will take, it dashes down a slight fall to the left, struggles awhile with the waves, and then sweeps round between two crags, on which are the fragments of old square towers, with crucifixes planted before them. It has scarcely righted itself from this first shock, when it is borne rapidly forward towards an immense block of stone, on which stands a third tower, till now hidden by the others, and having at its foot a dangerous eddy. The boat flashes like lightning through the tossing waves, within a few feet of the vortex, and comes immediately into still water, leaving the passenger who beholds this scene for the first time, mute with wonder and admiration. These are the Scylla and the Charybdis of the Danube, the celebrated Strudel and Wirbel. The passage is made in little more than the time it takes to read the above brief description; and I could scarcely scratch down the outlines of these curious crags and ruins, before I was whirled to some distance beyond them. I must beg my reader, however, to return with me, and repass them more leisurely, than the impatient stream would permit us. The Danube, checked in its northern course at Grein, and driven unwillingly towards the east, vents its fury against the opposing crags on the left bank, and having broken down part of the barrier, rides over the ruins in triumph, forming what is called, by the boatmen, the Grein-Schwall. After this ebullition of anger, the stream appears to sink into sullen indifference, and slowly and silently pursues its way through a gloomy gorge of precipices, that rise higher and higher on each side of it, till it arrives within a few yards of the Wörthinsel, an island, about four hundred fathoms long, and two hundred broad, surrounded by sand-banks on all sides except the north, where a perpendicular crag starts up, bearing on its crest the ruins of the Wöther-Schloss, or Castle of Werfenstein. From this island to the rocky shores of the Danube, which here open and form a kind of circle around it, run several chains of crags beneath the water, some indeed peering above it, over and through which the stream rushes right and left, with considerable violence and uproar. The right arm is called the Hössgang, and is only passable when the water is very high, by the smallest and lightest craft. The main body hurries round the northern or left side of the island, and boiling over the first chain of rocks, falls through three separate channels, a depth of three feet in a distance of four hundred and eighty. This

fall is called the Strudel; but the boatmen have a name for each channel, and call that one in particular the Strudel which is nearest to the north shore of the island; the centre channel is called the Wildriss; and the third, nearest the main bank, the Waldwasser.

At the outlet of the Wildriss, there is a reef of rock called the Ross, the principal crag in which is named the Ross-kopf: another reef, called the Felsengelder, lies at the end of the Waldwasser, beside which are two rocks called the Keller and the Hute. Some of these, at low water, are not more than two feet beneath the surface, and impassable, of course, by a boat of any size or burden.

It may easily be supposed that a stream like the Danube does not flow very quietly over so rugged a bed; and though considerable masses of rock have been blown up, and the channels otherwise much widened and deepened within the last fifty years, there are still obstacles enough to fret and agitate the river to a degree which gives at least an appearance of danger to the passage, if even there be not a little in reality. At the end of the fall, or Strudel, on the left, and of the Hössgang on the right, the rocky shores again approach each other, and the river, uniting its currents, sweeps rapidly round to the north beneath a jutting crag, upon which stand the ruins of the castle of Struden, and washes the walls of the little town of the same name.

About a thousand yards below Struden, but near the right bank of the river, rises the large block of stone called the Hausstein, upon which are the ruins of the town of the same name. Round the southern side of this block struggles a small arm of the Danube, called the Lueg, and navigable like the Hössgang, when the water is very high, by small boats only. On the northern side is the celebrated whirlpool (Der Wirbel), formed, most probably, by the violence with which the two currents of the Danube are hurled against each other on leaving the Wörthinsel, and again checked and divided by the Hausstein. This whirlpool measures sometimes nearly fifty feet in diameter; but when we passed it, it did not, I should think, exceed fifteen. In the centre, the water forms a perfect funnel, and a large branch of fir was whirling round and round in it, as if some invisible hand were stirring the natural cauldron, and making it 'boil and bubble.' All sorts of extravagant stories have of course been circulated respecting this dreadful vortex, which is gravely affirmed by some of the old writers to have no bottom.

A series of 'Forty Views on the Danube,' lithographed from sketches made by M. Planché, is announced as speedily to be published in illustration of this entertaining volume.

Art. X. *Questions in Roman History*, with Geographical Illustrations and Maps: to which are prefixed, Sketches of the Manners, Customs, and Institutions of the Romans. By John Olding Butler, Author of "The Geography of the Globe", &c. 12mo. pp. 288. London. 1827.

IT will take some time, we apprehend, to supersede in general use, the Grecian and Roman Histories which bear the name of Oliver Goldsmith, and to substitute for the established historical creed, the sounder but unwelcome doctrines of modern criticism. In the mean time, a teacher of history to the rising generation finds himself placed in a somewhat embarrassing predicament, which Mr. Butler has feelingly described.

'During the last few years, much new light has been thrown on the history of Rome; and critical investigation has shaken, if it has not demolished, the credibility of many statements originating in national vanity, in the credulity or prejudice of historians, and the absence or infidelity of ancient records. Though I have occasionally cautioned the scholar against those errors, I have in general been compelled to follow the old beaten track of Roman history, and to adopt as a text-book for my Questions, the work most generally read in schools. To tell a young person that the Romans were not descended from Æneas; that it was not, perhaps, Romulus who founded Rome; and that Curtius did not plunge into the threatening gulf; would seem nearly as sacrilegious as appeared the information to our ancestors, when they first heard that the earth and her sister planets revolve round the sun, while he remains fixed in the centre of the system.' pp. vii, viii.

A young person who had never heard before of either Romulus or Æneas, would of course as readily and implicitly receive one statement as the other; but, by Roman History, we must after all be understood to mean, the accounts furnished by the classic historians, including the legends which were popularly received and incorporated with the national religion and literature, rather than the philosophical history of their origin. We agree with Mr. Butler, therefore, that, while it may be advisable to caution the scholar against implicitly receiving as true, the fictions with which the historians of Rome flattered the national vanity,—compared with which the history of Prince Arthur and the Round Table is credible and authentic,—it is necessary to teach Roman history as it exists in the classic page, and so far to adhere to the beaten track.

These Questions, which are accordingly accommodated to Goldsmith's Abridged Roman History, are designed to promote the study of history in alliance with geography. They ought, in fact, never to be dissociated. A geographical alpha-

bet is appended to the Questions, in which the scholar will find the requisite information. So far as we have been able to examine the volume, it is very correct, and has evidently been compiled with great care. By a mistake, evidently typographical or a slip of the pen, the Danube is stated to have a western course: its other name, Ister, should have been mentioned. The introductory chapters contain a brief account of the prominent customs and institutions of the Romans, and will be found a useful appendage to the Questions. Of these, the following will be a sufficient specimen.

‘ No. LXIX.

‘ What person now marched towards Rome against Nero? How was Nero affected by the news of his approach? What female’s assistance did he call for, and why? Who offered Nero his country house as an asylum? What befel him on his way thither? Whom did the senate declare emperor during this interval? How did Nero receive the intelligence? What two weapons did he then seize? Had he the courage to use them? How did he act when he heard the soldiers approach? Describe his death. How long did he reign? What island of Britain was taken in this reign? What British people revolted against the Romans, and why? What remarkable place did Suetonius, the Roman general, destroy? Who was the queen of the Iceni? Describe her conduct in battle. What was her fate? What magnificent palace did Nero build at Rome? Describe it. By whom was it pulled down; and what buildings were erected on its site? What learned men flourished in Nero’s reign?

‘ *Geography*. In what part of ancient Spain was Corduba, now Cordova? On what river? What are the modern names of the district and river? State the situation of Mona (the isle of Anglesey). Of whom was it the chief abode? Whence is their name? Who were they? State the situation of Londinum. On what river is it? Its latitude and longitude? Verulamium was also taken by the Romans. In what ancient part of Britain was it? What is its modern name; and in what county is it? pp: 190, 91.

Art. XI. 1. *The Missionary Gazetteer*; containing a Geographical and Statistical Account of the various Stations of the Church, London, Moravian, Wesleyan, Baptist, and American Missionary Societies, &c. &c. &c. With their Progress in Evangelization and Civilization. By Charles Williams. 12mo. pp. 492. Price 8s. London, 1828.

2. *Present State of Christianity and of the Missionary Establishments for its Propagation in all Parts of the World*. Edited by Frederick Shoberl. 12mo. pp. 440. London, 1828.

IT is a little singular, that the first of these works should have been anticipated in America, while the second is a translation, with additions, of a German publication. Is it

that a stronger or more general interest had been excited in those countries, in reference to the efforts and achievements of Missionary Institutions, than among ourselves? If that was once the case, the time, we trust, is now passed for ever. The revolution of sentiment which has taken place in the public mind, upon the subject of Missions, within the past fourteen years, is as extraordinary as it is auspicious. Up to about 1814, Missionary exertions were very extensively regarded with equal jealousy and alarm, as sectarian and fanatical in their origin, and fraught with political danger. The East India Company had identified their prosperity and power with the maintenance of the Hindoo idolatry and the exclusion of Christianity from their vast empire. But the question was then fairly brought before the British Legislature, whether the narrow-minded, selfish, atheistic policy of a company of Merchants was to be allowed to lay a perpetual interdict upon the propagation of Christian knowledge among the millions of that vast empire. Happily for India, and not less happily for England, the cause of Christianity proved victorious; and the wretched alarmists of the day, who sought to excite fears of disturbances and insurrections, which they knew to be groundless, have shrunk into oblivion. Except now and then from the *Quarterly Review*, we hear no more of those infidel reasonings and sinister predictions. During the Indian administration of Lord Hastings, the practicability and safety of the measures adopted by the various religious and benevolent Institutions of the day, were fully ascertained, and obtained the highest sanction. Three successive bishops of Calcutta have given their countenance and support to the Church Missionary Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society, whose operations were at first denounced as so objectionable and alarming; and whatever may be the case in certain circles in this country, it is no longer a question in India,—except among a few old servants of the Company, who think the Hindoo religion the better of the two,—whether the conversion of the natives may be safely and successfully attempted.

The Missionary cause has now far less to fear from opposition, than from the evils which sometimes attend the cessation of that excitement which opposition and obstacles create,—from that prostration of strength which is apt to succeed to extraordinary exertion,—from petty disputes among those who were previously united in a common cause, and from the want of an order of agents such as are created and called forth only by circumstances of exigency and difficulty. What has been achieved, affords as yet little matter for self-congratulation, although it supplies abundant ground for encouragement and thankfulness.

The volumes before us present in a different form the general results. The Gazetteer will be found the most convenient for reference; it is also the most comprehensive and correct in its details.

'Although it partially resembles one published some time since in America, its plan was laid several years before it was known that any similar work was extant; and a large part of it was prepared before that referred to was seen. The Editor, however, on making the discovery, availed himself of its aid, as well as of the assistance afforded by other Missionary records to which he had access; but his principal resources have been found in the Reports of the various Societies.'

As an average specimen of the execution, we take the following article nearly at random:—

'AGRA, a province of Hindoostan Proper, 250m. long and 180 broad; bounded on the N. by Delhi, E. by Oude and Allahabad, S. by Malwah, and W. by Agimeer.

'The capital of this province is a large city, the air of which is esteemed very healthy. The R. Jumna runs through it for five koss. The emperor Acher founded here a most magnificent city, which is now, for the most part, a heap of ruins. The city rises from the R. Jumna, and extends in a vast semicircle. The fort, in which is included the imperial palace, which occupied above 1000 labourers for 12 years, and cost nearly 3,000,000 rupees, is of great extent. This city was taken by Madhajee Sindia, and continued in the possession of the Mahrattas until 1803, when it was captured by the British army under General Lake, after a short and vigorous siege. It has ever since remained in the possession of the British Government, and is the seat of a civil establishment for the collection of the revenue and the administration of justice. 100m. S.S.E. of Delhi. E. long. 77° 56', N. lat. 27° 12'. Population about 40,000.

'At the commencement of 1811, the *Baptist* missionaries considered it expedient to form a regular mission in Hindoostan, which should comprise Agra and Patna, at which Mr. Moore and his wife had been for some time. Accordingly, on the 21st of January, Messrs. Chamberlain and Peacock, with their families, and a baptized Hindoo named Vrundavum, set out from Serampore to occupy the new station.

'On the 17th of May, the missionaries arrived at Agra, where they were kindly received by the person to whom they were recommended, and, after a short time, a serjeant-major at the fort accommodated them with the use of his quarters, for the celebration of Divine service on the Lord's day, and on Thursday evenings. Severe afflictions, however, both personal and domestic, exercised their faith and patience. Early in 1812, the missionaries were prohibited, by a military order, from preaching in the fort; and, in consequence of Mr. C. addressing a note on the subject to the commanding officer, a communication was made by that gentleman to Government, and an

order arrived for Mr. C. to be sent down to the presidency. The Agra magistrate, however, who was intrusted with the execution of this order, behaved with the utmost kindness and urbanity, ordering the persons who should have had the charge of him, to attend him to Calcutta, a distance of nearly 900 miles, as his servants. It is also pleasing to add, that on his appearance at the office of police, nothing more was said to him, than that *he was at liberty*. Just before this occurrence, the aspect of affairs began to brighten. "Four men," observes Mr. Peacock, "who remained at this station, apparently, love to read and hear the pure word of God: and one of them has, within these last few weeks, offered himself as a candidate for believer's baptism." This person was baptized Aug. 7, 1812. Several persons, previously votaries of pleasure, exchanged their cards and backgammon for the Bible and Hymn Book, instituted family prayer, and constantly attended public worship; at which a large congregation of natives ordinarily assembled. One person set up a native school on her own premises and at her own expense, and contributed, in a short time, 550 rupees to the mission. Mr. Peacock continued at Agra till the year 1816, and many who were brought by his instrumentality and that of his successors, from the paths of the destroyer, are stated at a recent period to have been living as burning and shining lights in that dark part of the earth.

This place has also engaged the attention of the C. M. S. In November, 1812, Abdool Messeeh, a converted native of Delhi, one of the fruits of the Rev. Henry Martyn's ministry, accompanied the Rev. Daniel Corrie to Agra, with the design of settling there, as a public reader and catechist. On his arrival, he commenced his work with great zeal, and as many hundred persons had recently flocked to the neighbourhood, in consequence of a scarcity in the Mahratta country, occasioned by a terrible drought, he went among them distributing *pice*, or halfpence, and inviting them to hear the Gospel, and to send their children to him to learn to read. At first they received him as an angel of light; but a report having been circulated, that he was an Arabian, who wished to carry off their children, the poor natives, for several days, refused to receive the charity he offered them, or to hear any thing from him. In the course of a week or two, however, they perceived that their suspicions were unfounded; and his public services were attended by hundreds, many of whom, on hearing an exposition of the decalogue, cried out aloud, "These are true words; and the curse of God will fall upon us, if we obey them not." Indeed, the congregations soon began to increase rapidly, and comprised many respectable persons, both Hindoos and Mahomedans. A school was also opened for the instruction of children; persons visited the Catechist every day for religious conversation; and a venerable old man, who stated that he was ninety years of age, acknowledged that his soul had been greatly refreshed by the things he had heard.

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'In July, 1814, Abdool visited his relatives at Lucknow, to whom he published the glad tidings of salvation; and on the 11th of August, he returned to Agra, accompanied by his father and five other men.

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bers of his family, with several other persons, one of whom, an aged Molwee, appeared desirous for the welfare of his soul. About a week after Abdool's return, the Rev. Mr. Corrie was compelled by ill health to quit Agra, in order to visit England; and on his departure, he remarks, that "during the preceding 16 months, 71 natives had received baptism, of whom about 50 were adults, about half Mahomedans, and the other half Hindoos. Of these, one had been expelled; 6 had apostatized; 4 had gone to their friends, and were, it was hoped, holding fast their profession; and others were occupying different stations as readers and catechists." Soon after his removal, however, the infant church began to decline; but Abdool, notwithstanding the indolence and inattention of some of the teachers in the schools, and the removal of Mr. Bowley to Chunar, continued to bear a faithful testimony to the truth, and to watch over his flock with unremitting vigilance; his health, however, having been for a considerable time in an infirm state, he visited Calcutta in 1820; and, in the month of October, received Lutheran ordination.

On his return to Agra, the interest seems to have revived: many nominal Christians, who, it was believed, had not entered a place of worship for many years, became regular attendants on Sabbath days, as did many persons of the Armenian and Roman Catholic persuasions; while a few Hindoos and Mussulmans occasionally visited the church.

The "Missionary Register" for February, 1825, says—"Public worship is carried on as usual, at the kuttra; and the venerable Abdool Messeeh, notwithstanding the infirm state of his health, has recently officiated at the military cantonment, on Sunday afternoon, to the professing Christians connected with the native regiments. An addition to the church, of seven men and three women, has been lately made by baptism."

Mr. Shoberl's is the more readable book. It is divided into five parts; Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia (by a strange misnomer called South India). In the Introduction, we meet again with the estimate which originally appeared in the *Allgemeine Kirchen-zeitung*, of the existing population of the earth, which is taken at only 828 millions. We have not seen the data upon which the computation is founded; but the error which the Writer has committed, respecting the aggregate number of the Jews, cannot but excite a strong distrust of his judgement and information on other points.

Chapter I. of the first Part professes to be a review of the diffusion of Christianity in the first eight centuries. The whole of this and the following chapter might have been suppressed without any detriment to the work. The sketch is meagre, and in all respects unsatisfactory; and the phraseology is not always unexceptionable. Such expressions as 'the school of Jesus', comport better with the German theology or neology, than with English divinity. Mr. Shoberl justly remarks, at the

26, that 'the Christianity proffered at the bloody point of the sword, was not the doctrine of Jesus;' that 'it was a Christian paganism.' Such transactions do not belong to the history of the propagation of the faith of Christ. Ecclesiastical history is a difficult and delicate task, and we could wish that M. Zschokke, or his Editor, had confined himself to a survey of the present state of Christianity. Some of the subsequent observations are of a still more *German* character. Speaking of the tardy progress of Christianity in Asia in our own day, the Author remarks, that 'the multitude of missionaries now employed, effect not, in a whole generation, a hundredth part of what,' in primitive times, 'one single messenger of the Divine Master sometimes accomplished in a single day.'

'For this reason,' he continues, 'many have, indeed, believed, that Christianity was propagated in the first ages by supernatural means, and that a Divine power supported its first preachers. But why should God be at this day less with Christ than formerly? Assuredly, he is as much so now as he was then. The truth is, that we no longer possess the Christian religion in the same original purity as the early disciples of Jesus. Protestants, Catholics, and Greeks preach many things which Christ did not preach; and because ye do not dispense that which is divine, free from your earthly additions, there is much less of the power of God in what you preach. The earthly is overcome by the power of what is earthly, by the institutions, manners, and prejudices which ye assail with it.'

p. 194.

Christianity was not propagated in the first ages, we admit, by means of miracles, but by the preaching of the Gospel miraculously attested. Both the qualifications and the credentials of the first preachers were, however, clearly supernatural, although it was still by means of the truth, by the foolishness of preaching, that they extended the kingdom of their Divine Master. The miraculous attestation still attaches to the doctrines they taught; and we believe, not only that God is at this day as much with Christ as then, but that Christ is not less with his Church, even to the end of the world. We possess, moreover, in the New Testament, the Christian religion in all its original purity, unsophisticated by human doctrine. While, therefore, we readily concede, that the corruption of the Christian doctrine and the infidelity of the Church furnish the only assignable reason why the Truth has not, long ages ago, spread itself over the whole world; we cannot adopt the explanation suggested by the Author, nor admit that our Protestant missionaries owe their comparative want of success to their going forth with a system compounded of 'Jewish, Greek, Egyptian, Roman, Gothic, and Gallic notions.'

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'Had Christ appeared among the Indians on the Ganges or in China,' proceeds our philosophic Author, 'the spirit of his doctrine would indeed have been the same, but the form would have differed. In that case, he would not have said any thing concerning Mosaic sacrifices, or the words of the prophets, or devils, which were unknown in China and Hindoostan; but he would have adapted his doctrine to their existing notions and prejudices. Thus, Paul used a different language in addressing the more enlightened Greeks at Athens before the altar of the unknown God, from that which he employed at Jerusalem before the priests of the Mosaic dispensation.'

p. 195.

It is scarcely worth while to expose the flippancy of these shallow and dangerous assertions, which evidently proceed upon the implied denial of the Divine authority of the Old Testament; resolving the prophetic witness borne to Christ into the previous notions of the Jews, and the sublimest and most awful truths into the figurative language of the East. There is, nevertheless, so much in this volume that we cannot but cordially approve; the information which it contains, is so useful and interesting, and the Editor's object is so laudable, that we sincerely regret not being able to give the work our unqualified recommendation. Should it reach a second edition, we earnestly hope that Mr. Shoberl, whose candour and liberality are conspicuous, will be persuaded to omit all Mr. Zschokke's philosophical remarks, which do not at all suit our meridian.

After all, have the efforts of Protestant Missionaries been less successful than those of the first preachers of Christianity? How many converts did Paul gain at Athens? How many at Lystra? The history of the conversion of the Greenlanders by the Moravian brethren, of the Hindoos of Tanjore by Swartz, of the South Sea Islanders by the English Missionaries, presents instances of success scarcely exceeded in the annals of the apostolic age. This Author is equally erroneous in his representations and his reasonings. The Protestant Missionaries, he complains, 'went forth among the heathens *with a much stronger love for Jesus than for what is Divine*, and sought to 'enkindle in them the like flame of love for the Saviour, and 'thereby for all that is good and virtuous.' This is given as a reason of their failure. The fact is, that, till they took this course, they did fail, and by this course they conquered. To one who believes that Jesus is not entitled to the love due to that which is Divine, this phenomenon must be, like the doctrine of the Cross itself, a stumbling-block: the philosopher will not believe the work which is declared unto him, which is taking place before his eyes; but it is nevertheless a fact which it is in vain to deny,—and

— Let the light-of-nature-boasting man
Do so with his enchantments, if he can.'

Art. XII. *The Magazine of Natural History, and Journal of Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, and Meteorology.* Conducted by J. C. Loudon, F.L.S., &c. No. I. May 1828. To be continued every Two Months. 8vo. Price 3s. 6d. No. II. July 1828.

WE have great pleasure in recommending this new periodical miscellany to the notice of our readers. Judging from these Numbers, it bids fair to be a most pleasing and instructive repository of information connected with every branch of natural history; and the very spirited manner in which the work is got up, the liberal allowance of neat wood-cuts to illustrate the botanical and other subjects, and the variety of the contents, strongly claim the most liberal encouragement. We must confess that we were not aware, that there are at present in the course of publication, no fewer than *ten* different Botanical periodicals. These, however, contain little more than engravings of plants and flowers with a scientific description. The present Magazine is of a more popular and amusing, yet not less instructive and scientific character.

Some excellent Remarks 'on Natural History as a means of 'Education,' appear in a paper furnished by a Correspondent for the first Number, which will serve to illustrate the object of the work.

'Another great inducement to adopt the study of natural history, is, that it is admirably suited to correct the tendency there is in our popular institutions to run into schemes of utility. Our mechanics, mathematics, amusements, politics, charities, are all tainted, more or less, with this defect. "The age of chivalry is gone; that of sophisters, calculators, and economists has succeeded." Now, besides this perpetual appeal to utility and reason, as the only, or chief foundation of happiness, there is another and higher appeal, felt by all, and occasionally bowed to by all, which goes to the heart and to the affections; more subtle in its nature, and less within control, there are a thousand cases which yield to no other tribunal, and where man acts with greater safety, trusting to the dictates of his heart, than if he relied upon utility and reason.

'To bring the subject home more-practically: our scheme of popular education attempts to improve man's moral condition almost entirely through the medium of his understanding. It seems to be adapted to make good artizans, skilful mechanics, industrious tradesmen; but it may be fairly doubted, whether it be suited, in a like degree, to cherish the higher virtues, and to make men better as well as wiser.

'I wish to see natural history cultivated as a means of enlarging this contracted view of education, of opening to the little sentient new objects for his affections and sympathies, of awakening within his bosom a love for nature and nature's productions. It is the fa-

ation with a cold and heartless portion of the world, to stigmatise these notions with the names of romance and sentiment. It might, perhaps, be happier for England, not forgetting Scotland, if the sinews of our strength were not wholly exhausted in our industry; if steam-engines, and power-looms, and economy, and profit, divided our attention only,—things which reason approves, but which the imagination forbids. They have a tendency to lower the standard of excellence to their own level, while the repudiated and now antiquated scheme of bettering men through the heart, always proposes a higher and nobler standard than he can reach.

I should, for instance, propose, that the peasantry of England should be improved by being taught that the kitchen-garden does not comprehend the whole scope of horticulture; that there are such things as violets and roses to awaken sweet recollections; ranunculuses and anemones to ravish the eye; and some one or other particular flower, which every man of imagination associates with tenderness and friendship. In passing along through the country, every man's garden may furnish a clue to his character, much better and safer, in our esteem, to trust to, than either physiognomy, phrenology, or autography. Do we see the kail bed of large and ample dimensions, encroaching upon every inch of cultivated soil, we pronounce the possessor to be a political economist, or radical, or voluptuary; on the other hand, if we witness flowers of all hues adorning the vicinity of his habitation, we know there is a spark of his better nature yet unextinguished. It unfolds to us the current of his thoughts and feelings; it tells, like the other also, of honesty and industry; but it tells, besides, of generosity and charity, love and fidelity, of brave sons and beautiful daughters.' pp. 13, 14.

ART. XIII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

In the press, 1. Occasional Thoughts on Select Texts of Scripture. By the late John Mason Good, M.D.

2. Practical Instruction for the Formation and Culture of the Tree Rose. 12mo. With Cuts.

3. Early Impressions; or Moral and Instructive Entertainment for Children, in Prose and Verse. With Twelve Designs by Dighton.

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In the press, A Vindication of the Calcutta Baptist Missionaries, in Answer to the Statement relative to Serampore. By J. Marshman, D.D. Eustace Carey, and W. Yates.

A Second and improved Edition of "Plain Advice to the Public to facilitate making of their own Wills", by Mr. John H. Brady, late of the Legacy Duty Department, Somerset House, is in the press, and nearly ready for publication.

Shortly will be published, The Preacher's Manual, a Course of Lectures on Preaching, by T. Sutcliffe, 2 vols. 12mo.

ART. XIV. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

HISTORY.

Historical Sketches of the Ancient Native Irish and their Descendants; illustrative of their past and present State with regard to Literature, Education, and Oral Instruction. By Christopher Anderson.

The Chronological Guide; Part I. comprehending the Chronology of the World, from its Creation to the Destruction of the Western Empire of Rome, A.D. 476. accompanied with a Chart, and a series of Historical and Chronological Questions. To which is added an Appendix, containing Explanations of Terms employed in History, and of the principal Grecian, Roman, and Jewish Measures and Coins. 12mo.

LAW.

On the Administration of Justice in the British Colonies in the East Indies. By John Miller, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn. 8vo. 3s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Spirit of the Serampore System, as it existed in 1812 and 1813, with Strictures on some parts of "Dr. Marshman's Statement, relative to Serampore," in a Series of Letters to a Friend. By Wm. Johns, M.D. F.L.S. F.H.S. Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, &c.

A Letter to J. B. Wilson, Esq. Treasurer of the Baptist Missionary Society, occasioned by a Statement relative to Serampore Missions, by J. Marshman, D.D. with Introductory Observations by J. Forster. By John Dyer, Secretary to the said Society. 8vo.

THEOLOGY.

A Letter to a Clergyman on the Scriptural Authorities in favour of Adult Baptism, and Traditional Authorities in favour of Infant Baptism. By a Hermit. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

The Immersion of Believers a Christian duty, and not an injurious extreme: or, Strictures on the Rev. B. Byron's 'Admonition.' By John Crapa. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

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An Inquiry concerning the Means and Expedience of proposing and making any Changes in the Canons, Articles, or Liturgy, or in any of the Laws affecting the Interests of the Church of England. By William Winstanley Hull, of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law, and late Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford. 8vo. 7s.

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THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR SEPTEMBER 1828.

Art. I. 1. *A Brief Inquiry into the Prospects of the Church of Christ, in Connexion with the Second Advent of our Lord Jesus Christ.* By the Hon. Gerard T. Noel, A.M., Curate of Richmond, Surrey. 8vo. pp. 362. Price 9s. London, 1828.

2. *The Times of the Gentiles.* By the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, Rector of Albury, Surrey, &c. 8vo. pp. 40. Price 1s. London, 1828.

MR. NOEL has so candidly and so forcibly expressed the prepossessions which he felt that he must encounter, in venturing upon the mysterious theme of unfulfilled prophecy—prepossessions, if such they be, from which we cannot ourselves pretend to be free,—that we shall state in his own words the objections which his introductory remarks are intended to meet and to remove.

‘We naturally’ (he supposes his objector or critic to say) ‘dread enthusiasm and presumption in a too solicitous contemplation of future events, as yet undefined both in their *nature* and in the *period* of their occurrence. We deem the past and the present to be safer ground to occupy, than the future. We fear the effects of curiosity, speculation, and unlimited conjecture. We have marked a spirit of dogmatism, and a restless love of innovation, more or less to prevail in the conduct of all inquiries into the prophetic intimations of Scripture; and we anticipate from this habit of mind, disappointment on the one hand, and scepticism on the other. We have marked the tendency of the human mind to quit the healthful road of self-denial and of severe performance, in order to expand its more sickly sympathies in the readier pathways of imagination and hope. We think the subject of unfulfilled Prophecy calculated to afford occasion for the exercise of this indolent and selfish propensity. The alarm we feel, appears to us by no means unreasonable, lest the *present* and *specific* allotments of patient labour, of submissive modesty, of diligent application to relative duties or experimental religion, and of beneficial effort for the welfare of others, should be exchanged for

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the vague and useless excitements of a too keen inquiry after the future. We fear lest the glowing prospect of an external kingdom, as connected with the Gospel, should chase from the view the milder scene of a spiritual dominion, curbing the lusts, and purifying the affections of the heart. We tremble lest the earthly sceptre should supersede the heavenly law; lest the hidden life should be forgotten in the splendour of a temporal manifestation; lest Christ seated on the throne of David, should be dearer to the imagination, than Christ "formed in the heart the hope of glory"; lest the vivid triumphs of an earthly sovereignty should be preferred to the tamer conquests of faith and charity; lest the love of dominion should at length rob the believer of those "ornaments of a meek and quiet spirit" which are, in the sight of God, "of great price." pp. 3, 4.

The dangers attendant upon that spirit of millenarianism which has lately been revived, could not have been placed in a more just or more striking light; and no one who is acquainted with Mr. Noel's character, will refuse to credit his assertion, that he 'would be the last person' intentionally 'to form or to encourage the habit of mind' which is here described. But his reply to such suggestions is to this effect; that the evil deprecated is only a possible and accidental injury, a tendency to be guarded against; and that it is not the part of wisdom on that account to forego the positive blessing and advantage to be derived from the study of Prophecy;—that there is a peril of an opposite kind, arising from 'the prescriptive tyranny of theological opinion, which has grown venerable by time, rather than by its real accordance with the mind of God';—and that false opinions and prejudicial mistakes have taken deep root, with respect to the prospects of the Church, which demand that the warning voice of the Expectator of prophecy should be raised, in order to recall the expectations of Christians to the accomplishment of the Saviour's promises. The general design of the present Inquiry is announced in these words.

'To the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, I would direct their eyes, as to the pole-star of guidance and of hope, while yet compelled to steer their course across the waves of this troublesome world.'

A design so important, so truly practical, cannot but have the approbation of every pious mind. Nor are we disposed to deny, that the Second Advent of Our Lord occupies by no means that prominent place in the views and expectations of professing Christians in our own day, that it did in their minds who were "looking out for and hastening towards the coming of the day of God"; or, as another Apostle expresses it, "looking for that blessed hope, the glorious appearing of the Great

God, our Saviour Jesus Christ." We are willing to concede, that there is some ground for the following remarks, which occur in a volume now on our table. 'I cannot help thinking', says Mr. Erskine, 'that the modern commentators on prophecy have reason when they say, that the expectation of the restitution of all things occupies a much less space in the common announcements of the Gospel, or in the thoughts of Christians, than it ought to do. It is the chief feature of that Gospel which was preached to Adam, and is bequeathed to the Church in the last words of Inspiration, as an enduring consolation and expectation,—"Behold, I come quickly." The general statements of the Gospel in our days relate too exclusively to what is already past, and to the individual salvation of each believer. Of course it is impossible altogether to separate the doctrine of Christ's sacrifice from its general and future results; but these results seem to me not brought forward by preachers as they are in the Bible. I do not speak of the detail of these results, nor of the particular fulfilment of the prophecies which relate to the last times; but I speak of a fixed and longing expectation of the sure and fast accomplishing of those promises which announce the final triumph of the Messiah, the establishment of his reign upon earth, the manifestation of the sons of God, and the full development of all those high privileges which arise out of their union with their Divine Head.*

Mr. Noel will, we hope, believe us when we say, that we should be among the last persons to discourage any attempt to give a direction of this kind to the views and hopes of professing Christians. And if, on any point, Theology has gone astray from Revelation, no apology can be necessary for endeavouring to displace its errors, and to undeceive those who have hitherto yielded too implicitly to the prescriptive tyranny of opinion. As Protestant Dissenters, calling no man master in matters of faith, we cannot refuse to another, the liberty we claim for ourselves, that of the freest spirit of inquiry which is compatible with an implicit deference to the decisions of the Inspired Volume. We are unconscious of any morbid dread of innovation, believing that science and time are the two greatest innovators; that crudities, not novelties, are to be deprecated, since truth is always new to the ignorant; and that, though the canon of Revelation is complete, the light of the Bible has yet to rise higher and to shine more full upon the Christian world, so as, in this sense, to be progressive. Prejudices and prepossessions we must of course be supposed to have; but we can

* Erskine on the Freeness of the Gospel, pp. 112—14.

truly say, that we have endeavoured to shake ourselves free from them in perusing the present volume. Yet, with all our unfeigned respect for the Author's talents, judgement, and piety, and our hearty approbation of his design, we have found it impossible to agree with many of his statements; and we still retain undiminished, our impression of the danger attendant upon what are termed prophetic inquiries. Before, however, we proceed to explain ourselves more particularly on this head, we shall lay before our readers a specimen or two of Mr. Noel's present work.

The title of the five chapters following upon the Author's introductory Remarks, is, *The Kingdom of Christ*; and their object is, to establish the view of the nature and circumstances of that kingdom, which is briefly stated in the following paragraph.

' This kingdom, then, will be contemporaneous with what is commonly called "the day of judgement", or the day of the Lord, a term descriptive, not of the *ordinary period of twenty-four hours*, but the day foretold and appropriate to Him with whom "one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." At the *dawn* of this day, or rather period of time, "the first resurrection", or the resurrection of the "dead in Christ", will take place. These will awake fashioned after the glorious body of Christ; while the Saints at that time *living* on the earth, will undergo a momentous change; a change effected, not through the ordinary medium of death, but of some rapid and spiritual process, which will at once assimilate them to the glorified dead, now restored to immortal life; and these Saints will ascend to meet the Lord, as he approaches towards the earth, in the mingled "glories of His Father and of the holy angels." These Saints, thus revived and changed, will form the *ELECT CHURCH*, and be presented as the glorious *BRIDE* to Christ, being now "made perfect, without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing." Then will the joyful hour be arrived, when the marriage-supper of the Lamb will be celebrated, "because the bride shall have made herself ready." Then will the happy and redeemed Church, thus united to her Lord, prepare to reign with Him on the earth, and to share His millennial glory. On His approach, the dreadful overthrow of impious and ungodly men will take place; at least throughout the range of that apostate Christendom, which so awfully shall have abased its noble privileges, and slighted its gracious warnings. At this time, the Jewish nation will be miraculously restored to their own land, and this long out-cast people will again be honoured of God, and submit to the sway of the glorified Messiah, their Prince. Satan will then be bound, and his influence over the earth be cast out during the millennial period; while the "latter rains" of the Eternal Spirit, now no longer limited, as on the day of Pentecost, but falling in gentle showers over the whole earth, the time of the world's conversion will be arrived, and the knowledge of the Lord "will cover the earth as the waters cover the sea." Over the world thus reduced to obedience, though not

yet rescued entirely from death, ("the *last* enemy to be destroyed,") the Saviour and His glorified Saints will REIGN in glory. The subjects of this kingdom will be composed of the *restored Jews*, the *converted heathen*, and the *remnant converted and saved* from the ungodly hosts who will have perished during the convulsions of the last plagues of the great judgement. During this peaceful dominion of the Messiah, the earth will exhibit a new spectacle of justice, allegiance, and felicity. The curse will be greatly mitigated, and the malignant excitements of Satan be unfelt. But towards the conclusion of this great day of God, impiety will once more prevail, and Satan be again permitted "to deceive the nations"; but a miraculous victory will finally subvert his power; the last judgement will take place; Satan and his rebellious associates will be cast into the lake of fire; death be destroyed; the curse, *already taken* from the ELECT CHURCH at the first resurrection, will now be removed entirely from the earth; and, every foe being put down, the distinction between Jew and Gentile destroyed, and the mediatorial sceptre no longer needed, the mediatorial kingdom of the Messiah will be delivered up to the Father; God "will be all in all", and the earth at length be transformed into a tranquil scene of happiness, an everlasting monument of praise to Him who shall have achieved its rescue from the terrific doom of death.' pp. 31—4.

In reference to the predicted return of our Lord to this world, Mr. Noel admits, that no difference of opinion exists among Christians.

'All believe him to be the constituted Judge of quick and dead; nor do I believe there to be any difference of opinion either as to the expectation that his religion will one day be the prevalent faith of the whole earth, or as to the belief, that, during the *intermediate period*, he exercises an unseen and kingly authority over the church and the world. On these points, I imagine all pious men to be agreed. The difference of opinion lies, first, in the *time* of his advent, and secondly, in the *nature* of his ultimate kingdom. In reference to the nature of his kingdom, the received opinion in modern times asserts it to be *exclusively spiritual*, the *reign of holy principles*. The following pages affirm it to be *personal* as well as *spiritual*; to be *visible* as well as *holy*. In reference to the *time* of his advent, the received opinion places it at the *end of the world*, in order to hold a final judgement: the following pages affirm it to take place at the *commencement* of his *reign*, in order to introduce the millennial period.' p. 37.

But, in point of fact, the whole difference of opinion resolves itself into a question respecting the *time* and *place* of the Saviour's personal reign. No pious man, no believer in the Scripture can doubt, that His is an actual, a personal, and a visible reign: the only question, therefore, must relate to the time of His second advent to this our earth, and the circumstances under which he will become visible "as He is," to His

people and the world at large. Mr. Noel contends, that it is absolutely necessary to believe, that this earth, which has been the scene of the Redeemer's sufferings, must also be the local scene of his predicted personal reign.

'To maintain the contrary supposition, is surely to destroy the consistency of the scheme of Revelation, and to render void the most solemn declarations of Jehovah. If, according to the prevalent opinion, this material world be doomed to destruction, and not to renovation; if Christ shall come only as a mighty judge, to hold a last assize, to separate the righteous from the wicked, and then to annihilate the globe on which the career of guilt has been achieved, will not the bright promises of creative power to man be blighted and defaced? Will not a boast of dreadful blasphemy console the hosts of hell? And when they mark the EARTH, encircled by the burning flame which now blazons forth its doom of death to higher abodes; and when they shall contrast the fearful scene with that quiet hour of heavenly eulogy, in which the "morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy," will they not rejoice in the strength of their misrule, and find a recompense for rebellion in the successful wreck of a fair and beauteous world?' pp. 24, 5.

Whatever may be thought of the opinion which is here maintained, the mode of argument by which it is supported, we cannot but regard as injudicious and highly exceptionable. Is it fair or candid towards those who hold a contrary opinion, on grounds quite as clearly Scriptural, in their judgement, as Mr. Noel imagines he stands upon, to represent them as making void the most solemn declarations of Jehovah? Can such an assertion be regarded as having the force of argument? But this is not the only flaw in the passage. The supposition that the conflagration of this material world would afford any matter of boast and blasphemy to fallen spirits, appears to us to border very closely on impropriety; and were it admissible, it would carry no weight with it. "The world that" once "was, being overflowed with water, *perished*." It is possible, that a boast of blasphemy might on that occasion console the spirits of darkness. Yet, this did not prevent the execution of the Divine threatenings. And in like manner, if "the heavens and earth which are now, are reserved unto fire," we may be sure that the predicted catastrophe will not be prevented by the circumstance of its affording a transitory triumph to the great Adversary. But what is a world like ours, a speck in the creation, a handful of atoms; what, in relation to the power and opulence of the Creator, or to the intrinsic value of the materials, that its total annihilation (even if that be supposed) should afford subject for malignant exultation? To Him, "who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand,

and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales",—surely, the wreck of a world must be infinitely more insignificant than the foundering of a sea-worn vessel, or the fall of one of the giants of the forest, to the inhabitants of Earth. Suppose it to involve no moral disorder and no physical suffering, and there would remain nothing in the mere destruction of so much old matter, in order to its reproduction in a fairer form, that would deserve the character of an evil. If we could allow ourselves to think of Satan as boasting, it would be of souls destroyed, not of a burning orb,—the mere scaffolding of moral agency. And if the sons of God who shouted for joy at the birth of creation, are capable of painful feelings, the occasion that would present the most fearful contrast would be, Earth in arms against its Creator, not a mere war of elements, a wreck of matter or a crush of worlds.

The language of St. Peter on this subject, one would have thought too explicit and unequivocal to admit of being explained away; and Mr. Noel is compelled to admit, that it appears at first sight, 'to predict the utter ruin and physical annihilation of the earth.' 'But this idea,' he says, 'the succeeding context must correct.'

'The ruin is evidently the ruin of the *earthly and guilty system* under which God has been dishonoured, and sin has triumphed. But at length, the triumph ceases. The whole rebellious system—"all that is in the world, the lust of the eye, and the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life;" the abuse of authority, the bloodshed of oppression, the havoc of ambition, the cruel ravages of sensuality, the iron yoke of ignorance, these will be utterly dissolved: this system will melt in the fervent heat of the Divine indignation, and will be exchanged for the peaceful government of the Son of God. Is this an individual and presumptuous interpretation? Hear the apostle himself, who, cheered beneath the gloom of impending judgement by the assurance of Messiah's reign, exclaims in the 13th verse: "Nevertheless we, according to His promise, look for NEW HEAVENS AND A NEW EARTH," (that is, a new and glorious system of truth and love upon earth,) "*wherein dwelleth righteousness.*" pp. 63, 4.

We have already said, that we regard Mr. Noel's arguments as far more dangerous than his opinions. Had Scripture been silent on the subject, it would seem to be a point little worthy of serious controversy, whether the material fabric of this world should, or should not, undergo the purgation of fire. But we cannot without deep regret find a writer of Mr. Noel's soundness and seriousness falling into so lax a method of interpretation, more worthy of a Romish or Unitarian expositor, than of him. If the Deluge had been a figurative destruction, the mere ruin

of a guilty *system*, then, indeed, we might suppose, that no physical catastrophe is intended by the dissolution of the heavens being on fire, the melting of the elements in the fervent heat, the passing away of the heavens with a great noise, the conflagration of the earth also with the works that are therein. Mr. Noel argues, that 'the perdition of the antediluvian world was 'not annihilation, but devastation.' But annihilation is not St. Peter's word, nor is it ours. We have nothing to do with it. It is not the property of either water or fire to annihilate, but to dissolve; and the question is, whether the dissolution or devastation of the antediluvian world, was a physical catastrophe, or only the ruin of a guilty and rebellious system of human action. We may here be allowed, without adopting the Author's 'Theory', to avail ourselves of the language of the learned and pious Dr. Thomas Burnet.

'These texts of Scripture being so express, there is but one way left to elude the force of them; and that is, by turning the renovation of the world into an allegory, and making the new heavens and new earth to be allegorical heavens and earth, not real and material, as ours are. This is a bold attempt of some modern authors who choose rather to strain the word of God, than their own notions. There are allegories, no doubt, in Scripture; but we are not to allegorize Scripture without some warrant, either from an Apostolical interpretation, or from the necessity of the matter. And I do not know how they can pretend to either of these in this case. . . . The general rule of interpretation is this: That we are not to recede from the letter, or the literal sense, unless there be a necessity from the subject-matter, such a necessity as makes a literal interpretation absurd. But where is that necessity in this case? Cannot God make new heavens and a new earth, as easily as He made the old ones? Is His strength decayed since that time, or is matter grown more disobedient? Nay, does not Nature offer herself voluntarily to raise a new world from the second Chaos as well as from the first; and, under the conduct of Providence, to make it as convenient a habitation as the primeval earth? Therefore, no necessity can be pretended of leaving the literal sense, upon an incapacity of the subject-matter.

'The second rule to determine an interpretation to be literal or allegorical, is the use of the same words or phrase in the context, and the signification of them there. Let us then examine our case according to this rule. St. Peter had used the same phrase of *heavens and earth* twice before in the same chapter (ver. 5 and 7). Have we not then reason to suppose, that he takes it here in the same sense that he had done twice

‘ before, for real and material heavens and earth? There is
 ‘ no mark set of a new signification, nor why we should alter
 ‘ the sense of the words.

‘ Lastly, the very form of the words, and the manner of their
 ‘ dependence upon the context, lead us to a literal sense.
 ‘ Nevertheless, says the Apostle, we expect new heavens, &c.
 ‘ Why nevertheless? That is, notwithstanding the dissolution
 ‘ of the present heavens and earth. The Apostle foresaw (that)
 ‘ what he had said might raise a doubt in their minds, whether
 ‘ all things would not be at an end; nothing more of heavens
 ‘ and earth, or of any habitable world, after the conflagration:
 ‘ And to obviate this, he tells them, *Notwithstanding* that won-
 ‘ derful desolation that I have described, we do, according to
 ‘ God’s promises, expect new heavens and a new earth to be a
 ‘ habitation for the righteous. You see, then, the new heavens
 ‘ and new earth which the Apostle speaks of, are substituted
 ‘ in the place of those that were destroyed at the time of the
 ‘ conflagration; and would you substitute allegorical heavens
 ‘ and earth in the place of material?—shadow for a substance?
 ‘ What an equivocation would it be in the Apostle, when the
 ‘ doubt was about the material heavens and earth, to make an
 ‘ answer about allegorical I know not what bars the
 ‘ Spirit of God can set, to keep us within the compass of a li-
 ‘ teral sense, if these be not sufficient.’ *

Nor is this the only passage in Holy Writ, which speaks in unequivocal language of the dissolution of the present material earth. Among others, the passage in the *cild. Psalm* (ver. 27, 8.) cited by the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, seems to us clearly to imply this; as well as our Lord’s own declaration, *Matt. xxiv. 38*. The latter has been thought not unsusceptible of a different explanation, consonant with *ch. vi. 18*. To us, however, it appears evidently, both from the subject-matter of the context and the distinct form of the affirmation, to have a positive import. But we must proceed to examine the Author’s theory respecting the time and object of the Redeemer’s second advent.

‘ Is it indeed’, he asks, ‘ the verdict of Revelation, that this earth on which the Redeemer walked and communed with men in the hour of his humiliation, shall never be the scene of his fellowship with them in the hour of his power and his glory? Did he “ as a way-faring man tarry with them only for a night”, and ascend but to return in the vengeance of insulted majesty to annihilate the scene on which he endured this dishonour? Is this theory, sanctioned though it may be by centuries of approving theology; and consecrated as it

* Burnet’s “ *Theory of the Earth* ”; vol. ii. (1759) pp. 363—66.

distinct eras of resurrection, but two *advents* yet future,—the first to usher in the millennial glory, the second to judge the world. The Holy Scriptures speak of but one. When the Saviour shall “come to be glorified in his saints”, it is *then*, that He “shall be revealed from heaven, taking vengeance on them that know not God.” The time is the same, and the event one,—awfully different as its issue will be to those on the right hand and those on the left,—“the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ.”

In answer to the double inquiry relating to the object of the Redeemer's Ascension and the circumstances of His return, we are now prepared to refer the Author to the language of the sublime hymn preserved in the liturgy of his own Church, as strictly accordant with the Scriptures: ‘When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers. Thou sittest at the right hand of God, in the glory of the Father. We believe that thou shalt come, to be our judge.’

But why should it be made the subject of elegiac apostrophe, that this earth, on which the Redeemer walked and communed with men in the hour of his humiliation, shall never be the scene of his fellowship with them in the hour of his glory? It seems to us, that this sentiment, connected as it may be with amiable and devout feeling in the Author's mind, bears a close affinity to the misguided enthusiasm which, in the olden time, led crowds of pilgrims and crusaders to

‘those holy fields
Over whose acres walked those blessed feet
Which, fourteen hundred years ago, were nailed
For our advantage on the bitter cross.’

It is a poetical, rather than a theological sentiment, and harmonizes far better with Tasso, than with St. Paul. Our forefathers wished to redeem the sepulchre and the holy city from the Pagans; and Mr. Noel is anxious to redeem the same scenes from ‘the avenging flame.’ He cannot bear to think that the scene of celestial happiness should be laid in another world. He does not think it enough, that this earth should witness the return of the Saviour,—that the scene of his humiliation should be the scene of his manifestation in the glory of his appearing to judge the world. He imagines that the earthly Jerusalem shall become the bride of Christ, and that the Son of God will again descend from the abode of His glory, to occupy the throne of David. All this appears to us pure romance; and it is worse than this,—it is unscriptural. Its tendency is to counteract the exhortation of the Apostle, to,

"seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God." It withdraws the affections from that upper world, in order to bind them closer to this material earth. It forbids us to wish to depart from it, that we may be with Christ. Mr. Noel is so far aware of this, that he asks, 'Does our Lord teach us to pray for a *translation from this unquiet land to another and distant orb?*' We reply, that he does. What other construction can be put upon the following words? "In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also." . . . "If ye loved me, ye would rejoice, because I go unto the Father." . . . "Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory which thou hast given me."* And how the Apostles understood this language, we may learn from their own statements. "Whither *the Forerunner*, even Jesus, is for us entered." "For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us." "Therefore, knowing that while we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord, we are willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord." . . . "For I am in a strait betwixt the two, having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better."† St. Paul, then, at all events, thought it desirable to be translated from this unquiet orb, that he might see "the King in his glory and the land that is very far off."

We cannot conceal our suspicion, that the speculations in which Mr. Noel has indulged, have their origin in indistinct notions, nay, in almost avowed doubts, as to the happiness of the separate spirit, immediately subsequent upon death. The chilling doctrine which would interpose, not 'Jordan's stream', but a vast and fathomless chasm between this world and the heavenly Canaan, has found an advocate in our great Poet; and it has been held by some others whose names rank among the great and good. We have, on a former occasion, endeavoured to shew, that it rests on no other basis than a vain wisdom and false philosophy, and is totally at variance with Scripture.‡ It is remarkable, however, that the passage which Milton finds it hardest to grapple with, and which he at length

* John xiv. 2, 3; 28. xvii. 24.

† Heb. vi. 20. ix. 24. 2 Cor. v. 6—8. Phil. i. 23.

‡ See Eclectic Review, N. S. vol. xxv. pp. 128—132.

dismisses with saying, that the evidence on the opposite side 'should not be rejected on account of a single passage, of 'which it is not easy to give a satisfactory interpretation',—the words of our Lord to the penitent malefactor, Luke xxiii. 43,—is by Mr. Noel explained away by an interpretation not very novel, but which we had hoped to be able to call long exploded. In defending his criticism, we are sorry to perceive, that our Author betrays a soreness of feeling quite foreign from his usual suavity of temper. After candidly citing (in Note A.) the opinions of Gill, Watts, Poole, and Beza upon the passage, all of whom agree in justly stigmatizing this '*perissima interpretatio*', which is, we believe, of Socinian mintage,—Mr. Noel says:

'It is distressing to observe, how entirely these writers set aside scrutiny, and substitute in its place hard words, and even the imputation of unfair motives. Were the case perfectly evident, it needed not this auxiliary of sarcasm. But, in truth, have not all these authors *themselves* a latent hypothesis to support? Is not their real objection to the punctuation at issue, derived neither from the structure of the language, nor the obviousness of the sense; but from the conviction that, if just, it would wrest from their hands one defence of the doctrine of the intermediate state of the soul, between death and the resurrection?'... 'I cannot hesitate to aver', (he subsequently adds,) 'that the hypothesis of the intermediate state between death and the resurrection, has been the true key to the accordant opinions of commentators on the meaning of the text in question.'

pp. 302, 4.

To us, it is distressing, that a man like Mr. Noel, who stands so deservedly high in the Christian world, and for whose character we feel so unfeigned a regard, should term this Scriptural article of faith a 'mere hypothesis.' Hard words, we admit, are a poor substitute for sound criticism, and nothing can justify the imputation of unfair motives; but we really think that opinions cannot always claim that forbearance and courtesy which are due to the persons of those who may conscientiously hold them. With regard to the criticism which Mr. Noel defends, Milton, who had the strongest reason for adopting it, was evidently dissatisfied with the awkward expedient. It is condemned alike by Grotius, Griesbach, Whitby, and Campbell. Beza remarks, that he had seen one *codex* which read *ὅτι σήμερον*. Mr. Noel says: 'That only one manuscript should have *ὅτι* prefixed, is to me a strong presumption that it is an interpolation.' But, if *σήμερον* had belonged to the preceding words, St. Luke, it has been justly observed, 'would doubtless have inserted the particle *ὅτι* before

‘ μετ’ ἡμῶν.’ * Mr. Noel has cited several instances from the Old Testament, of what he thinks ‘ a similar emphasis given to the ‘ time of recording a command or privilege.’ Of these, one specimen will be sufficient. Dent. iv. 40. “Thou shalt keep therefore his statutes which I command thee *this day*.” And he refers us also to Matt. vi. 11. “Give us *this day* our daily bread.” The one instance is certainly as pertinent as the other; but we are astonished that they should be thought to yield the slightest countenance to the mistaken construction of the text in question. In the former instance, as well as in the parallel passages, ‘this day’ (σήμερον), so far as it is emphatic, may be considered as implying the re-promulgation of what had been commanded upon a *former day*,—the day when Israel stood before the Lord in Horeb (ver. 10). At the same time, it looks forward to the future: from that day, as an era, dated the solemn renewal of the national covenant: The day upon which our Lord gave the promise of Paradise to the dying penitent, was his last, within a few hours, at most, of his expiring. To him, the time of recording the promise would be of no consequence: the time of its fulfilment was every thing. Understood of the one, the word is unsusceptible of emphasis,—notwithstanding all the ingenuity which Mr. Noel has employed to make it seem emphatic. Understood of what should take place that very day,—that day, of which the last sands were running out,—that day of preternatural darkness about to close, to the redeemed malefactor, in the glories of Paradise,—it is more than emphatic†. Take away this word from the declaration to which it so essentially belongs, and the promise

* See Valpy's Gr. Test. vol. i. p. 422. ‘*Pessimè fecerunt*’, says Grotius, ‘*qui hanc vocem aut cum λέγω, dico, conjunxerunt (quod aperte improbat Syrus), aut interpretati sunt σήμερον, hodie, post resurrectionem. Christus plus promittit, quàm erat rogatus. Rogas, inquit, ut olim tui sis memor cum regni possessionem accepero: ego tam diu non differam tua vota; sed partem et primitias speratæ felicitatis tibi intra hunc ipsum diem repræsentabo: morere securus; a morte statim te divinis solatia expectant.*’ *Ib.*

† The strong influence of prepossession can alone account for our Author's citing Mark xiv. 30, as an instance of the collocation of the adverb supporting his criticism—ὅτι σήμερον, ἢ τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ, &c. ‘How striking’, he remarks, ‘is the effort made to arrest the mind of Peter to this very day! A few hours would only elapse, and all his resolutions of allegiance and love would fail.’ A few hours only were to elapse, in the case of the malefactor, before the fulfilment of the prophecy; and the collocation, except the suppression of the particle, is the same. Could the parallel be more striking?

becomes vague, distant, and shadowy, as the millennial dream which our Author would substitute for the strong consolation of being when absent from the body, present with the Lord. We cannot dismiss the Note which has so long detained us, without strongly reprobating the insinuation conveyed in the following paragraph.

As the doctrine of the intermediate state of happiness to the righteous between death and the resurrection, has been the received opinion of the Christian Church, and as this doctrine, comprising the terrific engine of Purgatory, was peculiarly dear to the Roman Church, I think it ought not to surprise any reader to find, that every manuscript and version since the present mode of punctuation was adopted, should contain the pause before the word *σινεσποι*, and not after it. Hence the agreement of manuscripts and versions, p. 303.

The assertion, that this doctrine was dear to the Roman Church,—that very Church by which the doctrine of an immediate entrance upon the rest and blessedness of the righteous has been boldly impugned, and a fictitious Purgatory substituted for the Paradise of God,—is so grossly erroneous, that we shall not spend many words in exposing what we must term the disingenuousness of the representation. So far from including the terrific engine of Purgatory, it precludes it altogether; and Calvin, in commenting upon the very passage we have been considering, points out how fatal it is to the Romish doctrine of penal satisfaction. *‘Itaque facessat putidum illud sophistarum commentum de pœnæ retentione, cum culpa remittitur: quia videmus ut Christus quem à reatu absolvit, simul à pœna liberet.’* That a scriptural doctrine should include a pernicious error, and sanction a terrific engine of corruption and spiritual tyranny, is impossible; and Mr. Noel ought to have felt very strongly assured that he was not misled by a false hypothesis, before he hazarded the declaration. But the fact is, that he might as justly have said, that any truth includes its opposite. Besides, it is the first time that we have ever heard it suspected, that the influence of the Romish Church had extended to the punctuation of Greek manuscripts and independent versions. For our own parts, without wishing to impose any shackles upon the legitimate freedom of religious inquiry, we cannot but think, that, when we have in favour of a doctrine, the received opinion of the Church,—we mean of the Church of Christ, the congregation of the faithful,—as well as the established punctuation of manuscripts, and the concurrent verdict of the soundest critics of every denomination as to the import of the sacred text,—we have a mass of evidence to which some little deference is due. The prescriptive applause of centuries,

'the vague and indistinct ritual of education', are worth nothing, we admit, when weighed against a single declaration of Scripture; but they are quite sufficient to make the hypothesis in question kick the beam. It has been weighed in the balances of the sanctuary, and found wanting.

As the scheme of interpretation we are considering, would postpone to an indefinite distance the blessedness of those who sleep in Jesus, so, it appears to us chargeable also with post-dating the reign of Christ, by making that future which has long commenced, and that earthly which embraces the circumference of heaven. Mr. Noel maintains, that the commencement of the Redeemer's predicted reign, will be the introduction of the millennial period; and yet, he admits, that the Saviour now 'exercises an unseen and kingly authority over the Church and the world.' Unseen by us, but not unseen by those who are present before the throne. 'In a spiritual and providential manner', remarks the Author, 'he has always been king; but he is not yet king in the *manifestation* of his glory.' How can this be true, when it is said, that the Father hath "set Him at His own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; and hath put all things under his feet"? How can the reign of Christ be suspended upon its visible manifestation to us; as if He could not enter upon His glory, until we beheld it? Will He vacate the throne of universal dominion at the right hand of the Father, to commence a local and limited reign in this sublunary sphere? Is the unseen world which He now inhabits, and in which He now exerts a regal and spiritual authority, so inferior in populousness, in extent, or in beauty and glory, to this, that a local sovereignty among men is reserved as the consummation of the Redeemer's honours? True, "we see not as yet all things put under Him"; and we know that "He must reign till He hath put all enemies under His feet." But where is the seat of His empire? "Jehovah said unto my Lord, sit Thou *at my right hand* until I make thine enemies thy footstool." Are we to suppose, that when His triumph is complete, He will descend from heaven, permanently to occupy an inferior station, for the sake simply of being seen by the surviving portion of the human race, or by the risen saints? Is a second humiliation to succeed to the exaltation of Him who came forth from the Father, and has now returned, to receive as Mediator the glory which He had with the Father before the world was? Such are the revolting conclusions which, unless we greatly

mistake the matter, are involved in the hypothesis that Mr. Noel has laboured to establish.

It will not be deemed necessary that we should follow the Author into the details of his scheme, as we have shewn that his data are erroneous. Here and there, the genuine enthusiasm of holy and benevolent feeling breaks out through the mists and shadows of the intellectual region into which he has strayed, and kindles up their fantastic forms into beauty. In many of his representations and anticipations, we cannot but coincide with him. But the cardinal objection which lies against his speculations, in common with those of almost every other writer who has ventured into the field of prophetic hypothesis, is this; that they so mix up and identify the problematical with the certain, as to impart the character of uncertainty even to what is revealed and ascertainable. Thus, they tend to generate scepticism, far more than to strengthen faith. They shew us the glorious light as through smoked glass, on the pretence of enabling us to gaze more fixedly on its shape and aspect, but it is by darkening and distorting the object. 'The unholy use of prophecy, in the periods in which some have attempted its elucidation', Mr. Noel himself remarks, 'has more or less cast a shade of suspicion over the subjects to which they have directed the attention of mankind. The earthliness of interpretation employed in the early centuries of the Church, and the proud turbulence of political interpretation, in the more recent periods of our own history, have gone far to render the very name of the millennial reign a sound which vibrates harshly upon the ear.' No unhallowed tendency of this kind can be charged upon Mr. Noel's work. The solemnity, modesty, and devout spirit in which he has conducted his Inquiry, are truly exemplary; and it requires almost an effort, and a painful one, to withhold assent and approbation from his statements. But his failure is the more monitory, and affords a striking illustration of the remark of the excellent Milner. Speaking of Cyprian, who imagined, at the commencement of the persecution under Gallus, that the approach of Anti-Christ, the end of the world, and the day of judgement were at hand, the Historian says: 'Sagacious and holy men are never more apt to be deceived, than when they attempt to look into futurity. God hath made the present so much the exclusive object of our duty, that He will scarcely suffer even His best and wisest servants to gain reputation for skill and foresight by any conjectures concerning the times and the seasons which He hath reserved in His own power.'*

* Milner's Ch. Hist. ii. pp. 415, 16. (1819.)

But we are asked, 'whether *unfulfilled* prophecy be not, in its varied details, the great theme of hope and consolation to the whole Christian Church. Is the present condition of the Church any other than one of dependence upon the unfulfilled promises of God?' 'Take away *unfulfilled* prophecy,' says Mr. Noel, 'and *fulfilled* prophecy becomes a useless history, and the future prospect of mankind utterly desolate and dark.' This last assertion is more worthy of Mr. Irving, than of Mr. Noel. What! would the exhibition of the Divine character in reconciling the world to Himself by His Son, and the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy in Christ, be of no use to the Church, supply no ground for hope as to the future, without the aid of unfulfilled prophecy? Would no consolatory assurance be afforded by fulfilled predictions, that the world is under a scheme of wise and holy government, and that events are taking place in strict subordination to the Divine designs? Would the Gospels become a 'useless history' without the Apocalypse? Mr. Noel cannot mean this: but his words amount to as much. Unfulfilled prophecy, we admit, is adapted to be a source of hope and consolation to the Church; although this is not the precise use to which it has, by modern interpreters, been generally applied. It is as a threatening, not as a promise, that it is held forth. 'Christendom on the eve of a tremendous overthrow', is the note of woe which Mr. McNeile sounds in the present pamphlet; and Mr. Irving 'does the office of a prophet' in the very spirit of the Son of Amittai. The use which these gentlemen and others make of unfulfilled prophecy, shews, that the words prophecy and promise are not altogether synonymous. We speak of the *study* of prophecy, of the *belief* in a promise; a further proof that there is some difference between them. The promises which sustain the faith of the individual believer, are continually fulfilled, in part at least, in his own experience: he will not allow them to be called mere predictions of remote good. And even with regard to the whole Christian Church, the grand theme of consolation are promises, the fulfilment of which runs parallel to its history; those which ensure the success of the Spirit and the presence of Christ with his Church to the end of the world.

The second coming of our Lord, the day of the manifestation of the sons of God, of the redemption of the body, the day of general Jubilee,—is an event towards which the devout expectations of the Church ought constantly to be directed. The memorials of the Saviour's death, are pledges of His return. "As often as we eat this bread and drink this cup," we "shew forth the Lord's death *till he come*." It is observable, however,

that, while the scoffer has been saying, "Where is the promise of his coming?" the Church has been constantly prone to ante-date the event, and to raise a false cry, that the end of the world was at hand. The primary design of the Apocalypse, as we have remarked on a former occasion*, seems to be, to check this rashness and impatience, by affording a general intimation of the events which must transpire before the consummation of all things. "Let no man deceive you; the end is not yet"—is the caution which forms the running-title to all unfulfilled prophecy†. And we are persuaded that the necessity for reiterating this caution has not ceased. It is upon the character and certainty of the event, that the attention of the Christian should be fixed, not upon its supposed proximity; a persuasion of which would lead only to a neglect of real obligations and immediate duties for imaginary ones. Mr. Noel suggests, that there is need 'carefully to watch against a disproportionate pursuit of prophetic inquiries',—aware that their tendency is, to lessen a due regard for the ordinary duties of society. Nor is this their only pernicious effect. They have been found to destroy a relish for the plain and homely truths of the Gospel, and to be as inimical to spirituality as to practical usefulness. The Author candidly admits the danger; but he is unwilling to allow that it is the necessary result of calling in imagination to the aid of faith, and of mixing up human speculations with "the sure word," but reserved intimations of prophecy. He is aware, that a

'great objection lies against an attempt to reduce the mysterious chronology of Providence to our own rules; to predetermine times and seasons; to limit prophetic events to particular persons and things; and thus to endanger the credibility of prediction on the minds of many, by the failure of our own prophetic announcements. I admit this,' he adds, 'to be the vulnerable side of those who have of late years directed their attention to the study of unfulfilled prophecy; and I would, with humility and earnestness, suggest to those who feel a warm and deep interest in coming events, to guard well against this use of the subject, and to fix their thoughts upon the character of the future, rather than upon its minute details. The latter, time and events can alone properly ascertain: the former, the whole language and scope of prophecy unfolds and confirms.' p. 276.

This is admirably said, and we should be glad to think that Mr. Noel's suggestion would meet, in certain quarters, with the attention which it deserves. But it does not state the whole of

* Eclectic Review, Vol. XXVII. p. 314.

† See the admirable remarks of Howe on this subject (Vol. V. pp. 251, 2), cited at p. 503 of our last volume.

the danger attendant upon such inquiries,—that which respects their effect upon the individual himself. Upon this subject, we shall again avail ourselves of the language of an eminent writer, to whose sober views and eloquent statements we have had occasion to advert in former articles. ‘To have our minds and hearts more set upon the best state of things that it is possible the Church should ever arrive to on earth, than upon the state of perfect felicity above, is a very great distemper, and what we ought to reckon it intolerable by any means to indulge ourselves in. We know, none of us can live in this world but a little while; and that there is a state of perfect rest, and tranquillity, and glory, remaining for the people of God. We have, therefore, no pretence for being curious in our inquiries about what time such or such good things may fall out to the Church of God in this world. It is a great piece of fondness, to cast in our own thoughts, Is it possible that I may live to see it? For ought we know, there may be but a hand’s breadth between us and glory, if we belong to God: to-morrow may be the time of our translation. We ought to live in the continual expectation of dying, and of coming to a better state than the Church can ever be in here. It argues a great infirmity, a distemper in our spirits, that we should reflect upon with severity, if we should be more curious to see a good state of things in this world, than to see the best that can ever be, and infinitely better than we can think, in heaven.’*

‘But,’ says Mr. Noel, ‘Heaven is a place *distant, untried, and unknown*’; and it is, he imagines, one strong recommendation of the *terrestrial* views which he has adopted, that they present to the mind, ‘an *easier*, and therefore a more practical subject of contemplation, than any which is discoverable from the misty notions of a region of felicity apart and separate from all the habits of the present world.’ He concedes,—and the concession is all-important,—‘that the received notions, *in-distinct as they are, are yet powerful to influence the believing heart*’; that ‘they open before us the deep sources of hope and fear’; but he adds, ‘I am as satisfied, that, in proportion as our ideas of future felicity become clear and lucid, we are more powerfully attracted, and more pleasingly influenced by them.’ p. 280. We should rather say, in proportion as our faith, not our imagination, is in exercise,—in proportion to the strength of our assurance, not to the clearness of our conceptions, shall we feel the attractive force of the things which are unseen and eternal. The Author proceeds to say:

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* In a similar manner, I think these views of the advent of Christ calculated to reconcile the poorer Christian to the struggles of the present life. I again admit this to be a question of degree, and of facile influence. The *dim thought of heaven* will cheer and comfort him in this struggle; but I think a *simpler* and more *intelligible* solace might reach his heart, if, when toiling in the cold shade of poverty, or groaning on the bed of ill-mitigated disease, he could connect the voice, the eye, the welcome of his Saviour with a body free from sin and pain, and in the sunshine of a world with whose scenery and usages all his thoughts and habits are familiar. Such a solace would still be to him his heaven, but a heaven more palpably reduced to the level of his comprehension and his hopes.' pp. 281, 82.

Mr. Noel is not a man to advocate, as a general principle, the accommodation of spiritual things to the gross and sensual conceptions of mankind; the system so fatally adopted by the first corrupters of Christianity, and still avowedly pursued by the Romish Church. He would not gain the doubtful advantage which he deems to attach to his hypothesis, by any compromise of the truth. But is he not unconsciously verging upon this principle of accommodation, when he speaks with complacency of 'palpably reducing heaven to the level of' the poor man's 'comprehension and hopes'? Negatively, heaven is thus brought down to his hopes, and home to his feelings, by those declarations of the Inspired Volume which assure him, that, in that world, "they shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more," neither shall the sun scorch them, nor any heat distress them there; "there shall be no more curse," no necessity for toil and labour, no more night, "no more death, neither sorrow nor crying," nor shall the inhabitant of the heavenly city say, I am sick. These negations convey a simple and intelligible solace, without stimulating the imagination, without compromising the nature of the heavenly felicity; and it is thus that the Divine wisdom has taught us to adapt truth, without accommodating it, to the comprehension and hopes of the poor and ignorant. If we go much beyond this, we shall not only err from the inspired model, but fail of our object.

The state of society on earth, which Mr. Noel describes, is to the full as inconceivable, as remote from experience and the habits of the present world, as the heavenly felicity. His notions seem to us not less 'misty', while they are far less pleasing and elevated, than those which he would displace. But were it otherwise, we question whether it would at all assist the faith, or strengthen the consolation of the humble believer, to be taught to expect a heaven much more closely assimilated to the existing world, than he had supposed. The human mind

is so constituted, that the deepest emotions are excited by indefinite objects. The indistinct notion of heaven, when connected with a certain expectation of its felicity, is confessedly powerful to influence the believing heart. A more distinct notion, were it attainable, as it must still be inadequate, might possibly prove less powerful. The future happiness must be an object of faith, and 'the joy of the Lord' will, after all attempts at description, remain inconceivable. But it is enough for the Christian to know, that he will be happy. "It doth not yet appear," nor can it be made palpable to imagination, "what we shall be." St. Paul, when caught up to Paradise, heard things which he could not, might not utter. But let it be recollected, that all the objects of human pursuit, happiness itself, wealth, honour, knowledge, health, are abstract and indefinite in their nature, and they act upon the mind with a force proportioned to their indefiniteness. To be well, to be rich, to be great—these are the objects of earthly desire. To be holy, to be without fear, shame, or grief, to know as he is known, to be one amid Heaven's "general assembly", to behold the Saviour's glory, to be for ever with the Lord—these are the hopes of the Christian. Where shall be laid the paradise scene of this felicity, matters as little to his faith, as it would do to the hopes of an heir, in what county his estate should lie. The sight of the will by which it was conveyed, would be far more satisfactory to him, than the most picturesque view of the place. We are ourselves ready to believe, that "the new earth" will have much in common with the existing creation; that 'a new materialism', as Dr. Chalmers expresses it, 'with other aspects of magnificence and beauty, will emerge from the wreck of the mighty transformation', and the new world 'be peopled with the varieties of material loveliness, and space be again lighted up into a firmament of material splendour.' We are disposed to go almost the whole length with that eloquent Writer, in his sermon cited by Mr. Noel. But still, the comfort of the Christian under the struggles of the present life, seems to us to depend very little upon the distinctness of his notions with regard to the materialism of the future earth. We cannot refrain from transcribing here the admirable sentiments of the same Author, in support of our view of the subject.

"Had we only the character of heaven, we should not be long of feeling what that is, which essentially makes the comfort of heaven. It is not sufficiently adverted to, that the happiness of heaven lies simply and essentially in the well-going machinery of a well-conditioned soul; and that, according to its measure, it is the same in kind with the happiness of God, who liveth for ever in bliss in-

effable, because he is unchangeable in being good, and upright, and holy. There may be audible music in heaven, but its chief delight will be in the music of well-poised affections, and of principles in full and consenting harmony with the laws of eternal rectitude. There may be visions of loveliness there, but it will be the loveliness of virtue, as seen directly in God, and as reflected back again in family likeness from his children,—it will be this that shall give its purest and sweetest transports to the soul. In a word, the main reward of Paradise, is spiritual joy, and that springing at once from the love and the possession of spiritual excellence. It is such a joy as sin extinguishes, on the moment of its entering the soul; and such a joy as is again restored to the soul, and that immediately on its being restored to righteousness.” pp. 355, 56.

And when we consider, that one main part of the office of Religion, is to spiritualize the mind, by teaching us to walk by faith, not by sight, looking at the things which are unseen, and to draw off our affections from the passing pageant (*σχημα*) of the masque of life;—it would seem to be of the highest importance, that our hopes should be of this spiritual character; that they should be of a nature not to let down heaven to us, but to draw up our minds thither. We are “not come to the mount that might be touched.” The views of the future world, then, which the Christian minister should endeavour to make most familiar to the minds of his hearers, are those which relate to it as a state of light and love, of purity and spiritual joy.

Besides; the hypothesis of the present Author, while it undertakes to make heaven more palpable to the comprehension, makes it at the same time more distant. By teaching us to look forward, instead of upward, it alters the whole attitude of hope, substituting a dim futurity for an unseen but existing certainty. The notion that deprives us of Paradise, and offers us the Millennium in its stead, robs our hopes of far more than it confers. The heaven which dying Stephen saw, we cannot resign for so remote and insufficient an equivalent. We would rather know “the rest which remaineth for the people of God to be already prepared” and near, just outside the gate of death,—though unseen and impalpable to conception,—than be led to think of it as a state which shall begin to be upon this very earth ages hence. ‘Near’ as ‘may be the time when,’ according to the Author’s scheme, ‘this renovated earth shall be under the benignant rule of the risen saints of God’, the in-

Chalmers’s St. John’s Church Sermons. pp. 211—13. See also a beautiful paragraph, descriptive of “the joy of the Lord”, of a similar character, in Milner’s Sermons, Vol. III. p. 204; cited in Eclectic Review, Vol. XXIV. p. 54.

intermediate missions of blessedness are to many of us, as yet, a distant prospect. We shall meet there, long before we could expect to meet our risen brother as the terrestrial Jerusalem. The 'divine thought' of heaven has been found sufficient to sustain the faith and courage of apostles, martyrs, and the heroic labourers of modern times. Beautifully, yet simply, has Henry Martyn, in his *Journal*, given expression to the feelings of the believer in the prospect of his departure from this scene of rebellion and suffering. 'How sweet', he remarks, 'that glorious day when Jesus Christ shall reign! Death, at several times of this day, appeared infinitely sweet in this view of it,—that I shall then go to behold the glory of Christ.' *

We cannot close this article, extended as it is, without advert- ing to the tendency of the present hypothesis and of all similar speculations, to paralyse the exertions of the Christian Church. Our conviction that this must be their general result, although a few individuals of Mr. Noel's character may remain true to their colours in the phalanx of Christian labourers, is not at all weakened by the following passage.—

"I cannot here refrain from a single remark upon the duty incumbent upon the Christian, to unite with every zealous effort to spread the Gospel through the world. For although I think it plain, that the restoration of the Jews, and the advent of the Lord, will precede the conversion of the world by the wondrous effusion of the Holy Spirit; yet, as the Lord specially directed his Gospel to be proclaimed to all nations as a witness, and as duty is at all times ours, and events are God's, we are called upon to make the most strenuous efforts to sustain the mission of Heralds to the world, and the diffusion of the Scriptures among the nations. It is likewise a cheerful stimulus to present activity, to remember, that human agency will even ultimately be employed in this great work of mercy to the earth. It is, therefore, quite consistent with the miraculous view of the millennium given above, to associate with it the widest co-operation of mortal agents. Every bible scattered among the heathen, every school erected in the wilderness, every voice of Christianity addressed to the idolatrous and the ignorant, is one link in that chain of providential preparation, which, while it now encircles the hearts of all the Elect of God, will ultimately bind in hallowed allegiance, the innumerable tribes of the family of man. Would to God then that Christian zeal were yet more fervid, Christian effort more unwearyed, Christian liberality to the wants and sorrows of the world, more munificent and unrestrained!" pp. 287, 8.

But what shall we think of an hypothesis which places its abettor in the predicament of being obliged to vindicate his own consistency in such co-operation? If Mr. Noel deems

* *Memoirs*, (12mo.) p. 132.

such views of the future prospects of the Church consistent with taking an active part in the zealous effort to spread the Gospel, will others, who hold these same views, share in his feelings? If a theoretical consistency may be established between such views and an active co-operation in these 'preparatory' labours, will they be found to harmonize in practice? Will those who denounce as visionary the hopes from which Missionary exertions derive their chief impulse, be the most likely to concur in the work of the Lord? Let us hear Mr. M'Neile.

'Is this dispensation under which we are living, the final dispensation, which will issue in the full performance of the Divine plan of mercy to the whole world? Or is it another introductory dispensation, such as those which have preceded it? The more common opinion is, that this is the final dispensation; and that, by a more copious out-pouring of the Holy Spirit, it will magnify itself, and swell into the universal blessedness predicted by the prophets, carrying with it Jews and Gentiles, even the whole world, in one glorious flock, under one shepherd, Jesus Christ the Lord. This is reiterated from pulpit, press, and platform. It is the usual climax of missionary exhortation, or rather of missionary prophecy.' pp. 14, 15.

Mr. Orme's remark, already cited in our pages, is strikingly applicable to persons holding opinions like Mr. M'Neile's. 'If it be our conviction, that the present dispensation of mercy is to come to a close within a very limited period, and that the subjugation of the world to Christ is to be accomplished in a manner and by means altogether distinct from the preaching of the Gospel, it is not likely that we shall be very zealous in the employment of means which can be of so little avail, or the extent of whose operation must be so very limited and temporary.' If it be our opinion, that it will not be by a more copious out-pouring of the Holy Spirit, in connexion with the ordained instrumentality of men, but by Divine judgments which we have only to watch for and passively to contemplate, that the world is finally to be converted to the obedience of faith,—it is not in human nature, that we should remain steadfast and always abounding in the work of the Lord. It is nothing more than might be expected, that such persons should imagine penal statutes to be the best mode of perpetuating and propagating the faith; that they should wish to have recourse to political measures, in order to hasten the slow course of Christianity; that, in anticipation of seeing the fire of Divine vengeance descend from heaven, they should wish to kindle fires upon earth. Doubtless, the reign of the glorified saints will require a test-act as one of its safeguards! Justly has Howe remarked, that it is a great advantage to know, that

by the effusion of the Spirit of God upon the Church; will the days of promise be brought about,—‘that we may at least learn not to look a contrary way’,—‘that we may not let our spirits run into an opposite spirit’, like those who are ready to cry out, ‘Let fire come down from heaven and make a present destruction of all.’

Of Mr. McNeile, we cannot but hope better things,—notwithstanding that his zeal far outruns his knowledge, and that his passions are much stronger than his judgement. We must not, however, dismiss his pamphlet without adverting to the paragraph which immediately succeeds to the passage above cited. On the supposition that the present is the final dispensation,

‘it must be admitted’, he says, ‘that the accomplishment of the promise has advanced, and is still advancing very slowly; and that even now, in the nineteenth century of its working, comparatively little has been done; for, although Christianity established itself on the downfall of the most cultivated Paganism with sufficient rapidity to convince every candid mind that it was from God; yet, in reference to the great promise affecting the whole world, its progress has hitherto been slow indeed. . . . Supposing this to be the final dispensation, the dawn of the day of universal blessedness, we might expect to find the light, though slow, yet progressive. Now it must in fairness be admitted, that the history of the Church of Christ does not answer to this expectation. Christianity has not been holding her ground in the world while she advanced to further conquests. Her course resembles the emigrations of a pilgrim, rather than the triumphant establishments of a conqueror. From many places, where once she presided in her beauty, she has departed without leaving even her name behind her: from others, all that was valuable about her is gone, and only a name remains. For look along her wake! Where is the apostolical church of Jerusalem over which James presided in the sober dignity of inspired wisdom? Gone! The holy city is trodden down of the Gentiles. The crescent of the false prophet of Arabia waves over its walls. Where are the churches of Ephesus, of Smyrna, of Pergamos, of Thyatira, of Sardis, of Philadelphia, of Laodicea, to whom the Spirit spake by the beloved disciple? Gone! all gone! The name of Christian is indeed retained in some of those districts, but it is an empty name. Where are the churches of Carthage and Hippo Regius? Gone! The voices of Cyprian and Augustin find no kindred spirit to prolong their echoes on the shores of north-eastern Africa: even the very name of Jesus has been eradicated from the barbarous soil. Where is the fair daughter of heaven, who, appearing in the hired lodging of Saul of Tarsus, and making her way into Cæsar’s household, shone so long with simple beauty in imperial Rome? She retains indeed the name of Christian, and usurps the name of Catholic; but, alas! how grievously is she defiled by the fornication of the kings of the earth! her native purity is gone, and abomination, yea, Mother of Abominations, is

written upon her forehead. Where are the churches of Wittenburg and Geneva, those lights from the Lord which burst upon the darkness of Europe by the instrumentality of Luther and Calvin? Gone! Reasoning infidelity, under various well-sounding names, presides over the fountains of instruction, poisoning the streams, while darkness has again covered the land, and gross darkness the people. In our own favoured country, what has been the progress of Christianity? Thanks be unto God, the candlestick has not been removed from the churches established in these islands. We have and hold in our articles of faith a true scriptural creed: but it is painful to ask and answer the question, has true scriptural religion increased among us? For, omitting that portion of our population which is infidel in creed, or openly ungodly in practice, or both, (a portion of fearful magnitude,) and confining our observation to the more regular, formal, and apparently Christian members of our community, what shall we say? Information has indeed increased an hundredfold. Education has spread her benign embrace around the length and breadth of our land. Decency and order and harmony and peace delightfully prevail. But need you be reminded, brethren, that all these things may be where true scriptural religion is not? That the Gospel by its collateral effects may civilize, and reform, and polish a whole community, while it directly evangelizes and saves only a very small remnant? That (to use the language of Luther) it may produce Regulus and Fabriciuses, upright and righteous men according to man's judgement, and yet have nothing in it of the nature of genuine righteousness before God? And is it not true at this moment in this city and in this kingdom, that the prevailing tone of Christianity has so subsided into a goodnatured quietness, a plausible profession of individual humility sily praising itself, while at the same time it affects too much diffidence to find fault with any other; and an indiscriminate charity, which kindly implies that all creeds are equally safe at last? I repeat, is not the prevailing tone of Christianity in this country so infected with the atmosphere of this fashionable liberality, that any thing approaching the spirit, and fire, and zeal, and faith of primitive piety, is denounced as fanaticism, as unholy because unhumiliated impetuosity, or at least shrunk from and shunned as enthusiasm, needlessly offensive, and therefore exceedingly injudicious? And is not this the secret of the great apparent increase of religion among us? The Church has relaxed in both her doctrine and practice. She occupies a lower and broader platform than is meet; and having laid aside, as ultra and unnecessary, much of what is forbidding to the carnal mind, she has enticed multitudes to join hands with her, whose hearts are not right with her Lord, and who would never have made a show of joining her, had she adhered to the faithfulness of her Lord's truth, and the holiness of her Lord's example. It is not so much that genuine Christianity has increased, as that a spurious mixture, diluted down to the palate of the world, is passing current for the true.

But granting the full extent of what some contend for, as to the increase of true religion in England, yet still it cannot be immediately that Christianity has been progressive, acquiring and retaining more

spread over the families of the earth. And in reference to the promise of universal blessedness, the fulfilment of which is anticipated under this dispensation; it is worthy of remark, that the inspired description of what all the families of mankind shall be, is not yet applicable (neither has it ever been) to even one single family in the most favoured city or village of Christendom: so that, in order to complete the glorious work, the success of our dispensation must not only be enlarged in degree, but also become different in kind.

pp. 15—20.

We have cited this passage at length, because it may be regarded as a sort of *manifesto*, on the part of the millenarian party, against 'the common opinion,' which is 'the usual climax of missionary prophecy'; presenting to us, in a tangible shape, this new and subtle heresy. Strange it is, to find an old infidel objection against the religion of Jesus, thus reproduced by one of its ministers. Mr. M'Neile is aware that, up to a certain period in its history, Christianity was progressive, so as to afford a demonstration that it was from God. Has it never occurred to him to inquire, what were the causes which arrested its triumph, which paralysed its energies, which extinguished its lustre, which at length laid it prostrate before the Mohammedan imposture? To what purpose can he have read ecclesiastical history, if he is unable to solve this awful problem, without having recourse, with the Antinomian, to some secret purpose of God? Will he charge upon the Divine decrees, what is so clearly attributable to the unfaithfulness and secularity of his Church, the depository of his truth, the commissioned agent of executing his commands? That Christianity has not long since become universal, at least as regards the knowledge and profession of it, can be resolved into no other cause, and this is a sufficient explanation, than its deterioration by Christians. The history of the Seven Churches is an epitome of that of the Church Catholic; and the finger of Inspiration has traced the evil to its source. How then can it be rationally maintained, that the dispensation of the Spirit has failed; that it 'must not only be enlarged in degree, but become different in kind;' when all that is wanted is, that the Church should resume her primitive character, and do her first works? So will the Divine Inhabitant return to the almost forsaken temple, and its building, so long impeded, go forward, without noise or sound of implements, "not by might, nor by power, but by the Spirit of the Lord."

To those who are looking for a dispensation different in kind from that of the Gospel, a dispensation of doom, and judgment, and political rule, to succeed to the dispensation of mercy and moral instrumentality, we feel justified in appealing

in the indignant language of the Apostle, (though with a varied reference,) "Are ye so foolish? Having begun in the Spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh?" Were the foundations of the Church laid, by the Pentecostal effusion of the Spirit, and shall its consummation be effected by other means and agencies? Has the Spirit of Truth, the Comforter, who was to supply the personal presence of Christ by abiding with the Church *for ever*, sustained a final defeat? And is He about to resign his charge, and to retire from the world, in order that the Saviour may personally descend to accomplish his unfinished work? We cannot believe this. Nor can we suffer ourselves to take that disconsolate, gloomy, and most uncharitable view of the present aspect of the Christian world, which forms Mr. M'Neile's apology for quarrelling with the Gospel dispensation itself. While aware of the ample occasion that there is for humiliation, and shame, and grief, on beholding the secularity, and coldness, and selfishness, and other vices prevalent within the pale of the nominal Church, we cannot, dare not, hold up to the world so unfair a representation, so treacherous a caricature of the great body of professing Christians. If, on the one hand, we have to guard against that spurious charity which is disguised latitudinarianism, let us not countenance that spurious spirituality which consists in censoriousness.

With regard to Mr. Noel, his spirit is so lovely, that we have only to mourn that such a man should have embraced the opinions which have subjected him to our strictures.

Art. II. *The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man.*
By Dugald Stewart, Esq. F.R.SS. Lond. and Ed., &c. &c. &c.
2 vols. 8vo. Price 17. 4s. London. 1828.

THESE anxiously expected volumes complete the series of Mr. Stewart's philosophical works, and contain, we believe, the whole of what he intended to lay before the public. It must have been a great satisfaction to their estimable Author, and it is a source of congratulation among his numerous friends and admirers, that death did not arrest him, till his work, in this point of view at least, was done. It is melancholy, however, to have to add, that the last sheet of the publication we have announced, had scarcely proceeded from the press, when the Writer sank into the grave. To us, his death at this period, is a subject of especial regret. We had, at one time, almost determined to delay our notice of the publication, feeling as if the strictures we feel ourselves compelled to make upon it, while the remains of its Author are scarcely cold,

would approach towards a violation of delicacy. Under the influence of this recollection, we shall exercise a vigilant caution to write as if the eye of the departed philosopher were still able to inspect our pages.

The work before us contains the substance of the Lectures on the subjects announced, delivered by the Professor in the University of Edinburgh. Though always heard with interest, we believe that Mr. S. was generally considered as more at home in this part of his course, than when the subjects of his prelections were the intellectual powers, according to the nomenclature adopted by him. Some persons may be disposed to regret, that the attention of Mr. S. was not more exclusively confined to subjects purely ethical; and a respectable contemporary laments, that 'Mental and Moral Philosophy' have not been kept sufficiently distinct from each other in that division of labour which exists in the Northern schools. We cannot say that we partake in his regrets. Never have we been so powerfully struck, as in reading the work before us, with the importance, to a moral philosopher, of correct notions of the nature and properties of the mind. It cannot be doubted, we think, that Mr. Stewart appears to less advantage than he might have done in the department of ethics, in consequence of his mistakes in the department of mental philosophy. It is impossible not to perceive that many of his errors, as they appear to us, in the first-mentioned division of his course, result from his false and defective views of Mental Science; and these errors would, in all probability, have been more numerous than they are, but for the attention he was constrained to give to the Philosophy of Mind, by the necessity of preparing lectures upon the subject.

In reviewing the present work, it is impossible to do full justice either to ourselves or to the deceased Author, without exhibiting the points in which we differ from him, in relation to Mental Science. The limits to which we are necessarily restricted, must, however, prevent this, except in cases where it is absolutely necessary to justify the opinions we entertain in opposition to those of our Author.

The system of Mental Science adopted by Mr. Stewart, agrees, in almost every important point, with that of Dr. Reid: it may, indeed, be regarded as an improved edition of it. Though capable of following, to great advantage, in the track of his predecessor, with manifest superiority in point of erudition, and in his powers of composition, he was as obviously inferior to him in strength and originality. Mr. Stewart possessed a cultivated and an elegant, but by no means a profound mind. As a metaphysician, a comparatively humble station will be as-

signed him by all, we believe, who are competent to form a correct judgement in the case. There are, indeed, some individuals, not fond, perhaps, of abstract thinking themselves, who assign to Mr. S. the first place in the rank of intellectual philosophers; we are mistaken, however, if the time is not approaching, when both this Writer himself and the system which he has advocated with so much elegance, will be more correctly appreciated than they are at present; and when the extraordinary talents, and genius, and attainments of his highly gifted friend and successor, the late Dr. Thomas Brown, will be brought into more prominent view.

The *powers* of the mind, of the precise meaning of which term no account is given us either by Dr. Reid or Mr. Stewart, are arranged by the latter in two divisions, viz. the Intellectual and the Active powers. It is impossible, we think, to sustain the correctness of this mode of classification. Whatever be the sense which is attached to the term Active here,—and we are well aware that few words are connected with more indefinite and erroneous conceptions, than the terms activity and passivity in their application to the mind—the mind is surely as active when thinking, as it is when loving or admiring. If the affection of love be arranged with the active principles, because it may lead to an exertion of the intellectual powers, why should the same rank be denied to the faculties of perception and conception, when they so frequently awaken love? There is a broad line of distinction between those states of mind which are denominated thoughts, ideas, conceptions, &c., and others which bear the general name of feelings, such as fear, hope, &c.; but they do not differ in the respect that the mind is more active in the latter states, than in the former. We prefer, on this and on other accounts, the division suggested by Dr. Brown, as comprehensive of all the phenomena of the mind, and yet as preserving a prominent distinction between each class, viz. sensations, intellectual states, and emotions. The *powers* of the mind, around which word so much mystery has been thrown, are nothing more than its capacities of existing in those varied states of thought, and feeling, and acting, which constitute the whole consciousness of life; and the thoughts and feelings themselves are nothing more than mind itself actually existing in these states.

The work which we proceed to notice, is devoted to the consideration of the Active and Moral powers, together with the Doctrines of Natural Religion, to which (considering the title of the work) a somewhat disproportionate space has been, we think, allotted. It consists of four books, the first two of which only are fairly within the range which Mr. S. prescribed

to himself. They contain an account of what our Author calls the Active Principles of our nature, which are arranged by him in five classes; viz. Appetites, Desires, Affections, Self-love, and the Moral Faculty. The first three, which are treated of in the first book, Mr. Stewart denominates 'Instinctive principles of Action.' He proposes, he says, to 'analyze them,' and 'to illustrate the essential distinction between those active principles which originate in man's rational nature, and those which urge him, by a blind and instinctive impulse, to their respective objects.' (p. 7.) We have examined the subsequent statements in illustration of these principles, and we greatly regret to find so little of the promised analysis. Mr. S. does not deviate here from his usual practice; for it is a just remark of a recent Writer, that one of the great defects of this school of philosophers results 'from their opinion of the comparative unimportance of mental analysis.'* We agree with this Writer in his statements in reference to the baneful practical influence of this opinion. The mental phenomena, like physical substances, present themselves to us in a complex state. They are to be observed, analysed, and classified; and when this is done, every thing is done; nothing else is left to be attempted or desired. But the metaphysician who neglects to analyse, forgets his business altogether. He acts the part of a chemist who should give himself no concern about the elements which enter into the composition of the substances he examines, and merely aim at classifying them in that complex state in which they present themselves to the view of all. Mr. S. does not attempt to analyse even our appetites, though they are so obviously complex feelings. What is hunger, for instance, but an uneasy sensation, and a desire of relief from it? Thus, the elementary parts constitute no *new* principle of the mental constitution, either separately or combined; they resolve themselves into more general principles; the pain which forms one element, being like all other pains,—the desire, similar to all other desires.

By the enumeration of our Active Principles given us by Mr. S., he virtually avows the opinion, that Appetites, and Desires, and Affections do not merely differ from each other, as some sensations, for instance, differ from other sensations, but that they are so radically distinct as to forbid our describing them by any one general and comprehensive term. We are persuaded that Mr. S. is in error here. If our analysis of appetite is correct—which is admitted by Dr. Reid himself—the only element of that complex feeling which can be classed

to our text
by James S. Payne's Elements of Mental and Moral Science, p. 87.
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by Mr. S. among our Active Principles, is a *Desire*. Nor is there that radical distinction between Desires and Affections which Mr. S. seems to imagine. Both may be included under the general head of Emotions. Perhaps, Desire is the affection of love, as it is called, 'modified by the thought of its object 'as absent, and by regret on that account.' The general classification of the Mental Powers adopted by Mr. S., does not include all the mental phenomena. How would he arrange the feelings of Surprise, Cheerfulness, Melancholy, Shame, &c.? They are surely not to be traced to the Intellectual part of our nature; nor are they Appetites, or Desires, or Affections; i. e. they are not Active powers, unless Mr. S. has neglected to enumerate all our principles of this order.

We have, however, more radical and important objections against Mr. Stewart's statements, in reference to the nature of our Appetites, Desires, and Affections, than these. He calls them Instinctive or Implanted Propensities; and in treating separately of the Desire of Knowledge, Society, Esteem, &c., he more than once affirms, that they are original, and not acquired. Now we believe that there is a sense in which these statements are true; but they are not true, as it appears to us, in the sense which Mr. S. seems to attach to the words. We say seems, because his statements on this point are so loose and indefinite, that we apprehend it is impossible to ascertain the precise ideas he attached to the assertion, that the Desires to which we have referred are not acquired, but original. Our views on this subject may be thus unfolded. God has so constituted the mind, that it is susceptible of the feeling we call desire, when any thing which is regarded as a good, is the object of its contemplations. Now, some things may be good to us, (as certain tastes, and colours, and odours, for instance,) by reason of the constitution of the mind: others may become good in consequence of the advantages and benefits which they confer upon their possessors, as wealth, &c. We believe that society, knowledge, &c., rank among the former. Like the fragrance of a rose, or the juice of a peach, they are delightful in themselves, and do not merely become so on account of the blessings which follow in their train; our desire of them may, accordingly, in this sense, be said to be original. But we do not believe that the Desire of Knowledge, or of Society, is instinctive like that blind impulse which impels the child to seek the nourishment which the God of nature has provided. Mr. S. seems to imagine, that certain desires constitute, to adopt his own language on another subject, a part of the original furniture of the mind; that *actual* Desire of Knowledge, for instance, is coeval with the existence of the mind, and operates

to produce mental activity antecedently to the possession of a single idea. This, we totally deny. All that is original is, the susceptibility of desire, rendering us capable of actual desire in circumstances which are adapted to develop it. And this, let it be observed, is a general susceptibility. There are not distinct susceptibilities of desiring knowledge, or society, or esteem; for the *feeling* of desire is in all cases the same, though the objects desired may be essentially different. If we suppose simply, that the mind has the POWER OF DESIRING what is felt to be good, either by virtue of its constitution, or otherwise, all the phenomena of desire may be easily explained. Mr. Stewart's assertion, that we have an instinctive desire of society, knowledge, &c., (if he meant more than that, God having rendered these things delightful in themselves, they must develop the susceptibility of desire, as soon as any conception is formed of them—which we suspect that he did,) involving, as it does, the notion of innate desires, is yet more absurd than the doctrine of innate ideas. It necessarily presupposes, indeed, the existence of innate ideas. A desire—meaning by the word, not the susceptibility, but the feeling—involves the conception of an object, and the conception of that object as good. When we desire, we desire something. The feeling cannot exist without the notion, and is, in the order of nature, subsequent to it. If, then, we have an original desire of knowledge, in the sense of Mr. Stewart, (i. e. the feeling, not the mere susceptibility of possessing it,) we must have innate conceptions of knowledge, and the doctrine of Mr. S. is burdened with all the absurdities connected with the notion of innate ideas, together with additional absurdities of its own. Regarding it as certain, as we do, that our desires are not blind impulses prompting the mind to an ignorant activity,—that we invariably desire something—something which is regarded as good,—we think the question, whether our desires are acquired or original, has been involved in very unnecessary perplexity. This has been owing to its not being perceived, that it resolves itself into an inquiry, whether any of the objects we desire, are the source of enjoyment to the mind in themselves, and by virtue of its constitution, or whether they derive from their consequences merely, their power to afford happiness.

Similar remarks, we conceive, might be made in reference to our affections. They are affirmed by Mr. S. to be original and instinctive; but what are the precise ideas he intended to convey by this phraseology, we have been unable to understand. That the *power* or *susceptibility* both of loving and of hating, is original and not acquired, and that the former will be developed towards our relatives and friends through the influence of cor-

tain qualities possessed by them, which, in consequence of our mental constitution or moral state, are felt by us as agreeable, is so manifest, that we can scarcely think it constitutes the amount of what Mr. S. designed to teach. He appears to mean something more than this. And yet, what more can be intended, unless it be supposed that actual affections are coeval with the existence of the mind, so that we are born with the *feelings* as well as the *susceptibilities*?—a sentiment too preposterous to be maintained by Mr. S., and which he disavows.

‘When I ascribe parental affection to our own species, I do not mean to insinuate, that there is any foundation for those stories which poets have feigned of particular discriminating feelings which have enabled parents and children, after a long absence, or when they have never met before, mutually to recognize each other. The parental affection takes its rise from a *knowledge* of the relation in which the parties stand, and it is very powerfully confirmed by *habit*.’ Vol. I. p. 83.

If, then, it takes its rise from knowledge, the question very naturally occurs, How is it original and instinctive? To that, the answer of Mr. S. is, ‘that it results naturally from that *knowledge*, and from the habits superinduced by the relation *which the parties bear to each other*’; an answer which would obviously justify the calling those ideas which, as Mr. S. thinks, are necessarily unfolded by the exercise of the faculties, innate ideas.

In the course of Mr. Stewart’s statements in reference to the first three of what he calls our active principles, the reader will meet with much beautiful writing, with many admirable suggestions of a moral nature; but we fear he will be disappointed in his hopes of finding additional light thrown upon this part of our mental constitution.

Book the Second contains an account of what Mr. S. denominates our rational and governing principles of action; the first of which he states to be a prudential regard to our own happiness, or what is commonly called the principle of self-love; and the second, the moral faculty. Chapter the First contains an explanation of self-love. Brutes, it is stated, are incapable of looking forward to consequences, and accordingly yield to every present impulse. Man, on the contrary, in consequence of the possession of reason, can take a comprehensive view of his different principles of action, and can make a deliberate choice of the conduct which he will pursue. He is also able to form the notion of happiness, or of what is good for him upon the whole, and to deliberate about the most effectual means of obtaining it.

‘It is implied’, adds Mr. S., ‘in the very idea of happiness, that it is a desirable object, and therefore, self-love, is an active principle very different from those which have been hitherto considered. These, for aught we know, may be the effect of arbitrary appointment, and they have accordingly been called *implanted* principles, or principles resulting from a positive accommodation of the constitution of man to the objects with which he is surrounded. The desire of happiness may be called a *rational* principle of action, being peculiar to a rational nature, and inseparably connected with it. It is impossible to conceive of a being capable of forming the notions of happiness and misery, to whom the one shall not be an object of desire, and the other of aversion.’ Vol. I. p. 143.

We cannot avoid thinking that, in this statement, there is great inaccuracy, and very little of sound philosophy. What is happiness? Mr. S. writes as if it were an external *essence*, an *actual object* of pursuit; and he seems entirely to forget, that it is a general term merely, intended to denote all those states of mind which have been rendered by its constitution grateful to it. So far, then, is it from being true, that the desire of happiness is very different from the desire of knowledge, &c., that the two things are identical; or, if they should be admitted to differ, it is only because the latter is less comprehensive than the former. Why then should Mr. S. affirm, that the desire of *happiness* is peculiar to a rational nature? Is not this the case, we might ask, even admitting a distinction, with all desires? Can the feeling called desire exist at all, without the conception of an object as good? And can such a conception be formed in the total absence of rational faculties and a rational nature? Brutes, doubtless, are so constituted as to derive pleasure from the company of their own species when they are brought together; but *desire* is a prospective emotion; it looks forward. There is either nothing at all resembling desire in the minds of brutes, or it is a blind impulse carrying them forward to something of which they have no conception; or, if any measure of that animated expectation, involving an intellectual conception, in which desire consists in the case of man, can be attributed to them, they are not totally destitute of reason. It may require a higher degree of the rational faculties to form the abstract notion of *happiness*, than to desire society merely; but desire cannot, we think, exist without a rational nature.

And what is that self-love, and that principle of self-love, of which Mr. S. speaks? We strongly suspect that he has adopted terms to which he himself attached no precise signification: certain it is, that he has not succeeded in conveying any distinct ideas to us. Self-love, or the love of self, or the

love or desire of our own happiness, is the desire of those objects which either our mental constitution, or our moral state, renders agreeable to us. To represent self-love then as a *principle* of action *distinct* from all our desires and affections, and to call it at the same time 'the desire of happiness', is certainly an inadvertence, to say the least of it, into which we might have expected that Mr. S. would not have fallen. We do not object to the phraseology which represents a man as acting under the influence of self-love, or a desire of happiness, i. e. as doing what he imagines will secure the greatest measure of enjoyment; but, to admit this desire into an enumeration of the *principles* of action—a principle totally distinct from all others, (and if not distinct, why should it be made to form a separate class?) is, we do maintain, a mistake which no philosopher would have committed, who paid that degree of attention to mental analysis which ought ever to be given to it, and the neglect of which is the source of so many mistakes in the volumes of Mr. Stewart.

The following three chapters are devoted to a consideration of the Moral Faculty. We have read them, more than once, with great attention, and we have scarcely ever experienced a more distressing feeling of uncertainty whether we comprehend the Author's intention and meaning. They seem designed to prove indirectly, that there is an eternal and immutable distinction between Virtue and Vice;—a position which, when properly explained, we deem of great importance. The arguments employed are—'that, in all languages, there are words 'equivalent to duty and to interest';—that 'the emotions arising 'from the contemplation of what is right and wrong in conduct, differ from those which are produced by a calm regard 'to our own happiness';—that, 'although philosophers have 'shewn that a sense of duty, and an enlightened regard to our 'own happiness, conspire, in most instances, to give the same 'direction to our conduct, so as to put it beyond a doubt that, 'even in this world, a virtuous life is true wisdom,—yet, 'this is a truth by no means obvious to the common sense of 'men, but deduced from an extensive view of human affairs, 'and an accurate investigation of the *remote consequences* of our 'different actions';—and finally, that 'children form moral 'judgements long before they form *the general notion of happiness*; yea, in the very infancy of their reason.' Now, to our minds it certainly appears, that the only point which these statements (in the correctness of which we entirely concur) are adapted directly to prove, is, that the notions of duty and of interest are not identical, or, that our conception of a *right action* is not merely that it is one which it is best for us upon the

whole to perform. Mr. S., however, introduces them to shew, that the Moral Faculty, as he calls it, 'is an original principle of our nature, and not resolvable into any other principle or principles more general.' The conclusion here does not surely follow from the premises. The conception of an action as right, may be different, as we believe it is, from the conception of an action as useful; yet, it does not follow from this, that we need a separate and an original principle to form it. Suppose virtue to be the conformity and harmony of our affections and actions with the relations in which we are placed, (which is the view we take of it,) surely that part of our nature, whatever we call it, which perceives fitness or congruity in general, will recognize this conformity. Indeed, though Mr. Stewart declares, in general terms, that the Moral Faculty is an original principle, and incapable of being resolved into any other, it is observable, that he makes no attempt to shew this, except in reference to the single principle of self-love. He proves, that a sense of duty cannot be resolved into a regard to our own happiness, but not that our moral ideas do not originate in the reason or understanding. He actually admits, indeed, after a variety of remarks upon the directly conflicting statements of Hutcheson and Price, in which he seems at times to wish to agree with both, that our moral ideas must be traced to the faculty of reason or the understanding;—that the faculty of reason forms the most essential element of the moral faculty; (Vol. II. p. 458.)—that our moral perceptions and emotions involve a judgement of the understanding, and a feeling of the heart; (Vol. I. pp. 237, 8.)—*i. e.*, in other words, he admits that the Moral Faculty, which is not resolvable into any thing else, is capable of analysis after all.

Chapter the Sixth is devoted to an analysis of our Moral Perceptions and Emotions. On contemplating the conduct of men, we are conscious, says Mr. S., of three different things;—first, the perception of an action as right or wrong; secondly, an emotion of pleasure or of pain, varying in its degree according to the acuteness of our moral sensibility; thirdly, a perception of the merit or demerit of the agent. Under the first of these sections, Mr. S. enters at large upon the question which relates to the origin of our moral ideas. He shews, by an admirable statement, that our ideas of right and wrong are not derived from laws which condemn some actions and commend others. He affirms, that the words right and wrong denote simple ideas;—that their origin is manifestly the same with that of other simple ideas, such as cause, effect, duration, number, equality, &c. &c.;—that they are to be ascribed to an immediate power of perception in the mind;—and that, whether we

call this power of perception a sense, with Dr. Hutcheson, or reason, with Drs. Cudworth and Price, is a matter of very little importance, 'provided it be granted, that the words right and wrong express qualities in actions, and not merely a power of exciting certain agreeable or disagreeable emotions in our minds.' (Vol. I. p. 262.) Under the second section, Mr. S. treats of the emotions which arise from the perception of right and wrong. 'They are excited by those qualities in good actions,' he states, 'which form the Beauty of Virtue; so that the Moral Faculty, in this point of view, is a species of taste by which we are determined to the love of moral excellence.' Under the third section, Mr. S. exhibits the sense we entertain of the merit or demerit of the agents, when we contemplate good actions.

There is much in these statements which is extremely unsatisfactory to us. We should have been far better pleased, had Mr. Stewart told us, what are those qualities in actions which the words right and wrong denote. He affirms, as we have seen, that such qualities exist; and the assertion is a most important one; but why does he leave us so entirely in the dark in reference to their nature? There is certainly an approach in Mr. S. towards the error into which Dr. Price, his great master in morals, has fallen;—the error of identifying our perceptions of right and wrong, with the right and wrong perceived. Were we to concede to him that the terms just quoted designate simple ideas, it would still be true, that the thing perceived must differ from the perception of it: an idea of rectitude is not rectitude itself. By rectitude, we understand the harmony of our affections (for rectitude may be predicated of the affections as well as of the actions, though Mr. S. attempts most absurdly to shew, that it is confined to the latter, by an argument which, if it had any force, would prove that there is no virtue in actions, nor in the moral feelings of the Divine Being, which are certainly not the result of volition, or of effort to produce them) and of our actions with the relations we sustain. 'And since these relations were constituted by God, since he is the judge of the affections and conduct which harmonize with them, that which appears to him right, being right on that account, rectitude may be regarded as conformity to the moral nature of God, the ultimate standard of virtue.'* Mr. S. has followed Shaftesbury in the notion, that there is an eternal and immutable standard of rectitude, by which the character of God is tried, and on account of its conformity to which, it is pronounced morally excellent; a notion which is certainly ab-

* Bayne's Elements, pp. 514, 115.

card, if not atheistical. 'For if,' it has been remarked, 'we must apply some moral measure to that character, before we can pronounce it morally excellent,—for the same reason, we must apply a measure to this measure, before we can have confidence in its moral accuracy; and again another to this more remote one, and so on, *ad infinitum*.' And the absurdity of the whole statement is rendered still further manifest by the consideration, that we have no knowledge of this eternal and immutable standard but through the medium of our own perceptions;—that which appears to us to be necessarily just, and righteous, and true, being so, on the principles opposed, on that account! Why, how was it possible for these acute writers to forget, that, as it is possible to conceive that the mind might have been so formed as that what now *appears* to it right and good might have seemed wrong and evil, we can only *infer* the moral correctness of our perceptions and feelings, even when there is no reason to apprehend that they are affected by the sad depravity of our nature, from the consideration, that God would not have so formed our moral nature as to lead us perpetually astray?

We suspect also, that Mr. Stewart mistakes the nature of the emotions which arise on the contemplation of actions bearing a moral character. They are, we think, vivid feelings of approbation or disapprobation, differing essentially from those with which we view a beautiful scene in nature, or an intelligent and lovely countenance. What is not improperly called, perhaps, the gracefulness or beauty of a good action, differs from its rectitude. The emotion which it excites, is of the same kind with the emotions of beauty in general. The notion of rectitude is followed by a specific feeling, which is degraded, we think, by being arranged in this class.

[To be concluded in the next Number.]

Art. III. *The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton.*
By George Baker. Part II. Folio. pp. 274. Price, Small Paper, 3*l.* 3*s.* Large Paper, 6*l.* 6*s.* 1828.

THE earth, in its rude or cultivated state, its structure or its surface, its aspect or its productions, its inhabitants and their dwellings, or the monuments which they have raised, the memorials of past ages—these are topics which furnish infinite and various employment to the busy tribe of Authors. By one class of writers we are instructed and amused, as they describe to us the regions through which they have travelled, and the impressions which have been produced on them by a

survey of the grand or beautiful scenery of nature. Vast solitudes and trackless forests, rivers, rocks, mountains, and volcanoes figure in their pages, and surprise and awe us in their descriptions. To other writers we are indebted for delineations of human manners marked by novel features, who shew us, in the customs and institutions of savage and of civilized nations, the diversities found in the race of man. Some countries are rich in objects that administer to the curiosity, and reward the labour of the naturalist, who collects the materials of ample volumes from soils barren of subjects to other inquirers. Countries least visited and least described, are the most attractive to bold adventurers, whose narratives enlarge our knowledge, without increasing our acquaintance with artificial modes of life or the vicissitudes of man. In old countries, the seats of a settled and changing population, subjects of inquiry are supplied by the monuments of former generations which time has spared, by the customs which have almost passed away, and the usages which tradition or history has preserved. The antiquarian historian finds his employment in the investigation of ancient records and venerable ruins, and can therefore belong only to an age which has an 'olden time' related to it. In no country, so much as in our own, has this employment been the chosen occupation of intelligent and respectable men. From the time of Sir William Dugdale to the present, the researches which they have expensively and industriously commenced and prosecuted, have been of great extent; and the class of publications of which they have been the authors, is one of the most voluminous and costly in our national literature. Mr. Baker's work is entitled to honourable distinction in the number of county histories, and will ensure him, by its appropriate merits, an eminent place among the writers whose productions have excited his emulation. In laborious research and patient investigation, he is equal to the most industrious of his predecessors; and in the careful attention which he has uniformly exercised over the admission of the statements which he has recorded in his pages, his readers have a pledge of their correctness. In the execution of his work, he has been unsparing of labour and expense. Its typographical beauty and correctness, and the embellishments which adorn it, amply testify the Author's concern to put into the possession of his subscribers a creditable publication. The first part of this county history was noticed in our twenty-first volume (N.S. p. 123). The portion of it now before us, includes the hundreds of Fawsley and Warden.

Ancestry and property are the incidents that furnish the principal interest in publications of this kind, which are too

local and peculiar to afford excitement or gratification to readers in general. Pedigrees of families, honours, extinct titles, manorial rights, tenures, fees, and transfers of estates, are not subjects which recommend a book to readers in common; but there are many individuals whose relations and possessions render such services as are performed by the County Historian very acceptable. We Reviewers are *novi homines*, and have no mouldy genealogical rolls from which we might exhibit *omnem Titanida pugnam Inter majores, ipsumque Promethea*; but we should, we dare say, be as much gratified as are some other persons, if we could look on the blazonries of the Herald's Office, and trace in their lines our descent from famous men, who 'were honoured in their generations, and were the glory of their times.' Many a paternal estate is described in these pages, which might be more interesting to us if we could call it our own. The proprietors of mansions and parks, however, are not the only persons who receive gratification from them; and we, though neither proprietors nor occupants, have the pleasure of connecting many of our reminiscences with the groves, and lawns, and streams which give such choice spots as these their beauties.

The notices of the County Historian are occasionally instructive, as they describe the manners of generations that have passed away, and bring before the mind of the reader incidents which might not elsewhere meet his attention, and from which he may derive instruction and amusement. As he peruses the accounts of the absurd customs and oppressive practices of the times that are gone, he may learn to be thankful that the feudal bondage has been broken, and that he is free from the innumerable vexations which were the burden and annoyance of his fathers. The volumes of a county historian supply many reasons for gratitude in respect to free institutions, and cannot be read by those who have been admitted to their benefits, without furnishing most cogent arguments in their favour.

Mills were anciently manorial appendages; and if the tenants neglected or refused to grind at the lord's mill, he might amerce them in his court, or sue them at common law. At Daventry, which is noticed at some length in this part of Mr. Baker's work, this feudal badge of subjection still continues; though we learn that many efforts have been made to resist the claims which compel the inhabitants to 'grind all their malt' at the manorial mills, and 'to bake all their household bread' at the bakehouse and ovens belonging to the liege lord. An action at common law against an inhabitant of the place for baking his own loaf at home, would, in these times, be a curious proceeding; but he would find, as the result of such

an action, his means of procuring bread somewhat diminished, since the right by which his baking penny is demanded, was confirmed to the lord by the dutchy court of Lancaster so lately as 1785.

Borough-hill, the *Beneventa* of the Britons, and *Isannavaria* of the Romans, in the immediate vicinity of Daventry, was the scene of Charles the First's last encampment previously to his irretrievable defeat in the battle of Naseby. He arrived at Daventry, June 7, 1645, on his march from Leicester, which he had taken by storm, May 31st, and he slept at the Wheat Sheaf Inn six nights. In the mean time, Fairfax had, by express orders from the Parliament, raised the siege of Oxford, and was now in the vicinity of the royal quarters. The army of the King was under arms all night on the 12th, on Borough-hill. On the following morning, it broke up, and was marching northwards, when Cromwell formed a junction with Fairfax, and assailing the rear of the King's forces, brought on the battle of the 14th of June, which issued in the total ruin of Charles's affairs. The neighbourhood of Daventry was also the scene of the last struggle of the republicans under Lambert, who was taken by Ingoldsby, one of his former co-adjutors, rather through the defection of his own partizans, than the superiority of his opponents. Lambert was one of the leading members of the military council which is known as the Wallingford Cabal. He opposed the entrance of General Monk with the Scotch army into England; but his troops deserting him, he failed in the attempt, and was committed to the Tower. He effected his escape previously to the assembling of the parliament in 1660; and had he remained in concealment till he had matured his plans, and perfected his communications with his officers, the subsequent state of affairs might have been different.

‘ Impatient of delay, and calculating on a speedy accession of strength when his standard was raised, Lambert prematurely emerged from his retreat, and made his appearance at Daventry with six troops of horse, accompanied by Colonels Okey, Axtel, and Cobbett, Lieutenant-Colonel Young, Major Creed (of Oundle), and Captains Clare, Gregory, and Spinage. Meanwhile, Monk and the council, aware of the disaffected spirit which had been infused into the army by the republicans, who, suspecting the intended recall of Charles the Second, dreaded the royal resentment, were thrown into the utmost consternation on learning that Lambert had regained his liberty. They were, however, speedily apprised of his intended movements by a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, to whom he imparted them, and who betrayed his confidence. Colonel Ingoldsby, who, though one of the regicides, was now devoted to and trusted by Monk, had orders from him to use all possible speed in marching his

regiment of horse to Northampton, where he arrived on Easter Eve (April 21), and found there Colonel Streater with several companies of foot, and the Earl of Exeter with about one hundred horse, principally gentlemen of the county. The trained bands of the town were also in arms to defend it; Colonel Streater purposing to beat up Lambert's quarters that night, and, if necessary, to mount 400 of his infantry on the horses brought to the town in readiness for the fair on Monday. An advanced guard under Captain Elsmore accidentally encountered Captain Haslerigge, son of Sir Arthur, and carried him before Ingoldsby, to whom he pleaded that, being dissatisfied with Lambert's designs, he had already quitted him; but Ingoldsby refused to release him on any other condition than his endeavouring to bring over his troop, which he promised to do, and was permitted to retire on his parole. The next morning, Easter Sunday, Colonels Ingoldsby and Streater proceeded to Daventry. Lambert, though unsuspecting of pursuit, had left before they entered; but, tracing his course, they came up with him in an open field where a small brook flowed between them. At, or just before this time, Haslerigge's cornet and quartermaster, with his troop, as stipulated by their captain, deserted from Lambert; who, disheartened by this defection and the numerical superiority of his opponents, desired an armistice, and proposed to Ingoldsby to reinstate Richard Cromwell in the protectorship, offering to unite all his credit to the support of that interest. The overture was rejected, and the two hostile bodies prepared for action. Ingoldsby was going to charge, when Streater ordered six files of musqueteers to advance: one file gave fire, and wounded one or two horses; but the drums beat, and Streater, placing himself at their head, strictly commanded them not to fire again till they were within a pike's length of their enemy. Lambert's men, instead of commencing the attack, pointed the muzzles of their pistols to the ground; and Nelthorp with his troop, following Haslerigge's example, and passing over to the other party, Ingoldsby ventured to ride up to Lambert and proclaim him his prisoner. Creed and several other officers offered to yield themselves unconditionally to Ingoldsby, if he would suffer their leader to escape; but he was inexorable. Lambert then finding his only chance of safety was in flight, turned round and galloped off at speed; but Ingoldsby, who had kept his eyes steadily fixed on him, and was equally well mounted, instantly pursued, and threatened to shoot him if he did not surrender. In vain he made the appeal to his antagonist, "What good will my life or imprisonment do you?" His importunity was unavailing, and he reluctantly submitted, as did all his officers, except Okey, Axtel, and Clare, who escaped. Ingoldsby returned to London in triumph with his prisoners, and Lambert was committed a second time to the Tower, where he remained till June 1662, when he was brought to trial and condemned, but reprieved for perpetual banishment to the Isle of Guernsey. The roads were full of troops flocking to join Lambert at the time of his defeat, but not a blow was struck afterwards. Monk, whose conduct till then had been veiled in the most impenetrable mystery, openly declared for the king; and being warmly seconded by the new parliament, his Mar-

jeaty, on his birth-day (May 29th), made his public entry into London. pp. 325, 326.

A description of the entrenchments and antiquities of Borough-hill, from the personal examination of the Author, is inserted in this part of the volume. Several *tumuli* were opened by him, of which an account is given: the earliest of them are attributed to the Britons, prior to the Roman invasion, and the later ones to the Romanized Britons.

Mr. Baker, as we remarked in our review of the former part of his work, laudably includes in his descriptions, the places of worship belonging to the several religious communities in the county, and inserts such notices of them as he has been able to obtain. Baxter is so venerable a name, and the following account is so much in accordance with his character, that we shall transcribe it for the gratification of our readers. The 'royal licence' which is given in the conclusion of the extract, is a curious document; and though the facts of these grants of princely favour and permission to men to worship God are well known, the form in which the permission was given will be new to many.

'NONCONFORMITY took early root in this parish. After the Bartholomew Act in 1662, secret meetings for worship were frequently held late at night, and conducted only occasionally by ministers, at a house in the hamlet of Drayton, in which was a back-door opening into the fields, to facilitate retreat in case of detection;—no unnecessary precaution in those days of persecution.

'The immediate rise of the present congregation, is thus related by Dr. Ashworth, as communicated to him about the year 1747, by Mr. Thomas Porter, one of the members, then upwards of 80 years of age. "An aged minister, who lived some considerable distance beyond Daventry, in his way to London, lay at the Swan Inn (formerly the principal inn) in this town, where he was taken ill and confined for a week or longer. Mr. Lindsay, who kept the house, and all his family, behaved to him with much kindness, and it appears to have been a remarkably regular house. The minister, on the evening before he departed, desired the family to come into his room, where he particularly thanked Mr. Lindsay and each of his family for their civility to him, and expressed much satisfaction in the good order of the house; but, said he, something leads me to fear that there is not the fear of God in this house. It grieves me to see such honesty, civility, economy, and decency, and yet Religion is wanting, which is the one thing needful. - On this he entered into a close conversation with them on the nature and importance of real and inward Religion, which he closed with telling them, he had with him a little book, lately printed, which he would give them, and wished them to read it carefully. On which he gave them Baxter's Poor Man's Family Book. This fixes the date to 1672, or later, the year in which that book was printed. It is not certain who the mi-

nister was, or that Mr. Lindsay ever saw him again, or knew his name, but it is suspected that it was Baxter himself. Mr. Lindsay read the book with pleasure, sent for others of Mr. Baxter's books, and he and some of his children became excellent characters. Upon this, he grew weary of the inn, and, being in plentiful circumstances, retired to a house in the middle of the High-street, which had a small close behind it, at the extremity of which, upon the Back lane (opposite the Inlands), there stood some out-buildings, which he converted into a Meeting-house. The people enjoyed it during his life, having now got a settled minister, and formed (themselves) into a church. This was probably after the Revolution. He always intended, and often promised to settle it in form; but dying suddenly, it never was done. The heir at law was well inclined to it, but melancholy; so that the people durst not trust to a settlement from him. At length, they purchased it of those in whom it was vested, repaired it, and it continued to be used till 1722, when Mr. Mattock, then the minister at Daventry, built the present place." The original licence granted to Mr. Lindsay, or, as he is there called, "*Linzey*", in pursuance of the royal declaration of indulgence, with the autographs of the King, and Lord Arlington, the Secretary of State, is now in my possession; and being the only document of the kind known to be extant in the county, a copy of it is subjoined.

"CHARLES R.

"Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Mayors, Bayliffs, Constables, and other Our Officers and Ministers, Civil and Military, whom it may concern, Greeting. In pursuance of our Declaration of the 15th March 167 $\frac{1}{2}$, we have allowed, and we do hereby allow of a Room or Roomes in the house of Allen Linzey of Daventry in Northamptonsh. to be a place for the Use of Such as do not conform to the Church of England, who are of the Persuasion commonly called Presbyterian, to meet and assemble in, in order to their public Worship and Devotion. And all and singular our officers and ministers, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military, whom it may concern, are to take due notice hereof: And they, and every of them, are hereby strictly charged and required to hinder any tumult or disturbance, and to protect them in their said Meetings and Assemblies. Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 8th day of November, in the 24th year of Our Reign 1672. By his Majesty's command. ARLINGTON."

Daventry is well known, in the history of Dissenters, as the seat of one of their most celebrated Academies for the education of their Ministers. It was founded by William Coward, Esq., of London and Walthamstow, who bequeathed considerable property for various religious uses, and by his will nominated trustees to whom the management and control of the Academy were committed. It was originally under the care of Dr. Doddridge at Northampton, and, on his decease, was transferred to Daventry, in consequence of the recommendation, in the Dr.'s will, of Mr. Ashworth, minister of the latter place,

to the office of Theological tutor. Dr. Ashworth died in 1775, and the Academy was successively under the direction of Mr. Robins and Mr. Belsham till 1789. On the resignation of Mr. Belsham, it was removed back to Northampton, and placed under the superintendence of the late Mr. Horsey, where it remained till 1798, when it was transferred to Wymondley, in Hertfordshire. Of this institution, a very concise account is given by Mr. Baker, which concludes with a list of the most distinguished persons who were students at Daventry. The character and utility of the Daventry Academy will be differently appreciated by different persons; but, whatever be the defects and errors which may be attributed to it, and in whatever degree it may have failed in the diffusion and support of the principles maintained and provided for by its Founder, the original management and the modes of instruction adopted by Dr. Doddridge, must be admitted to have been not the most favourable to the ensuring of its prosperity. As to the qualifications of that excellent person for the office which he filled, there can be no question; his learning and his piety need not the praise of man; but there were defects in his system of tuition, and a remissness in his discipline, from which resulted effects that exerted an influence on the interests of the institution long after his connexion with it had ceased.

The commencement of the testament of a former possessor of Fawsley, in the following terms, is much more appropriate than are some of the particulars which have a place in it.

“ I Richard Knyghtley knyght beynge in good helthe and perfect mynde, not grevyd vexyd troublid nor diseased with any bodily sicknes, knowyng and considering well the uncertaintye and unstableness of this wretched life, and that ther is nothing so uncerten, as to any creature lyvyng, as is the departure from the same, and doubtless nothing so uncerten as the tyme and houre thereof, ordeyn, &c.” He then gives and bequeaths his soul to the “ infinite mercy of Almighty God Maker and Redeemer thereof.”

But this, it seems, was not a sufficient protection for the deposit, and therefore, ‘ the most gloriouse vyrgyn Lady Sancte Mary, Sancte John Baptist, Sancte John th’ evangelyst, and ‘ the holy company of heven’ are equally entrusted with its keeping. He limits the services of the secular priest whom he appoints at a yearly salary of ten marks, ‘ to saye and syng ‘ and praye’ for his soul, in the parish church, to twenty years; — a proper time, it would appear in his estimation, for his soul’s receiving all the benefits which *post obit* masses and requiems could procure it. The patrons of purgatorial expiations have had much more bountiful donors than this ‘ knyght’ of Fawsley.

Sulgrave and Wardon, adjoining parishes, (described by the Author, pp. 512—521,) present a very remarkable coincidence. The former was the ancient residence of the Washington family, a member of which, who emigrated to America about the middle of the seventeenth century, was great-grandfather of the American patriot and president, George Washington; one of the few names which are worthy of resplendent honour in the catalogue of civil rulers. The latter is distinguished by having the name, among its proprietors, of the memorable Lord North, the prime minister of Great Britain during the war which issued in the independence of the American states.

Art. IV. *The Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe, D.D., illustrated principally from his unpublished Manuscripts; with a preliminary View of the Papal System, and of the State of the Protestant Doctrine in Europe, to the Commencement of the Fourteenth Century.* By Robert Vaughan. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 916. Price 1*l.* 1*s.* London. 1828.

MR. VAUGHAN could not easily have chosen a more important or more impressive subject; nor could he have set about his task in a more business-like and effective way. There would have been little difficulty in getting up a life of Wycliffe, after the fashion of the present day. Lewis and Baber might have afforded ample materials for the ground-work, and a fair accession of contemporaneous history and anecdote, would have furnished out, by the usual manipulations, as many octavos as the publisher might have deemed adequate to an average demand. But the volumes in our hand bear the evident marks of honest labour and extensive research, as well as of an intelligent use of the documents and illustrations thus obtained. Libraries, at considerable distance from each other, have been consulted, works of rarity and value diligently examined, the manuscript remains of Wycliffe carefully explored, and the collateral sources of information largely investigated. It is, however, very possible to put a wide range of machinery in motion, and to produce an inadequate result; nor is any thing more common, than for inferior strength to break down under the very magnitude of its resources, and to become bewildered amid the multiplicity and complication of its materials. It required, too, some intrepidity to set about a task so formidable in all points, as the biography of Wycliffe. The ghost of prejudice is not yet laid, and an honest writer on so critical a subject will inevitably call it up; nor would it be difficult, in the present instance, to prophesy very plausibly, as to the when, how, and where. Mr. Vaughan has, we hope, laid his account with

this: he might have lightened his toil, and made a more profitable speculation, but he has written laboriously, ably, independently,—and he must pay the penalty.

If our office, as reviewers, brings us sometimes acquainted with strange companions, it affords occasional indemnification by introducing us to society of a better sort; and it pays us for much annoyance from frivolous or faithless authorship, when we take up a volume that bears the signature of a fearless and vigorous mind. None, excepting those who may be similarly situated with ourselves, can imagine the delight with which we pass from the 'Diaries', 'Reminiscences', 'Remains', 'TrIBUTES', and 'Sketches', that make our tables and ourselves groan, to solid and enduring compositions. There is a wide and noble region demanding cultivation, and we have men among us equal to the task. Why is it, then, that, at this late period, the lives of Luther and Calvin are yet to be written? We are grateful to Mr. Vaughan that he has chosen the better side, and given an example that we hope others will not be slow to follow.

Wycliffe has not been altogether neglected. 'John Lewis, M.A. Minister of Meregate', made a very respectable attempt to construct a durable memorial of the great Reformer; and his lives of Wiclif and Pecock, are valuable contributions to the ecclesiastical history of that period. They are, however, imperfect; nor does it appear that the Author was sufficiently alive to the importance of a comprehensive examination and exhibition of Wycliffe's writings, although he seems to have placed a high value on such as had come to his knowledge, and, in 1731, actually published an edition of Wiclif's New Testament. Of this translation, an exceedingly accurate and interesting reprint was edited, in 1810, by the Rev. Henry Hervey Baber, who prefixed a brief but valuable memoir on the life, opinions, and writings of the Reformer, together with an 'Historical Account' of the Saxon and English versions of the Scriptures. It is to the lasting disgrace of those who ought to be the encouragers of sacred literature, that this spirited undertaking was not of more advantage to its conductor, and that he was not enabled to carry into execution his proposal to extend his 'labours, by giving to the world Wiclif's Version of the Old as well as of the New Testament.' The view taken of the character and conduct of Wycliffe in Milner's Church History, lies open to a train of animadversions, in which, for many reasons, we must decline to engage.

We feel grateful to Mr. Vaughan, that he has saved us much trouble, by his system of thorough investigation and analysis. He has released us from that sort of research to which we are

frequently constrained by superficial writers; a reference to primary authorities for the necessary purposes of comparison and verification. We have no suspicion haunting us, that we are receiving only the distillation of secondary materials; every page gives assurance of derivation from the fountain head, and our labour will be confined to a fair and sufficient exemplification of the character of the work. Nor shall we find it necessary to enter into narrative or disquisition concerning the dates or details of Wycliffe's life; they are of common knowledge, and would require a far more extended elucidation than we should find it convenient to bestow. There are, however, circumstances of a relative and connected nature, that are in some danger of being overlooked by general readers, and that do not always meet with adequate regard, even from more systematic and discriminating inquirers. To these we shall briefly advert.

Without intending to affirm that there are no instances on record of a dubious character, or even of an opposite bearing, we would refer, as to a prevailing error, to the opinion that men make events; while the converse of the proposition will more frequently hold good—events make men. In a current and superficial reading, we find that, from time to time, individuals of marked and commanding character, stand out on the field of history, and attract to themselves, as to a common centre, all the lines of counsel and of action. They give to their sphere of control, both form and colour, and name. They seem self-originated. They derive nothing from the past or the present, but lead their age and association, at once and without gradation, into a different system and era. All this is, however, nothing more than seeming. A minute and discriminating examination of circumstances and dependencies will bring out a different verdict, and make it clear, that the great men, whether of antiquity or of modern times, have been the creatures of events,—of concurrences, crises, conspiracies, of principles and combinations.

There are few individuals of equal celebrity, who appear to have been more independent of externals, and to have acted more decidedly from intellectual and moral motives, than Wycliffe; and we believe that appearances are, in this respect, and to a very uncommon degree, correct. It should seem as if he sprung up, at once, a giant among the men of his age; without a master, a bold and original thinker; without an ally, an intrepid and eloquent *protestant* against the errors and usurpations of Rome. But if this must, in great part, be taken as fact, it ought not, on the other hand, to be overlooked, that

there were peculiar circumstances in the times, both actual and antecedent, that worked upon the resolute temper and lofty character of Wycliffe, preparing his way, urging him to active interference, and sustaining him in his career.

The oppression of Rome had not been without the usual tendency of all political evil to re-action. It had weighed on the souls and bodies of men too long and too heavily, not to have been gradually awakening a spirit, that all the jealous and inquisitorial vigilance of the hierarchy had failed wholly to repress. From time to time, symptoms of revolt among its subjects had alarmed the Vatican, and it was not insensible to the alarming conviction that, while the stream of events seemed to be flowing on quietly enough in the old and usual course, there was a strong *under-tow* setting in the opposite direction, every now and then rising to the surface in ripples and eddies, and menacing an entire change in the current of opinions and administrations, at no very distant period. Much and valuable illustration of this occurs in Mr. Vaughan's preliminary chapters, but its full development demands a distinct and thorough discussion. Milner had the subject partially in view; but he is defective in vigour, discrimination, and comprehensiveness. Dr. M'Crie has made a nearer approach to its adequate treatment, in his admirable volume on Italy; a book which we are ashamed to have passed over so long, and which we take this opportunity of recommending most warmly to the attention of our readers. There may be traced throughout the history of Europe, a gradual advance towards a state of things in which the usurpations of Rome would cease to be tolerated. To say nothing of the more marking circumstances, which were themselves but the result of minor agencies, in their separate movement and ultimate combination, there was scarcely a machination or an overt act of the priesthood, that did not, in some way or another, mar its own purpose. The unrelieved and aggravated grasp and stern pressure of the iron hand, the wasting violence of torch and sword, the mysterious menace of the dungeon and the rack, while they kept down individual and partial insurrection, did but irritate the insurgent spirit, and prepare the general feeling for a season when a more powerful effort should emancipate one portion of the serfs of the papacy, and relax the bondage of the remainder.

There was much, too, in progress, of intellectual inquiry. The schoolmen, with their quaint subtleties and inexplicable conundrums, were acute and indefatigable inquirers, and often, we suspect, masked an important meaning under this seemingly unprofitable trifling. It required no common effort of mind to

draw out the continuous links of their minute deductions; and, to follow them in their reasoning, fixed and fostered the understanding in a habit of attention that might, by no violent transition, ultimately pass on to higher subjects and more effectual exertions. Nor were there wanting master-spirits, who at intervals towered loftily above the level of their times; and without absolutely rejecting the supremacy of Rome, challenged her exaggerated pretensions, rebuked her errors, and held forth a purer doctrine, with a sounder and more scriptural conviction. With one of these gifted individuals Wycliffe came, if not into immediate contact, at least into such influential connexion, as may result from the reasoning, fame, and example of the illustrious dead, when commended to our especial notice by circumstances and localities.

Wycliffe was born in the year 1324, and became a student of Merton College, Oxford, about 1340. We refer to this date and fact, in immediate connexion with the foregoing observation, because it seems highly probable that they may have had a decided influence on his character and conduct. Merton had been the *alma nutrix* of some of the ablest men who had distinguished the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and among them, Duns Scotus, William Occam, and the admirable Bradwardine, were eminently conspicuous. Mr. Vaughan supplies us with a brief but pithy specimen of the extravagant estimation in which the first of these individuals was held by his followers.

‘Had the genius of Aristotle been unknown, Scotus, it is said, could have supplied his place. His arrival at truth was rather with the readiness and certainty of intuition, than by the doubtful process common to other minds. The divine attributes he describes, as one descending immediately from the presence of Deity, and the nature of angels as though it were his own. The mysteries of providence he explained as if apprised of all its secrecies, and the felicities of heaven as if the element of his being. It is not surprising that such a man is described as the “Immortal Scotus,” and as the most ingenious and powerful of the sons of men. But his contemporary Ockham lived to better purpose. It was his lot to doubt the infallibility of Pope John the twenty-second. This circumstance compelled him to seek the protection of Lewis of Bavaria, emperor of Germany; and his publications in defence of the civil power as independent of the ecclesiastical, if unfriendly to his repose, were not so to his fame. One of those compositions is praised by Selden, as “the very best performance published concerning the limits of the spiritual and temporal powers.”’ p. 229.

But the great source of Wycliffe’s enlightened views will be found in the writings of Thomas Bradwardine, ‘*Doctor profundus*,’ a powerful reasoner, and sound in evangelical doc-

trine. 'The Protestant cause', as it is justly observed by Toplady, 'is more indebted to this extraordinary prelate, than seems to be commonly known. He was, in some sense, Dr. Wickliffe's spiritual father: for it was the perusal of Bradwardine's writings, which, next to the Holy Scriptures, opened that proto-reformer's eyes to discover the genuine doctrine of faith and justification. Bradwardine taught him the nature of a true and justifying faith, in opposition to merit-mongers and pardoners, purgatory and pilgrimages.' The great work of this excellent man, *De causa Dei contra Pelagium*, aimed a mortal blow at the doctrinal delinquencies of Popery; and by demolishing her fundamental error on the subject of Justification, left her without a vantage-ground for the defence of her system. Sufficient justice has not been rendered to this able discussion of abstruse and important points. It has, indeed, been praised and cited, but it has not been read, although its sustained and close argumentation might entitle it to attention as a skilful and profitable logical praxis. It is, indeed, but ill adapted to modern habits of study, and nothing short of a close and analytical investigation can enable a reader to follow the chain of reasoning, or put him fairly in possession of the results: he would, however, find his pains well and worthily bestowed when his task was done. Dupin has given a better general view of this important work than we remember to have seen elsewhere; and it may not be unacceptable to our readers, to find a translation of it here.

'In this work, Bradwardine not only treats of Free-will and Predestination, but also of the existence of God, of his perfections, of his eternity, of his immutability, of his immensity, and of his other attributes; more especially of his knowledge, of his power, and of his will. He shews, that God is the preserver of all his creatures, that he is the proximate cause of all that they do; that his will is efficacious, insurmountable, and unchangeable, and all that he determines, infallibly comes to pass; that his knowledge depends, not on the things known, but on his own will. He explains in what sense he wills, and wills not, sin. He proves, against Pelagius, the necessity of Grace, and shews that it is gratuitous, and in no respect merited; that it is the immediate cause of all good works, and principally of penitence. He maintains irrelative, and rejects conditional predestination (*science moyenne*). These are the main points of his first book. The second is on Free-will. He asserts that it does not consist in willing, or not willing a particular thing, but in the power of freely willing all that ought to be willed, or not willing all that ought not to be willed. He shews, that no second cause can

‘necessitate the will, but that it cannot by its own power overcome any temptation without the special aid of God, which is no other than his invincible will; that without this aid we cannot avoid sin; that perseverance is the effect of grace. He then explains the co-operation of man’s will with the will of God. He affirms, that God does not take away liberty, though he does, in some sort, impose necessity. He treats of the various species of necessity and contingency, and cites the different sentiments of philosophers and divines concerning the contingency of events: of these varieties of opinion he reckons up thirty-three, and concludes, that all future circumstances take place by a kind of necessity in reference to higher causes, which is, nevertheless, consistent with liberty, because it is not absolute, natural, violent, or forced. He sums up with a recapitulation of the errors he has combated, and of the truths he has established, comprising them in thirty-six propositions.’

We are not, of course, making ourselves responsible for all Bradwardine’s shades of opinion, still less for his modes of expression; but, on the whole, there can be no question of the high value of his work, nor of its beneficial effect at a critical period in the history of religious sentiment. It only remains, in illustration of this part of our subject, that we give the principal dates and circumstances of Bradwardine’s life, that it may be seen how nearly they approach, and how intimately they are identified with, the times, feelings, and characteristic opinions of Wycliffe. Thomas Bradwardine was born, probably, in 1290. He matriculated at Merton, and was proctor of the university in 1325. His application was exemplary, and beside an extensive and minute acquaintance with the Aristotelian and Platonic systems of philosophy, his acquisitions in mathematics and theology entitled him to his distinguishing epithet, the ‘Profound Doctor’. Having distinguished himself for some time as divinity professor at Oxford, he took up his residence with Richard de Bury, the learned Bishop of Durham, and obtained the chancellorship of the diocese of London, and a canonry of Lincoln cathedral. He became the favourite chaplain of Edward III., and in 1349, was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. He died in October of the same year in which he had attained the highest dignity of the English hierarchy. It will be readily believed, that such a man was in no favour with the heads of the papacy; and it is related of him, that when he presented himself for consecration at Avignon, then the residence of the popes, he was grossly insulted after the conclusion of the ceremony, by a buffoon, seated upon an ass.

who was instigated to this vulgar affront by a cardinal, nearly allied to the reigning pontiff.

We have a great dislike to guesses and probabilities in matters of historical inference and deduction; but it is impossible to evade the conviction, that this juxtaposition to a lofty and enlightened intellect had a decided influence on the character and conduct of Wycliffe; and it would be an interesting labour to trace out in their respective writings, the resemblances and coincidences in the mental movements of such men as Bradwardine and the Rector of Lutterworth. But the multiplied and complicated exertions and events of Wycliffe's life, are connected with so many and such various circumstantialia as to require uncommon discretion in their management. An indispensable preliminary to the adequate treatment of this great subject, is, a complete sacrifice of the spirit of system and partizanship. Here it was—we make the observation *par parenthèse*—that Milner broke down; and here we may congratulate Mr. Vaughan on one of his distinguishing excellences as an historical biographer. We are now approaching the active period of Wycliffe's life; and it is remarkable, that his earliest publication should have been written under impressions similar to those which are influencing many at the present day. The aspect of the times was singularly alarming.

'The years of his minority had scarcely departed, when the nations of the earth began to droop under one of those afflictive visitations which the conscience of mankind has ever connected with the peculiar displeasure of the Almighty. It could hardly have passed before the eye of Wycliffe without affecting his religious sympathies; and its influence on the religious aspect of his country was extended and deplorable. It was in the year 1345, that a pestilence, the most destructive in the annals of the world, appeared in Tartary. Having ravaged various kingdoms of Asia, it hovered about the Delta and the Nile; was wafted thence to the islands of Greece; passing along the shores of the Mediterranean, it filled the several states of Italy with impartial ruin, and crossing the Alps, penetrated into nearly every recess of the European population. Two years had been occupied in its desolating march, when the continent was shaken from its centre to its borders, by a succession of earthquakes. From June to December, in the same year, England was deluged with incessant rains: in the following August, the plague appeared at Dorchester; it soon reached the metropolis, and there, in the space of a few months, added many thousands to its victims. The infected generally perished within a few hours: the strongest failed after the second or third day. Wycliffe was now in the twenty-fifth year of his age; he saw the distemper passing from men to the brute creation, covering the land with putrid flesh; the labours of husbandry suspended, the

courts of justice closed, the child resorting to every device of superstition for security, and subsequently perishing, buoyant with delusion, or prostrated by despair. He no doubt discarded the rumour which affirmed that a tenth only of the human family had been spared. But he may have listened to the less credulous, when stating it as probable that the earth had lost full half its population. It is certain, that enough would be seen by him, and admitted on unquestionable evidence, to clothe the dispensation with the most alarming aspect; and from his frequent references to it, in after life, we learn that its impression on his mind was not to be effaced.' Vol. I. pp. 288, 9.

It might have been supposed, that these fearful visitations would deeply and salutarily impress the public mind; that the laity would turn away from vicious indulgence, and the priesthood awoken from criminal negligence. Here, however, Wycliffe was disappointed: 'he lived to see,'—we cite the emphatic language of Mr. Vaughan,—'and on a scale awfully extended, that the depravity which is not subdued by unusual suffering, must acquire a more hopeless hardihood from the resisting process through which it has passed.' As in almost all cases of a similar description, a strange and desperate recklessness seems to have pervaded all classes of society; and the "overflowing scourge passed through" the land in all the terrors of the Lord, chastising the iniquity of the people, but failing to rouse them to repentance. The spirit of rapacity, ambition, frivolity, sensuality, had been dreadfully rebuked; but it spurned the monition; and such were the signs of the times, that Wycliffe, in the full conviction that the latter days were at hand, published, in 1356, his sincere but miscalculating conviction, that 'The last Age of the Church' was come. In this tract, he adverts to the speculations of the Abbot Joachim, who had, so far back as the time of Richard Cœur de Lion, distinguished himself by his bold interpretations of Scripture prophecy, and by certain hazardous attempts to explain and accommodate the doctrine of the Trinity.

With this seer, and with others who could boast of similar visions, as his guides, Wycliffe arrives at the conclusion, that the close of the fourteenth century will be that of the world, and observes, that the modern prophet in stating, that four great tribulations were to come upon the church, in the interval between the advent of Christ, and the end of the Christian economy, is assuredly supported by king David, the venerable Bede, and St. Bernard. The first of these tribulations is described as taking place when the church was assailed by heathen persecution; the second, when the hostilities of heathenism were succeeded by the allurements of heresy. But the last is said to have been "put off by the wisdom of saints, as the first was overcome by the steadfastness of martyrs." The third and the

fourth of these general calamities are viewed as belonging to the fourteenth century; the one arising "from the secret heresy of simonists", the other including the triumphs of antichrist, the exact "period of whose approach God only knoweth." Vol. I. pp. 248, 44.

The controversy respecting the mendicant orders had, we have no doubt, a most decided effect on the views and feelings of Wycliffe concerning ecclesiastical abuses. The fraternities of begging friars, renouncing all worldly possessions, and depending for their very subsistence on the alms of the pious, had been instituted, ostensibly, as a corrective to the pride and wealth of other religious communities, but really as an effectual method of withdrawing the attention of the laity from the secular and sensual character of the higher ranks of the priesthood; as well as for the purpose of bringing the ecclesiastical power into more immediate and influential contact with the people. But it was soon found that, of all the sacerdotal orders, this speedily became the most dangerous and depraved. Excepting to the Papal court, it was an object of antipathy and jealousy to all classes; and in 1357, Fitz-Ralph, the archbishop of Armagh, exhibited formal articles of accusation against them before the Pope himself at Avignon. The *gravamina* of Armachanus were, however, chiefly confined to particulars and incidentals; but when Wycliffe, soon afterwards, entered the field, he assumed a bolder tone, and challenged the very principle of the institute.

A sanction was supposed to be imparted to the practices of the mendicants, by the poverty of Christ and of his apostles; and this circumstance had imperceptibly induced a habit of appeal to the sacred scriptures, as to a decisive authority. The volume of inspiration was thus brought from its obscurity, and was vested, though for mistaken purposes, with something of its ancient influence, as the guide of religious opinion. Such as were displeased by the obtrusive services of the friars, were thus naturally directed to the records of the gospel, that the justice of these novel pretensions might be thence ascertained or confuted; and the arguments opposed with most success to the peculiarities of the mendicants, were derived from the source to which they had themselves been the first to appeal. It is scarcely to be questioned, that to these facts, we are considerably indebted for Wycliffe's early attachment to the doctrine which affirms the sufficiency of the scriptures, to all the purposes, both of faith and duty; a doctrine, in which the right of private judgement was obviously implied. And it will hereafter appear, that no modern theologian has been found, more alive to the importance of these maxims, or more successful in defending them. It is probable indeed, that Wycliffe was very far from anticipating the last result of his inquiries, when he first became known as the opponent of the new orders; but we have sufficient evidence to justify the con-

elusion, that even then these momentous sentiments had become in a hopeful degree familiar to his mind. The failure of Fitzralph, in his more limited project of reform, had left no room to hope for improvement, as emanating from the papacy; and probably suggested to his less distinguished successor in the contest, his more vigorous and less partial exposure of ecclesiastical corruption, before the bar of the people.' Vol. I. pp. 252, 253.

It would lead us beyond all, not merely reasonable, but tolerable limits, if we were to engage in that very important line of illustration which results from the history of the times. Mr. Vaughan has executed this part of his undertaking with much ability, and only with too much brevity. There is so extensive a range of intrigues and influences connected with these inquiries, such a complication of contradictory qualities, clashing interests, and defective information as to facts, that, to write the public life of Wycliffe, is to do little less than to give the whole political and ecclesiastical history of England at that time. The unflinching and unprincipled ambition of Courtney; the commanding and energetic, but dubious character of John of Gaunt; the singular policy and powerful influence of the Queen Mother; with a tissue of conflicting views and passions, usurpations and resistances, changes and persecutions, form such an entangled web of intersecting movements and manœuvres, as to demand a volume for their adequate development. We shall then pass by all this with a reference to the volumes before us for details and explanations, and proceed to such further comment as may seem expedient.

Some of the most important circumstances of Wycliffe's career, were closely connected with his appointment to the professorship of Theology at Oxford, in 1372. A distinction of this kind shews at once the high esteem in which he was held, and the alteration of sentiment that was beginning to betray itself even in the central seat of learning. Mr. Vaughan is disposed to refer to this period, the Exposition of the Decalogue; a work, of which an exceedingly interesting abstract is given, and which, in the absence of more specific evidence, may be considered as supplying satisfactory means of forming a correct judgment of

Wycliffe's opinions in theology, at the period of commencing his divinity lectures among the students of Oxford. The doctrines which have been in general regarded as forming the most important peculiarities of the Christian revelation, were evidently the favourite portion of his creed. Thus we find him zealously inculcating the lessons of inspiration on the fall of man, and the consequent depravity of human nature; on the excellence and perpetual obligation of the moral law; on the exclusive dependence of every child

of Adam, for the remission of his sins, on the atonement of Christ, and for victory over temptation, and the possession of holiness, on the aid of divine grace. It has appeared also, that these momentous tenets, were very far from being regarded with the coldness of mere speculation. On the contrary, in the experience of Wycliffe, they are found united with that peculiar feeling of gratitude and humility, with that hallowed confidence in God, and with those refined pleasures of devotion, which they so directly tend to produce. With him, to use his own nervous language, the love of God was an exercise of the soul "full of reason." Vol. I. pp. 313, 314.

From the treatise itself, we shall give one short extract in illustration of the Reformer's manner.

'His instructions in relation to public worship, require the most humiliating acknowledgments of guilt and of spiritual helplessness, and urge the worshipper, in his approaches to God, "to cry heartily unto him for grace and succour." To aid the reflections of the devout mind, during this sacred season, he enjoins that it be then especially remembered, "that God is almighty—Why?—Because he made all this world of nought. That he is all wise—Why?—Because he governs most wisely all things. That he is all good—Why?—Because he maketh all things turn to the profit of good men who faithfully love him. That he is all just—Why?—Because he rewardeth all good deeds, and punishes all trespasses in due time, and in due measure, both secret and open; neither may any creature resist his punishing, whether in earth, in purgatory, or in hell, That he is all merciful—Why?—Because he is readier to receive sinful men to grace, than would truly leave their sins, than they are to ask mercy." Vol. I. p. 309.

Wycliffe seems now to have occupied a high standing in public opinion. Subsequent circumstances proved that he had produced a great impression at Oxford; and it was probably in no small degree to the effects of this favourable sentiment that he was indebted for his escape. Had a greater unity of feeling and a more cordial co-operation existed among the doctors of the church, it is possible that the machinations of his enemies might have been crowned with success. But difficulties were interposed, obstacles were to be cleared away; the halting were to be confirmed, malcontents were to be soothed or silenced, and all the machinery of menace and cajolery was to be called into play, before a clear way could be obtained to the arraignment and condemnation of the great delinquent. Some of the most conspicuous men of the university made a strong stand for their partial views of truth: and though they, nearly all, ultimately made their consciences bend to their secular interest, it was not without a resistance that might dispose the enemies of religious light to hesitate in urging matters to extremity with one who was of known resolution, who had power,

ful supporters, and who was not likely to be beaten before he had dealt hard blows to his assailants. It appears, moreover, that, independently of his factors among the men of learning, he was in great esteem among those who exercised a strong influence on the government of the realm. The proceedings of the English Parliament were, about this time, of uncommon interest. A noble spirit of opposition to the encroachments of Rome had been awakened, both in the Commons and among the Peers; and some admirable specimens of dense and forcible reasoning are given by Mr. Vaughan, in connexion with this subject, as delivered in the grand council of the nation. These, then, were no times for overstraining the maxims of ecclesiastical domination; and we accordingly find, that when Wycliffe was compelled to make his appearance before the official tribunals, his deliverance was effected without much difficulty. The man to whom the Parliament of England had entrusted a share in important negotiations with the Pope, and to whom had been submitted, 'in the name of the King,' the consideration of an important question concerning the claims of the papacy, was not to be dealt with lightly, or in that summary way that more unfriended individuals had too often experienced. On two special occasions was Wycliffe impleaded before the English Inquisition. The first was the immediate effect of papal bulls, addressed to the ecclesiastical authorities, to the King, and to the university of Oxford, in which John Wycliffe, rector of Lutterworth, was formally accused of heretical pravity, and cited before the pontifical tribunal. To the credit of the university it is to be recorded, that the reception or rejection of the bull was a matter of 'serious discussion;' and though it was at length determined to yield, the obedience was merely nominal. The hierarchy was more in earnest, and Wycliffe had to make his appearance before a synod at Lambeth, where he delivered in a written defence to the papal delegates. What might have been the result of this meeting, can only be guessed; for the people were the friends of the Reformer, and interfered very effectually in his behalf.

'On the court and the populace, his doctrines were daily making a powerful impression. The latter, alarmed for his safety, surrounded the place of meeting, and with many of the citizens, forced their way into the chapel where the parties were convened, proclaiming their attachment to the person and opinions of the rector of Lutterworth. The dismay created by this tumult was augmented, when Sir Lewis Clifford entered the court, and in the name of the queen mother, forbade the bishops proceeding to any definite sentence respecting the doctrine or the conduct of Wycliffe. Thus, by the better zeal of the laity, the plans of ecclesiastics to suppress the tenets of the reformation, were a second time thwarted. Wal-

ingham, in relating this disastrous event, betrays the temper of the wolf when robbed of his prey. The delegates, he observes, "shaken as a reed with the wind, became soft as oil in their speech, to the open forfeiture of their own dignity, and the injury of the whole church. With such fear were they struck, that you would think them a man who bears not, or one in whose mouth are no reproofs." Vol. I. pp. 359, 360.

The monkish historian last quoted, gives the contents of the paper that was handed in by Wycliffe, as an answer to the allegations of his accusers. On this document, charges of timidity and trimming have been founded. For the particulars of that important statement, we must refer to Mr. Vaughan; but concerning the insinuations for which it has been made the pretext, we shall take leave to say, that they are utterly groundless;—that they come with a very ill grace from casuists sitting, much at their ease, in their lounging chairs, *none making them afraid*; and that, all recrimination apart, it is idle to impute cowardice where there is an avowal of sentiments, a title of which would have brought all the reformers that ever lived, to the stake, Rome being judge. It seems to have been forgotten by some very worthy persons, touching this matter, that Wycliffe was not Luther, nor his times the times of Luther; and that it required a long lapse of years to prepare even the most vigorous and conscientious minds for a complete emancipation from prescriptive error. On Dr. Lingard's glosses and evasions, we should feel it needless to waste a syllable, but there are others whose negligence or precipitancy may be injurious. It is somewhat in anticipation, but with entire appropriateness to our immediate subject, that we refer to the closing passages of Mr. Vaughan's work, for the following eloquent, and not more eloquent than just, vindication of Wycliffe from these dark intimations of frailty and infirm integrity.

'To separate in so great a measure between the strength and weakness of established doctrines, required the application of no common energy, and the possession of much ingenuousness and courage. In the Christianity which prevailed around him, the pure faith of the gospel was superseded by a host of grovelling superstitions; its simple ritual had given place to a multitude of heathen and childish ceremonies; and its ministers, from being the shepherds of the flock of Christ, had become the members of a worldly hierarchy, nearly all the tendencies of which were, to wed the communities beneath them to ignorance and to irreligion. So artfully, too, had the scheme been devised, that the delinquent priest, however much delinquent, was almost secure from the approach of chastisement. On this state of things centuries had shed their influence, apparently but to increase its stability, and to render the prospects

of the human race, with respect to many of its circumstances, but the more foreboding. Unawed, however, by the force of popular and long established opinions, Wycliffe ventured to publish the faith of the scriptures, condemning the frauds and superstitions by which it had been for ages disfigured or concealed. The simple and forgotten modes of worship which the same authority enjoins, he often ventured to inculcate. And thus restoring religion to its place in the reason and the affection, he called on every hierarchy of Christendom, and on the pontiff and his cardinals at their head, to relinquish their worldly occupations and the incumbrances of wealth, and to expect the preservation of their influence on earth, but as their maxims and temper should be known to breathe the spirit of heaven! Against certain points in this bold theory, many objections might be urged; but it is, nevertheless, one which no ordinary genius would have had power to conceive. By a few, all its parts were hailed as devout and wise; by more, it was only partially approved; and by a greater number, it was denounced as the madness of revolutionary zeal. But while subject to the imputation of every motive which might serve to cover his name and his tenets with odium; and while threatened with the heaviest penalties which the native clergy or the papal power could impose; the only change in the conduct of the reformer, from the period of first announcing his peculiar doctrines to the last hours of his life, is, that they are repeated with a growing constancy, and with a still louder emphasis. The cords which had bound so many generations, were thus broken; and scarcely less remarkable was the vigour which sustained the purpose of his mind, amid the storm which lowered early, and increased in darkness and violence to the moment of his death. It was his more penetrating apprehension of the nature of religion, and of the principles involved in the papal ascendancy, which led him to surpass such men as Grossteste and Fitz Ralph, whose attacks were limited to the outworks of the apostacy; and at the same time to put at defiance the charge of Manicheism, which had been preferred, often unjustly, but always with too much success against the continental reformers. So comprehensive, indeed, were his views of Christianity and of the claims of his species, that the movements which have favoured the diffusion of scriptural piety, or of general knowledge, in later times, might be shown to have been the result, in no few instances, of adopting maxims which John de Wycliffe laboured to inculcate.

Vol. II, pp. 367 --369.

The second attempt to bend or break the spirit of the Reformer, was made by his old and persevering enemy, Courtney; but, although the days of Wycliffe were approaching to their close, his spirit was firm, and the paper which has been represented as a recantation, was, in the estimation of his enemies, a stubborn maintenance of heretical opinion. There seems, by the way, to be considerable obscurity and entanglement about these, as well as about other circumstances of Wycliffe's life. We had made some slight essay towards reconciling the discrepancies,

but it is beyond our power, unless at an expense of leisure that we cannot just now afford. Mr. Vaughan's statement has, in addition to its general superiority, the merit of clearness; its examination would, however, have been greatly facilitated by the occasional insertion of marginal dates. If writers would but place themselves in the situation of readers, much embarrassment and waste of time would be saved.

Wycliffe died, as he had lived, in the consistent and independent discharge of duty. He had been previously visited by disease and debility, and his latter days lingered on in infirmity and anxiety: but there was no remission of activity to the full extent of his powers, and his last hour found him watching. On the 29th of December, 1384, he was struck down by palsy, and on the 31st, he expired.

One of the most valuable distinctions of Mr. Vaughan's volumes, will be found in their analytical character. Wycliffe's arguments and appeals are invariably brought forward in their own behalf. His works are given both in dissection and in liberal detail; and are thus made more accessible to the general reader, than they would have been in their original form. We are, indeed, disposed to think that something has here been rather unduly sacrificed to popularity; since Mr. Vaughan has not only modernized the old orthography, so dear to the thorough-bred antiquary, but has ventured on further alterations, which we shall describe in his own words.

'It will be seen that, in the extracts introduced from Wycliffe's vernacular pieces, the orthography and a few obsolete terms have been discarded, and that the taste of the modern reader has been in some farther degree consulted. This liberty with the Reformer's language has been taken from a persuasion that without it the passages inserted would fail to receive the attention which they deserve, and which is necessary to the design of the present publication. It may be questioned also, whether it is just to Wycliffe himself, that he should be obliged to deliver his sentiments at considerable length, in the very letter of a dialect to most readers so unintelligible and repulsive as that of our ancestors in the fourteenth century. There is a danger of mistaking the imperfections of expression for those of perception and sentiment. But though such reasons may perhaps have justified a greater liberty with the Reformer's phraseology, I wish it to be borne distinctly in mind, that, in the portion of his compositions included in these volumes, the substance of his language has been in every instance carefully preserved; and with it, every, even the minutest, shade of his meaning. Nine-tenths of his terms are still current among us, and his sentences are in consequence more obsolete from their structure and orthography, than in their materials.' Vol. I. Preface, pp. x. &c.

Mr. Vaughan may be right in the main, but he will recollect,

that he has, by this system of revision, rendered his work useless for the purposes of reference and citation. Individually, we have all possible reliance on his fidelity and accuracy, but this conviction would be quite unavailing in controversy, and unsatisfactory in historical inquiries. We wish that Mr. V. would publish a volume containing a correct republication of Wycliffe's smaller tracts; with analyses, illustrated by extracts, of his remaining works.

It will be clearly seen by the preceding pages, that Wycliffe was not only an energetic, but a highly gifted man. He was an acute reasoner, a well furnished scholar and divine, eloquent and undaunted. A specimen or two will be sufficient to characterise his manner.

"*Prelates*", observes the English Reformer, "soully deceive Christian men by their pretended indulgencies or pardons, and rob them wickedly of their money." In proof of this statement he remarks, "that alms after the will of sinful men" may procure "thousands of years of pardon, and also pardons without number to man's understanding." There are also described as granted "by virtue of Christ's passion and martyrdom, and by the holy merits of saints, which they did more than was needful for their own bliss." Offended by this strange mixture of creature-merit with that of the Saviour, and scarcely less with the pardon itself, which was presumed to be so conveyed, he affirms that the doctrine is one, "never taught in all the gospel, and never used neither by Paul, nor Peter, nor any other apostle of Christ; and yet they might, and could, and were so full of charity as certainly to have taught and used this pardon if there had been any such. For in Christ was all manner of good doctrine, and good life, and charity, and these were most abundant after him in his apostles. And since Christ discovered and taught all that is needful and profitable, and still taught not this pardon, it follows that this pardon is neither needful nor profitable."

Adverting to the departed in an intermediate state, he remarks, "It passeth man's knowing what is the doom of such souls. It seemeth then great pride for sinful man to make himself certain and master of the judgment of God, which still he knoweth not.—Also if this pardon be a spiritual and heavenly gift, it should be given freely, as Christ teaches in the gospel, and not for money, nor worldly goods, nor fleshly favour. But if a rich man will dearly buy it, he shall have a pardon extending to a thousand years, though he be really accursed of God for his sinful life. While the poor bedridden man who may not travel to Rome, nor to such another place, he shall have no pardon of the pope, though he be holy and full of charity. Since then, this pardon, if there be any such, should be freely given, it is theft and robbery to take thus much gold for it. Also this pretended pardon deceiveth many men. For rich men trust to reach Heaven thereby without pain, and therefore the less fear to sin; and of contrition, and forsaking sin, and doing alms, little is spoken." He then observes, that if the nature of such par-

done were "truly told, they should be set at nought." Again, he remarks: "Great falseness it is so much to magnify the power of the pope in purgatory, such as no man here can show to be real, either by holy writ or reason; since in this world, we see an obscure man may thus despise the pope and oppose his lordship, and he doth in vain, all his might, all his wit, and all his will, to be avenged upon such a poor harlot (varlet?). It seemeth, then, for many reasons, that this feigned pardon is a subtle merchandise of Anti-Christ's clerks, to magnify their pretended power, and to get worldly goods, and to make men free from the fear of sin, and sweetly to wallow therein as swine." Vol. II. pp. 335—337.

The following urgent appeal is in a very different strain from the average exhortations of his time. His was the deep-seated piety of the heart, and he bore an indignant protest against the religion of penances and pilgrimages, masses and indulgences.

"Christ not compelling, but freely counselling every man to seek a perfect life, saith, 'Let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me.' Let us then deny ourselves in whatever we have made ourselves by sin, and such as we are made by grace, let us continue. If a proud man be converted to Christ and is made humble, he hath denied himself. If a covetous man ceaseth to covet, and giveth of his own to relieve the needy, he hath denied himself. If an impure man changeth his life and becometh chaste, he hath denied himself, as St. Gregory saith. He who withstandeth and forsaketh the unreasonable will of the flesh, denieth himself. The cross of Christ is taken when we shrink not from contempt, for the love of the truth; when man is crucified unto the world, and the world is crucified unto him, and he setteth its joy at nought. It is not enough to bear the cross of a painful life, except we follow Christ in his virtues, in meekness, love, and heavenly desire. He taketh the cross who is ready to meet all peril for God; if need be to die rather than to forsake Christ. And whoso taketh not thus the cross, and followeth not Christ thus, is not worthy to be his disciple.—Lord Jesus, turn us to thee, and we shall be turned! Heal thou us, and then we shall be verily holy; for without grace and help from thee, may no man be truly turned or healed. For they are but scornors, who to-day turn to God, and to-morrow turn away; who to-day do their penance, and to-morrow turn again to their former evils. What is turning to God? Nothing but turning from the world, from sin, and from the fiend. What is turning from God, but turning to the changing things of this world, to delight in the creatures, the lusts of the flesh, and the works of the fiend. To be turned from the world, is to set at nought its joys, and to suffer meekly, all bitterness, slanders, and deceits, for the love of Christ. To leave all occupations unlawful and unprofitable to the soul, so that man's will and thought become dead to the things which the world loveth and worshippeth." The devices of Satan with which all have to contend, are said in the conclusion, to be particularly directed against such as seek this peculiar sanctity. "He studieth to bring against us all

manner of temptations and tribulations according as he seeth that, by the mercy of God, we are escaped out of his power. For he seeketh nothing so much as to separate men from the pure and the everlasting love of Jesus Christ, and to make them love perishing things and the uncleanness of this world." Vol. II. pp. 360—362.

Mr. Vaughan's chapters on the Opinions and the Character of Wycliffe, are ably drawn up, and have afforded us even more gratification than we have derived from other, perhaps more generally interesting portions of the work: but we cannot follow him into so wide a field, and where the tracks are sometimes of such intricacy as to require a discriminating and difficult investigation. It will be enough to say, in general, that Wycliffe was a high predestinarian in abstract opinion, and a firm maintainer of the doctrines of grace, without losing sight of their practical tendency.

'A prominent article in his religious creed, and one from which the rest were all more or less deduced, was the election of grace. The church is accordingly described as composed of predestinated persons, and of such alone. "We are predestinated", he remarks, "that we may obtain divine acceptance, and become holy; having received that grace through the humanity of Christ, by which we are rendered finally pleasing to God. And to me it appears, that this grace, which is called the grace of predestination, or the charity of final perseverance, cannot by any means fail." Vol. II. pp. 352, 53.

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'Men, it is remarked, should be without exception admonished, that they receive not the grace of God in vain, since, in every instance, where such conduct is exhibited, "the default is not in God, but all the default is in his servants." Again, it is said, that "God withdraweth not his grace, except man shall abuse it; and then the righteousness of God requireth that the sinner should be punished." Vol. II. pp. 357, 58.

A supplementary chapter contains a complete statement of the writings of Wycliffe, with references to the libraries in which they are to be found. Appendixes of various and valuable documents are subjoined. From these, we shall extract the Reformer's 'letter of excuse' to Urban VI., as a fair specimen of style and manner. To us it appears a model in its way; calm, courteous, and repelling with dignified reproof, the papal claims to servile obedience.

'I have joyfully to telle alle trew men the bileve that I hold, and agatis to the Pope. For I suppose, that if any faith be rightful and given of God, the Pope will gladly conserve it: and if my faith be error, the Pope will wisely amend it. I suppose over this, that the Gospel of Christ be part of the corps of God's lawe. For I beleve

that Jesu Christ that gaf in his own persoun this Gospel is very God and very man, and he this it passes all other lawes. I suppose over this, that the Pope be most oblishid to the keping of the Gospel among all men that liven here. For the Pope is highest vicar that Christ has here in erth. For moreness of Christ's vicars is not measured by worldly moreness, bot by this, that this vicar sues more Christ by vertuous living: for thus teches the Gospel. That this is the sentence of Christ and of his Gospel I take as beleve; that Christ for time that he walked here was most poore mon of alle both in spirit and in haveing; for Christ says that he had nott for to rest his hede on. And over this I take as beleve, that no mon schulde sue the Pope, ne no saint that now is in heaven, bot in almyche as he sued Christ: for James and John errid, and Peter and Powl sinned. Of this I take as holesome counseile, that the Pope leave his worldly lordschip to worldly lords, as Christ gaf him, and move speedily all his Clerks to do so: for thus did Christ, and taught thus his disciplis, till the fende had blynded this world. And if I erre in this sentence I will mekely be amendid, hif by the death, hif it be skiful, for that I hope were gode to me. And if I might traveile in my own persoun, I wolde with God's will go to the Pope. Bot [Christ] has nedid me to the contrary, and taught me more obeishe to God than to mon. And I suppose of our Pope that he will not be Antichrist, and reverse Christ in this wiking to the contrary of Christ's wille. For if he summons ageyms resoun by him or any of his, and pursue this unskiful summoning, he is an open Antichrist. And merciful entent excusid not Petir that ne Christ clepid him Sathanas: so blynd entent and wicked conseil excuses not the Pope here, bot if he aske of trewe Prestis that they traveile more than they may, 'tis not excused by resoun of God that ne he is Antichrist. For our beleve techis us that our blessid God suffrys us not to be temptyd more than we may; how schuld a mon aske such service? And therefore pray we to God for our Pope Urban the Sex that his old holy entent be not quenchid by his enemyes. And Christ that may not lye, seis that the enemyes of a mon be especially his homelys meinth, and this is soth of men and fendis.' Vol. II. pp. 455, 56.

An excellent portrait, by Edward Finden, is prefixed.

Art. V. *India*; or Tracts submitted to illustrate the Character and Condition of the Native Inhabitants; with Suggestions for reform in the present System of Government. By R. Rickards, Esq. Part I. 8vo. pp. 116. London. 1828.

THE Author of this tract, having lived twenty-three years in India, and passed much of that time in intimate intercourse with various natives, proposes to publish a treatise on each of the following points; being, he says, 'persuaded that, without a correct knowledge of the state and condition of the native population of India, and the causes which have for

'ages obstructed its improvement, the measures to be adopted for the future government of that country at the expiration of the existing act for continuing it to the East India Company, will be erroneous in principle, and inapplicable as remedies for the evils and inconveniences they may be intended to correct.'

'Part I. On the Castes of India, and the alleged simplicity and immutability of Hindoo habits.

'II. Historical sketch of the state and condition of the native Indians under former governments.

'III. On the Revenue Systems of India under the East India Company's Government, as tending to perpetuate the degraded condition of the natives.

'IV. On the Company's trade, and its results in a financial and political point of view.

'V. Suggestions for a Reform of the Administration of India as regards the present system both at home and abroad.'

Of these, the first Part is now before us; and the others are to follow in a series of detached publications, in which shape, Mr. Richards conceives that they will stand a better chance of being read. The reading public is, we admit, sufficiently capricious; and more may sometimes be done towards the subjugation of prejudice and indifference, by this Mahratta skirmishing with pamphlets, than by means of the heavy artillery of six-volume works. The design of the Author, at all events, has our hearty concurrence. It is really high time that India, with its teeming millions, should engage a somewhat more than occasional and reluctant attention on the part of the British public, and that the no-system of administration, the patchwork Hindoo-Mogul-British legislation, the commercial monopoly and the fiscal mis-management and oppression, which have so long combined to make up the government of British India, should undergo a fundamental revision. The destinies of a hundred millions of men have too long been ruled by a great counting-house. The Company have been most fortunate in some of the illustrious servants whom they have sent out; in none so much so as in those who have disobeyed their orders, and broken through every parliamentary restriction. But India owes nothing to the Honourable Company, nothing to the sordid, selfish, pusillanimous, atheistic mercantile policy, which has uniformly characterized the proceedings of the Leadenhall-street council. A handful of despised missionaries, and a few enlightened British soldiers, with a bishop forced upon these Christian merchants, have, in concurrence with two or three noble governors-general, achieved all that has been done within

the past fourteen years, to atone to India for the wrongs of half a century.

Mr. Mill's History of British India, with whatever faults and imperfections it may be chargeable as a history, has most powerfully tended to concentrate public attention upon India, and to let in the light upon the gross mis-management of Indian affairs. The chief fault of the work is, that the Author has suffered his admirable talent of legal analysis to lead him too far into the discussion of particular questions; that his remarks too often run into dissertation, till the facts which supply the text, are lost in the comment. Fifty pages on the Treaty of Bassein, and a hundred on the deposition of the worthless Nabob of the Carnatic, are far beyond the proportion which will be hereafter thought permanently due to them in a standard history. Besides which, subsequent events have shewn, that the pacific system to which Mr. Mill uniformly leans, was any thing but pacific in its results, and have vindicated the administration of Lord Wellesley from the obloquy which was at one time heaped upon that 'ambitious and expensive ruler.' The fact was, as has been remarked by a recent writer,

'Lord Wellesley had been sent to India by the British Government, for the purpose of annihilating the French influence in that country. In the accomplishment of this object, he had, in fact, been almost compelled to attempt, and by the skill and valour of his generals had been enabled nearly to effect, the conquest of the whole country. But the conquest of India was a forbidden achievement. It had been discouraged by the British Legislature, and even branded as criminal. Hence, it was necessary to conceal even from his employers, the real nature and astonishing magnitude of the achievement. He had been entrusted with a commission which it was impossible to execute without exceeding it; and he was condemned for his success. At the time of his arrival in India, there did not exist a single native government, Mussulman or Mahratta, that was not founded on usurpation, and that of comparatively recent date. Except that of Tippoo, there was not one that was strong enough to control the predatory habits of the population or to protect the rights of the people. The voice of humanity almost called upon Great Britain to undertake the most blameless and beneficent usurpation that was ever achieved. But the sordid and timid spirit of a mercantile government opposed what, nevertheless, events forced upon its reluctant adoption. The English had contributed to hasten the decline and destruction of the native monarchies and vicerealties; and in the anarchy which ensued upon the breaking up of the old systems, self-preservation required that a new and vigorous political system should be established. The subsidiary system was not the best; it was open to serious objections; but it was an improvement upon the double system of Clive, and the compromise secured

to the British half the benefits of that conquest. The acquisition of territory was deprecated, while the acquisition of power was enjoined. The same means would have secured both, probably at far less cost, and with far more honour. All the hollow pleas for systematic encroachments, the shuffling diplomacy, the Machiavelian doctrines of the Governor General, the pretended respect for legitimate and hereditary sovereigns who were deprived of every thing but the shadow of power, the fraudulent farce which tarnished the lustre of the British name, might have been spared, had the English Government dared to avow and own the empire which was consigned thus unsought for to their hands.'

Modern Traveller. India. Vol. II. pp. 280—282.

Mr. Mill's History breaks off at the peace with the Marhatta States, which formed the sequel to Lord Wellesley's brilliant administration. We are astonished that he has not, long ere this, brought down the history to the conclusion of that of Lord Hastings. In its unfinished state, the work is incomplete both as a narrative and as a view of the political question. It is an unfinished judgement, and its authority is thereby vitiated. Sir John Malcolm, with less of the philosopher, the scholar, and the lawyer, has much the advantage in his statesman-like view of many subjects upon which Mr. Mill's ability and acuteness are, as it seems to us, at fault. Still, his is a masterly performance, and no higher compliment can be paid to its general merits, no stronger testimony to the impression which it produced, than the ill-natured cavils and minute criticisms which are being every now and then put forth with a view to lessen its authority even as history. We are glad to find Mr. Rickards expressing his high admiration of the work, at the same time that he points out some errors into which the Author has fallen.

* Of Mr. Mill's History, it is impossible to speak otherwise than in terms of high admiration. The work is profound, instructive, and for the most part accurate ; but, *being founded on authorities*, and not the result of personal observation, (Mr. Mill never having been in India,) it is not surprising he should have been misled as to this particular fact.'

Seeing, however, that those persons who had been in India, and who had had the benefit of personal observation, have misled him on this and some other points, his not having been himself in India, can hardly be regarded as a disadvantage.

The particular fact above alluded to, relates to the supposed division of Hindoo society into four distinct castes. Mr. Mill has, indeed, shewn, that a similar distribution of the people into different classes, has obtained among other nations, and that it is not the exclusive production of Hindoo wisdom ; but

he could not be aware, that an institution to which such extraordinary effects have been ascribed by Anglo-Indian governors and learned writers, is, to a great extent, *ideal*. Mr. Rickards has detected a very singular instance of plagiarism on the part of the Honourable Court of Directors—highly flattering to Reviewers—in a letter, dated Jan. 10, 1810, to the Bombay Government; commenting on a proposal submitted to them for gradually lessening the burden of land taxation in India. In this extraordinary document, the institution of castes, it will be seen, is given as a reason for eschewing all alteration in an oppressive revenue-system. The parallel passages are thus given by Mr. Rickards.

‘COURT OF DIRECTORS’ LETTER,
paragraph 162.

“ The artificial and unnatural division of a people into casts is perhaps the most effectual method that could be devised by the ingenuity of man to check their improvement, and repress their industry. It is so diametrically opposed to the strongest principles of our nature, that, wherever such a distinction exists, and is rigidly observed, it is impossible for enterprise to thrive; and it is altogether vain to talk of counteracting its mischievous tendency by any code of fiscal regulation. Did it never occur, then, when recommending a system of taxation, founded upon the established order of nature, that this order has been so much disturbed, in those countries where the system is wished to be introduced, as to render it wholly inapplicable to their present situation? Or, if this did not escape observation, is it possible to imagine, that an alteration in the revenue system, now in force, would have the effect of completely changing the character and habits of the people, and new-modelling the whole misshapen structure of society, in defiance of a strong host of prejudices of every description, ar-

‘ EDINBURGH REVIEW,
vol. iv. p. 316.

“ The artificial and unnatural division of a people into distinct classes, is perhaps the most effectual method which could have been devised by the ingenuity of man to check their improvement and repress their industry. Indeed, the natural operation of such an Institution is so diametrically opposite to, and incompatible with, the strongest principles of our nature, that we are inclined to believe, that its existence (in a perfect state) is altogether ideal; and, if it had ever been completely carried into practice, the baneful effect would have been so immediate, that the total annihilation of public spirit and enterprise, would have been the inevitable consequence.

‘ We, therefore, cannot help doubting, that most authors have, from various obvious reasons, been led to exaggerate a little in their description of this phenomenon, in the constitution of Hindoo society. We are the more inclined to adopt this opinion, as we find that many intelligent writers do not, by any means, confirm the perfect separation of these casts, in their intercourse with society; and that

rayed against innovation, and resolute to maintain what, from age to age, they have been accustomed to venerate."

it is to be remarked, that the latter authors, who have had the best opportunities of observing with accuracy, are those who have given us this more probable account." pp. 12, 13.

'The Edinburgh Reviewers', remarks the present Writer, 'draw the only accurate conclusion as to the state of Indian society'; and he undertakes to prove, that 'the mysterious account given to us of the quadruple institution of castes, is no better than a fable.'

'The position contains, in fact, a threefold error. In the first place, *no such quadruple division of the community exists*, and, perhaps, *never did exist*; and the great wonder in this case is, that a prejudice should have had such long and universal currency even among men who must have had daily proofs before their eyes of its fallaciousness. It is also erroneous in supposing the four enumerated castes to have been divided by impassable walls of separation; for it will be seen immediately, that a complete intermixture of these very castes is recorded to have taken place from the earliest times; and thirdly, that the ordinary pursuits and occupations of life were at all times, generally speaking, open to the whole of them.'

For the proofs by which this statement is supported, drawn from the Gentoo code itself, from the Laws of Menu, and other authorities equally decisive, we must refer our readers to the Tract itself. Mr. Rickards adds:

'It would seem, therefore, that the Hindoo community, as well in the Bengal provinces as in every part of India, is composed chiefly, if not entirely, first of the Brahminical class, whence the priesthood is supplied; secondly, of *innumerable mixed tribes*, which constitute the great mass of the population. I have never met with a person who could prove himself a genuine *Cshatrya*, *Vaisya* or *Sudra*; while, of those who pretend to be of pure descent, Brahmins and other respectable and intelligent Hindoos have assured me, that they have no right to the distinction; that the genuine tribes above-named are extinct, and their descendants in this generation all of mixed blood. Certain it is, that their respective professions are usurped, everywhere, by the mixed classes.

All the greater princes of India, excepting the Peishwa, a Brahmin, are base born. Sudra rajahs and Brahmin sepoyes and cultivators are alike common. Besides, the advocates of the quadruple division of castes forget, Mr. Rickards remarks, that the whole population of India is not Hindoo. Of Mussulmans (Patans, Moguls and Arabs), native Portuguese and other Christians, Parsees, Armenians, Jews, &c., there are supposed to be certainly not fewer than fifteen millions free from
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the trammels of caste. To these are to be added the Bheels, Gonds, Puharrees, and other mountaineers, who have never adopted the Hindoo institutions; the Boodhists who may yet remain; and, inasmuch as their priests are selected from different castes, the Jains. The 'immense colossus of Hindoo 'superstition' cannot, it is remarked, be supposed to affect those who are not its votaries. The state of things in the Mussulman districts, and the poverty and degradation common to all classes, prove that this 'artificial and unnatural division 'of society' is not the cause that has retarded the progress of civilization and prosperity in India.

Another prevailing error relates to the unalterable simplicity of the diet and habits of the people of India. The Company maintain, 'that it is not possible greatly to extend among the 'inhabitants of the East the consumption of British productions, or, in this country, the sale of Asiatic commodities.' 'The bulk of the people', it is asserted, 'live all their days 'upon rice, and go half covered with a slight cotton cloth,— 'the rice and cotton both produced by their own soil. They 'are indolent by nature, frugal by habit, under manifold religious restrictions. *What demand for the manufactures from 'Europe is to be expected from these?*' When information is vouchsafed to the public by the Court of Directors, it is naturally received with some confidence in its accuracy; and it commands the ready belief of all who are indisposed to further research. A few sentences from Bishop Heber's Journal will serve, however, to shew, how little dependence can be placed upon such official and not disinterested statements.

'Almost immediately on leaving Allahabad, I was struck with the appearance of the men, as tall and muscular as the largest stature of Europeans, and with *the fields of wheat, as almost the only cultivation.*'

Vol. III. p. 319.

'Every thing seems gradually to assimilate to the scenes and habits of the eastern and southern parts of Europe. The people no longer talk of their daily *rice*, but say, it is time to eat *bread* to-day.'

Vol. II. p. 5.

'What surprised me still more yesterday, as I penetrated further into the city, were, the large, lofty, and handsome dwelling-houses, the beauty and apparent richness of the goods exposed in the bazaars, and the evident hum of business. Benares is, in fact, a very industrious and wealthy, as well as a very holy city. It is the great mart where the shawls of the north, the diamonds of the south, and the muslins of Dacca and the Eastern provinces centre, and it has very considerable silk, cotton, and fine woollen manufactures of its own; while *English hardware, swords, shields, and spears* from Lucknow and Monghyr, and *those European luxuries and elegancies which*

are daily becoming more popular in India, circulate from hence through Bundelcund, Gorruckpoor, Nepaul, and other tracts which are removed from the main artery of the Ganges.' Vol. I. p. 375.

'European articles are, at Nusseerabad (near Ajmere), as might be expected, very dear. The shops are kept by a Greek and two Parsees from Bombay; they had in their lists all the usual items of a Calcutta warehouse. *English cotton cloths, both white and printed, are to be met with commonly in wear among the people of the country*, and may, I learned to my surprise, be bought best and cheapest, as well as all kinds of hardware, crockery, writing-desks, &c. at Pallee, a large town and celebrated mart in Marwar, on the edge of the desert, several days' journey west of Joudpoor, where, till very lately, no European was known to have penetrated.' Vol. II. pp. 448.

'Chilkeah, though a poor place to look at, is by no means an unimportant one, at certain seasons of the year, being one of the principal marts of trade, both into Kemaon, and through that country into Thibet and Tartary. A great number of temporary huts, ranged in the form of a regular town, were already built, and many more were building for the accommodation of the traders who met in this emporium; and *I was surprised to find English cloths and eastern shawls of good appearance, with many other serviceable and valuable commodities, exposed for sale in huts which scarcely equalled a cottage cow-house in Shropshire.*' Vol. II. p. 243.

When Lord Valentia visited Lucknow in 1803, he was received by the Nabob in a style so contrary to all his previous ideas of Asiatic manners, that he could hardly persuade himself that the whole was not a masquerade. 'An English apartment; a band in English regimentals, playing English tunes; a room lighted by magnificent English girandoles; English tables, chairs, and looking-glasses; an English service of plate; English knives, forks, spoons, wine-glasses, decanters, and cut-glass vases.'* And this at a native court, 650 miles from Calcutta!

'It has been already observed,' remarks Mr. Rickards;

'how very conveniently the casts, and prejudices, and religion of the Hindoos serve, in difficult encounters, to repel hard attacks upon the Indian system. Upon all occasions, too, where these formidable allies are called forth, and arrayed for the contest, it is likewise customary to argue, and dwell upon them, as if the whole population of India were Hindoo; the fifteen millions or more of other good souls, who have neither cast, nor aversion, (save that of the Mussulman to pork,) being placed *hors de combat*, and as much overlooked, as if they belonged to the Antipodes.

'But in a question of this nature, so large a mass of the Indian population must not be neglected. In the first place, then, we have

* Valentia's Travels, Vol. I. p. 108.

from fifteen to twenty millions of persons, whose use of animal food is avowedly habitual; and as free from religious denunciation (with the exception above noticed) as our own; whose appetite for every description of sensual gratification is almost proverbial; and whose monuments of former grandeur prove, that their taste for luxuries, when their means were more ample, were not despicably indulged. To this very numerous portion of the community, the arguments deduced from assumed simplicity of food and habits, are therefore utterly inapplicable. Their expensive and luxurious inclinations never have been denied. Examples, to be sure, are fewer in these, than in former times; but, in the present fallen state of their fortunes, they continue to display the same propensities, tastes, and appetites, which characterised more extensively the age of their richer fathers.

‘ In the next place, what is the real state of the Hindoos ?

‘ The Brahmins, being of abstemious habits, are generally supposed to be prohibited the use of animal food. The law, in respect to Brahmins, will presently be stated. The mixed tribes, composing the great mass of the Hindoo population, are *certainly under no legal restraints in this respect*. Accordingly, the higher classes who can afford it, consume meat daily. Many, it is true, from affectation of Brahminical purity, content themselves with simpler food; and some may be supposed, as in other countries, to prefer it; but the custom of eating animal food is so general, as for example, in Bombay, that a public bazaar or market-place is there set apart for the convenience of the Hindoos, in which mutton, kid, lamb, and fish, are daily sold for Hindoo consumption. It is situated in a separate quarter of the town from that in which meat is sold for the use of the Europeans, and Mussulmans; because, in the latter, the flesh of oxen and cows, and beef calves, killed by low cast people, being exposed, is offensive to Hindoo superstition. I have a personal knowledge of Hindoo families of wealth and respectability, persons, indeed, who claim descent from the second or Cshatrya cast, in which the meats and fish furnished in this bazaar, enter into their ordinary and daily meals.

‘ The Indian seas abound with fish; and the coasts of India, for many thousand miles in extent, are lined with fishermen, who all eat animal food. It has often been remarked that no towns or villages are so populous, in proportion to their extent, as those occupied by fishermen; and the quantities of fish cured on the coast, to be afterwards conveyed for consumption into the interior of the country, is immense. The palankeen bearers are Hindoos, mostly fishermen; and no man, who has kept a palankeen in India, but knows the thankfulness with which his bearers receive a present of a sheep or goat, and the good appetite with which they immediately feast upon it. The Hindoos are in many parts addicted to hunting; and eat wild hog, venison, and other descriptions of game.’ pp. 50—53.

The Writer then proceeds to cite from the laws of Menu, various dietetic regulations and restrictions which prove beyond all contradiction, that the great mass of the Hindoo population

are under no legal restraints in this respect, and that 'the 'twice born' are only prohibited eating certain sorts of unclean flesh-meat, or 'enlarging their own flesh with the flesh of other 'creatures', without first bringing an oblation to the gods. 'We have all heard', remarks Bishop Heber, 'of the humanity of the Hindoos towards brute creatures, their horror of animal food, &c.; and you may, perhaps, be as much surprised as I was, to find that *those who can afford it, are hardly less carnivorous than ourselves*; that even the purest Brahmins eat mutton and venison; that fish is permitted to many castes, and pork to many others.'

'It is true enough', says Mr. Rickards, 'as asserted by the rulers of India, that the great mass of the population, Hindoo, Mussulman, and others, are obliged to live all their days on rice, or the coarsest and the cheapest grains, and to go only half covered with a slight cotton cloth; that the expenses of a labouring man, with a wife and two children, is only about £3 per annum, the article of clothing being only 6s. for this family of four persons. All this I have already admitted. Those who have visited Ireland, may conceive the possibility of human beings, when necessity compels, contriving to drag on a miserable existence in this state of abject poverty and want. But to believe that 100 millions of human beings should be so much in love with this simple system of wretchedness, as to be one and all "resolute to maintain it against innovation," being "what from age to age they have been accustomed to venerate,"—requires a degree of faith in mysteries and marvels, which the strength of natural reason is unable to reach, and which the inspired high priests of the great Temple in Leadenhall Street must therefore be left to expound.

'In the mean time, I would ask any Indian gentleman who has been in the habit of visiting the palaces of the native princes of India, or the habitations of the wealthier natives, Hindoo, Mussulman, or others; of meeting their splendid retinues and equipages abroad; attending their processions—their religious feasts—their marriages and other domestic ceremonies; whether the grandeur and magnificence of their displays, the luxuries, the indulgences, the enjoyments, the profuse expenditure of every kind which he has, in these places, or on these occasions, witnessed, have left on his mind any impression of that unalterable simplicity and poverty, of that *semi-demi* state of clothing and starvation, which the honourable Court would have us believe to be almost an object of idolatrous worship to the natives of India.' pp. 67—69.

A third point on which the most erroneous impressions have prevailed, is the moral character of the Hindoos. For a long time, it was boldly asserted by all the Company's servants and advocates, that nothing could come nearer to a state of primeval innocence and purity, than the social character and conduct of these amiable idolaters; and a reverend divine, the Author of

Indian Antiquities, went so far as to panegyryze their beautiful mythology as a heaven-descended cherub. Our readers will recollect the fury with which any attempt to introduce Christianity into India was opposed, not twenty years ago, by the Twinings and Scott Warings, and other pamphleteers of the day. We had hoped that that race of Anglo-Indians was well nigh extinct, and that we should hear no more of the infidel cant about the much injured and calumniated worshippers of Kali and Krishna. In India, however, it seems that there still remain learned and ingenious persons, whose *phil-Hindooism* runs into the same romantic and irreligious excess. In the third volume of the Bombay Transactions, there is a paper (referred to in our review of that work) by Major Vans Kennedy, in which Mr. Mill's remarks respecting the religion and manners of the Hindoos are made the subject of severe animadversion. From the spirit of the paper, it might be suspected that the learned Writer had himself become a Brahmin. He is particularly angry, that it should be affirmed, on the authorities of Lord Teignmouth, Lord William Bentinck, and Sir Henry Strachey, 'that the situation of Europeans in India is 'such as to preclude them from the acquisition of local knowledge;' and his own paper supplies the most convincing proof of the justness of the assertion. We in vain look throughout the article for any marks of personal acquaintance with the customs, manners, or character of the natives. For any thing that appears to the contrary, it might have been drawn up by a person who had never seen India;—except, indeed, that the lamentable obliquity of judgement which it betrays, is such as we must in charity impute to the peculiar influence of the Indian climate. 'It has been affirmed,' indignantly remarks the Writer, 'that Europeans are commonly *unbaptized* in their 'voyage to India.' How far there may be room for such an assertion in the present instance, our readers shall judge.

'That the religion of the Hindus is a "heterogeneous and monstrous compound," I do not deny; but I at the same time know, that the religion of Greece and Rome was equally heterogeneous and monstrous, and that, notwithstanding, the human mind never reached greater perfection than in these countries. The compass of this paper does not allow me to enter into any discussion respecting the gods and the religious tenets of the Hindus; nor is it necessary, as the question simply is, how far Mr. Mill is correct in asserting, that the Hindu religion has served to degrade morality. But ought not Mr. Mill, in making this assertion, to have defined what he means by morality?'

The learned Writer proceeds to argue, that this involves the question, whether there is any criterion by which virtue can be

distinguished from vice. His residence in India has led him to conclude that there is not. After citing Hume's immoral position, that 'morality is determined by sentiment,' Dr. Reid's definition of conscience, and a remark of Dr. Johnson's, that 'morality is the form of an action which makes it the subject of reward or punishment,' the Major thus continues:—

'Apply one or all of these definitions to any one of the acts of the Hindus which is deemed so monstrous, (*suppose the burning of a widow with her deceased husband,*) and it will be found, that, according to all these definitions, *this act is strictly virtuous, and therefore praiseworthy*; for, *in the spectator, it excites a pleasing sentiment of approbation*; the widow herself has always considered it as right, and the act receives the high reward of beatitude. Apply the same principles to self-immolation, austere penances, or any other similar act of the Hindus; and there will still centre in them all the exciting of a pleasing sentiment of approbation in the spectators, the conviction, and not the conception alone, of their being right, and the certainty of their being recompensed with the highest reward.

'The Christian, of course, recurs to the Bible, and points out, for instance, that self-immolation is condemned by the law of God; but the Hindu refers to books which he considers equally sacred, and shews that, in them, this act, if not expressly enjoined, is declared to be highly meritorious, and to be entitled to the highest rewards. Hence another question arises, and it becomes necessary to determine which of these is the true religion. *It seems, therefore, impossible to decide by any fixed rule, or abstract principle, whether, or not, the various actions which receive approbation or disapprobation among the widely diversified people of this world, ought to be considered in themselves as right or wrong.* But, if this be the case, the whole of the remarks and arguments contained in Mr. Mill's sixth chapter are at once refuted; for there is not a single assertion or opinion advanced in it, which rests not solely on the supposed propriety or impropriety, morality or immorality, of some particular action.'

Having thus triumphantly proved, that, as there is no such thing as a standard of right and wrong, the Hindoos *cannot* be immoral, our exquisite Pyrrhonist proceeds to argue, that, *if they are*, it cannot be the fault of their religion, because 'there never was a people among whom, generally speaking, the outward acts of religion were so little practised. It may indeed be said, that, were it not for the vacant temples and images, and the occasional view of a Brahmin, it would be impossible to suppose that any religion existed in India.' In what part of India this gentleman has resided, it would be difficult to conjecture. After this startling assertion, our readers will not be much surprised to learn, that Major Vans Kennedy denies that the indelicacies of the mythologic histories and religious rites of the Hindoos must necessarily have a demoralizing ten-

dency; and 'more than intimates, that Christianity has itself little better influence upon the morals of those who hold it. 'But I am aware,' he adds,

'that facts, however well authenticated, will not convince the zealous Christian, who believes that idolatry is the abominable thing that God hateth, that it is possible that the Hindus are neither depraved nor vicious. They will still adhere to Mr. Ward's opinion, and think, that the heathenism of the Hindus "is the most puerile, impure, and bloody, of any system of idolatry that was ever established on earth";—that "it communicates no purifying knowledge of the Divine perfections, supplies no one motive to holiness while living, no comfort to the afflicted, no hope to the dying; but, on the contrary, excites to every vice, and hardens its followers in the most flagrant crimes." But what arguments, what reasoning, can be addressed to men who censure Sir W. Jones "for his fine metrical translations of idolatrous hymns;" and condemn "the figures and allusions to the ancient idolatries, retained in almost all modern poetical compositions, and even in some Christian writings?" On them, the experience of ages is lost; for they distinguish not right from wrong by the nature of the action, but by the faith of the man who does it.'

This last assertion comes with peculiar grace from a writer who has just before been labouring to shew, that there is no better criterion. Upon such a writer as this, argument and reasoning would, of course, be thrown away. We shall, therefore, leave his refutation of Mr. Mill and Mr. Ward unanswered, except as to a few facts which we shall presently advert to. The extracts we have given from this paper,—inserted among the approved Transactions of a Literary Society established at one of the three Presidencies, and deriving from that circumstance an importance to which it would not otherwise have been entitled,—will serve to shew in its true character, the spirit of that policy which defends and upholds, in our Indian possessions, the practice of the *suttee*, with other forms of murder and suicide,—which endows and patronises the worship of Kali and Juggernaut,—which punishes a conversion to Christianity with forfeiture of rank and office,—which denounces all missionary exertions as fanatical and mischievous,—and which identifies the mercantile interests of the Company with the perpetuation of this portentous union of atheism and idolatry.

The most remarkable feature in this extraordinary paper, is its unscrupulous denial of the most notorious facts. In this respect, the Major does not yield to Colonel Munro himself, on whose self-contradictory evidence Mr. Rickards has so strongly animadverted. For instance, this writer, in the face of every testimony, denies that the Hindoos are either addicted to perjury or prone to suicide; and he boldly declares, that in

India, 'crimes are of rarer occurrence and of less magnitude than in England.' He has heard, indeed, of such a crime as *decoity*; but this, he says, is peculiar to certain districts of Bengal and Bahar, and 'therefore seems not in the slightest degree congenial with the habits and dispositions of the Hindus.' The inhabitants of the most populous provinces of the Bengal Presidency are, then, to be put quite out of consideration, when we are speaking of Hindoos! But did this learned person ever hear of *Pindarries*? Were those tribes of marauders peculiar to certain districts of Bengal and Bahar, or did they not proceed from the very heart of Hindostan,—Hindoos *par excellence*? Did he never hear of *Thugs*, of whole castes of stranglers, of *Kuradee* Brahmins, of the secret rites of *Kalee*? Really, if this Writer's paper could be taken as a specimen of the state of general information at Bombay, the *literati* of that capital would seem to know far less about either the history of India or the condition of the Hindoos, than any well-informed inhabitant of the British metropolis.

The only semblance of argument by which the Major attempts to support his almost incredible mis-statements, is taken from the comparative fewness of the trials and convictions before the Anglo-Indian courts of circuit, in proportion to the population; from which he wishes his readers to infer, that crimes are less frequent within even the Bengal Presidency, than in this country. In the Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs, the number of trials before the four courts of circuit, comprehending Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in 1802, was 3667, and of convictions, 2820. This, on a population of thirty millions, the Major contends, gives a smaller proportion of crime than in England. But can he honestly think, that the criminal calendar of a country like India, furnishes any index to the crimes which abound in it, any criterion of the state of morals? To any man 'whose powers of perception are not rendered oblique', to use his own expression, by *wre*lligious zeal, would it not be obvious, that the criminal records of a country can be cited as evidence of the frequency or infrequency of crime, only under an efficient system of judicature and police; that, in proportion as the real amount of crime is diminished by the operation of such a system, with the increased facilities of detection, the number of committals and convictions, and consequently the apparent amount of crime, will be augmented? 'In all countries,' says Mr. Tytler, 'justice, although the natural right of the subject, is a very dear commodity; but, in Bengal, its price exceeds, in most instances, its value. The poor Bengalee will rather give up his little

'paternal property, his bit of *lahraje* (rent-free) land, than prosecute his cause in the civil courts. He will rather suffer the injury, if his house be robbed, than undergo the delay and misery of a criminal prosecution. Half, and more than half the injuries committed, are thus concealed. . . . In India, the chances of escape without a trial are, perhaps, double what they are in England; and this proceeds from the unbounded corruption of police-officers, and the want of regard to truth in the witnesses. There is not, in Bengal, one man proof against a bribe. The *dacoits* and robbers, while they have booty, are sufficiently safe, and we have those only sent in who have ceased to pay for their freedom.' Altogether, 'the probabilities that the criminal shall never be brought to trial, are, perhaps, ten to one.'*

The prodigious difference between the number of trials and that of convictions, is thus explained in a report from the circuit-judge of Patna. 'Few of the murders, and only one of the robberies charged, really occurred; the rest are merely fictitious crimes brought forward to harass an opposing litigant, or to revenge a quarrel. The criminal court is the weapon of revenge, to which the natives of this province resort on all occasions.' The same circumstance is mentioned by other judges. On the other hand, no sooner is a culprit brought up for trial, than the utmost cunning and address of the Hindoo character are put forth to defeat the purposes of justice. Especially in the case of *dacoits*, witnesses are intimidated by the threats of revenge. Add to which, the Mussulman law, and the Mussulman mode of procedure in civil and criminal cases, which has been unhappily adopted in India by the Anglo-Indian authorities, is allowed by all competent judges to be 'the most faulty, perhaps, on earth.' Sir Henry Strachey, a judge of circuit in the Calcutta district in 1802, speaking of the increase of licentiousness, says: 'Chicanery, subornation, fraud, and perjury are certainly more common. Drunkenness, prostitution, indecorum, profligacy of manners must increase under a system which, although it professes to administer the Mohammedan law, does not punish those immoralities.' The judge of circuit in the Bareilly division in 1805, warns the Government against supposing that the lists transmitted from the courts exhibit an accurate view of the state of delinquency; inasmuch as the cases are extremely numerous, which are never brought before the magistrates, from the negligence or connivance of the po-

* Tytler's *Considerations*, vol. i. pp. 264, 93, 95.

low-officers and the aversion of the people to draw upon themselves the burthen of a prosecution. Hence it happens, that the less aggravated cases of robbery, with those of theft and fraud, 'are frequently perpetrated, and no records of 'them remain.' Hence, the cases of homicide, which least admit of concealment, occupy the largest space in the criminal calendar. 'The number of persons,' continues the judge, 'convicted of wilful murder, is certainly great. The murder 'of children for the sake of their ornaments, is, I am sorry 'to say, common. For my own part, being convinced that, 'under the existing laws, we have no other means of putting 'an end to the frequent perpetration of this crime, I could 'wish to see the practice of adorning children with valuable 'trinkets altogether prohibited. A want of tenderness and 'regard for life is, I think, very general throughout the country.'

Mr. Warner, the Dacca magistrate, told Bishop Heber, that the numbers of a *dacoit* party were generally exaggerated by the complainants.

'Nevertheless, there was, he said, a great deal of gang-robbery, very nearly resembling the riband-men of Ireland, but unmixed with any political feeling, in all these provinces. It is but too frequent for from five to ten peasants to meet together as soon as it is dark, to attack some neighbour's house, and not only plunder, but torture him, his wife and children, with horrible cruelty, to make him discover his money. These robbers, in the day-time, follow peaceable professions; and some of them are thriving men; while the whole firm is often under the protection of a *zemindar*, who shares the booty, and does his best to bring off any of the gang who may fall into the hands of justice, by suborning witnesses to prove an *alibi*, bribing the inferior agents of the police, or intimidating the witnesses for the prosecution. In this way, many persons are suspected of these practices, who yet go on many years in tolerably good esteem with their neighbours, and completely beyond the reach of a government which requires proof in order to punish. Mr. Warner thinks, the evil has increased since the number of spirit-shops has spread so rapidly. At present, these places bring in a very considerable revenue to Government, and are frequented by multitudes both of the Hindoo and Mussulman population. They are generally resorted to at night; and thus, the drunkenness, the fierce and hateful passions they engender, lead naturally to those results which night favour; at the same time that they furnish convenient places of meeting for all men who may be banded for an illicit purpose. I asked, what the Brahmins said to this: he answered, that the Brahmins themselves were many of them drunkards; and some of them *dacoits*; and that he thought what influence they retained, was less for good or moral restraint than for evil. Yet, he said, that they had a good deal of in-

fluence still, while this had been quite lost by the Mussulman *imams* and *moulaks*.*

We do not cite these testimonies to the melancholy state of society existing more especially in Bengal, as a fair representation of the native character of the Hindoos, but in confutation of Major Vans Kennedy's absurd argument drawn from the alleged infrequency of crime. We are aware that Mr. Tytler lies under the disqualification, as a witness, of being cited by Mr. Mill. He was moreover only a magistrate, not a major or a colonel; and the opinions of military men are, of course, alone entitled to attention. Major Vans Kennedy has a very convenient way of getting rid of all testimony at variance with his own. 'Neither sophistry nor zeal,' he says, 'can avail to disturb the foundations on which belief in human testimony is immoveably fixed; and as long as human judgement remains unperverted, the testimony of a Hastings, a Malcolm, and a Munro, will receive a decided and undisputed preference to that of a Buchanan, a Tennant, or a Tytler.' Thus, the foundations on which belief in human testimony is fixed, is that of disbelieving all testimony that does not happen to tally with our own opinion.

Major Vans Kennedy is welcome to the testimony of Colonel Munro, and even to that of Mr. Hastings,—whose panegyric upon the Hindoo religion as 'so wonderfully fitted to promote the best ends of society', we can well understand and appreciate. But we cannot suffer Sir John Malcolm's name to be mixed up with such authorities. The Major has the candour to impute to 'Ward and Dubois', the 'pious fraud' of representing 'as worship of adoration, what is merely a mark of respect on the part of the natives.' In the very same volume in which this aspersion is vented, there is a paper by this same Sir John Malcolm, which, among other striking illustrations of Hindoo customs, contains the following passage.

'The sword is celebrated under several names, and all its attributes are praised. "Thy sharp edge", says the supplicant, "pierces the vitals of an enemy; and to thee, justice and tranquillity owe their existence. The universe is thy vast empire; for, on thy valour did the gods bestow the earth." . . . Other weapons are also praised; and though fire-arms are not enumerated, as not existing when these ce-

* Heber, l. 216, 17. Among the cases under investigation was that of a wealthy Brahmin, 'accused of having procured his enemy to be seized and carried before the altar of Kahi, in his private house, and having there cut off his head; after the manner in which sheep and hogs are sacrificed to their deities.'

ceremonies were instituted, yet, *the modern Hindoo soldier gives these weapons that pre-eminence as objects of adoration*, to which their superiority as an offensive instrument entitles them. The Hindoo artillery-man at all times regards *the gun* to which he is attached, as an object of superstitious reverence, and usually bestows on it the name of some deity. During the Doorga festival, the cannon belonging to the army, are painted, praised, *invoked, and propitiated by every species of offering*. The adoration of the Hindoos appears to increase with the size of the gun. A friend informs me, that, on visiting the ruins of Bejapoor, he noticed that the people who accompanied him to see the great gun, called *Malikee Meidan*, made, on retiring, successively, their obeisance and adoration to it. The muzzle was smeared with vermilion and oil, and the bore strewn with white flowers.' p. 82.

Sir John Malcolm's evidence, as given before the House of Commons, in 1813, is in strict accordance with those very testimonies which it is adduced by Major Vans Kennedy to invalidate. For instance, Mr. Tytler, the special object of this Writer's spleen, remarks, that 'a wide distinction is always to be drawn between the Hindoos of Bengal, and those of the Upper Provinces. The Bengalee is mean, insidious, cowardly, litigious: the other is independent, open, brave.'* Sir John Malcolm's testimony is as follows.

'The character of the different classes of Hindoos, which compose a great proportion of the population of the subjects of the British Government in India, varies in different parts of that empire; perhaps, as much, if not more, than the nations of Europe do from each other. Under the Bengal establishment, there are two descriptions of Hindoos, of a very distinct race. Below Patna, the race of Hindoos called Bengalese, I consider to be weak in body and in mind, and to be in general marked by the accompaniments of timidity, which are fraud and servility. I think, as far as my observation went, this class appeared to diminish, both in their bodily strength and mental qualities, as they approached the coast; and those below Calcutta, are, I think, in character and appearance, among the lowest of all our Hindoo subjects. But, from the moment that you enter the district of Bahar, or rather the district of Benares, throughout all the territories in that quarter subject to the Company and their dependent ally, the Nabob of Oude, and the Duab, the Hindoo inhabitants are a race of men, generally speaking, not more distinguished for their lofty stature, which rather exceeds that of Europeans, and their robust frame of body, which, in almost all, is tuned to martial toil by exercises, (I speak more particularly of the Rajpoots, who form a considerable proportion of this population,) than they are for some of the finest qualities of the mind. They are brave, generous, and humane; and their truth is as remarkable as their courage. The great proportion of the army of the Bengal es-

* See Mill, vol. i. p. 407.

tablishment is composed of these men; and it is remarkable that there are few corporal punishments in that army, the slightest reproach being felt as the greatest punishment is among other nations.

‘I have spoken more to the military class of the Hindoos, than to the others, because I am more acquainted with them; but, from all I ever heard of those who follow civil pursuits, it is much the same, allowing for the difference of the habits of life, as that of the Bengal sepoy. On the coast of Coromandel, the Hindoo is a weaker man than the Rajpoot; but still, there are among them many classes who are highly respectable. On the other side of India, under the Presidency of Bombay, the Hindoos, inhabitants of Gujerat, are chiefly Mahrattas; and from all I have heard or seen of them, are much superior to the inhabitants that I have described along the coast of Bengal, and even to those along the coast of the Carnatic.’—*Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. pp. 167, 8.

Major Vans Kennedy, in his zeal to vindicate the Hindoos, falls, in fact, into precisely the same error with those whom he charges with traducing them,—that of confounding several very distinct tribes, differing widely in their physical character, under a common name. This will not, indeed, explain all the discrepancies which are to be found in the testimonies of different gentlemen, relating to *the same race*—the natives of Bengal. But it may serve to account in some degree for the opposite estimates formed of the Hindoos generally, as brave and cowardly, trustworthy and faithless, sober and drunken, tall and diminutive, cleanly and filthy, mild and cruel,—by individuals of equal respectability. It is no easy task, to catch and define the features of national character; but what should we think of a writer who undertook to portray the character of *the Europeans*? The nations of India differ scarcely less widely, in their language, physiognomy, and even their religion, than the Portuguese do from the Germans, or the Italians from the Dutch. Into this subject we cannot at present enter at greater length; and we shall close this article with a few detached extracts from Bishop Heber’s Journal and Letters, in which that amiable man, who evidently wished to think favourably of the Hindoos, gives the result of his personal observation.

‘On the whole, they are a lively, intelligent, and interesting people. Of the upper classes, a very considerable proportion learn our language, read our books and our newspapers, and shew a desire to court our society. . . . Every day offers instances of the vivacity of these fellows (the boatmen), who are, in fact, always chattering, singing, laughing, or playing with each other. Yet I have met many people in Calcutta who gravely complain of the apathy and want of vivacity in the natives of India. My own observation, both of these men and of the peasants and fishermen whom we passed, is of a very

different character. They are active, lively, gossiping, and laborious enough when they have any motive to stimulate them to exertion. Their own religion is, indeed, a horrible one; far more so than I had conceived. It gives them no moral precepts; it encourages them in vice by the style of its ceremonies and the character given of its deities; and, by the institution of caste, it hardens their hearts against each other to a degree which is often most revolting. . . . Many of the crimes which fall under the cognizance of the magistrates, and many of the ancient and sanctified customs of the Hindoos, are marked with great cruelty. The *decoits*, who are common all over the country, though they seldom attack Europeans, continually torture the peasants to force them to bring out their little treasures. . . . I need say nothing of the burning of widows; but it is not so generally known, that persons now alive remember *human sacrifices* near Calcutta. A very respectable man of my acquaintance, himself by accident and without the means of interfering, witnessed one of a boy of fourteen or fifteen, in which nothing was so terrible as the perfect indifference with which the tears, prayers, and caresses even, which the poor victim lavished on his murderers, were regarded. After this, it is hardly worth while to go on to shew that crimes of rapine, and violence, and theft, are very common. But what I would chiefly urge, is, that, for all these horrors, their system of religion is mainly answerable; inasmuch as whatever moral lessons their sacred books contain, are shut up from the mass of the people, while the direct tendency of their institutions is to evil. The national temper is decidedly good, gentle, and kind; they are sober, industrious, affectionate to their relations; generally speaking, faithful to their masters; easily attached by kindness and confidence; and in the case of the military oath, are of admirable obedience, courage, and fidelity in life and death. But their morality does not extend beyond the reach of positive obligations; and where these do not exist, they are oppressive, cruel, treacherous, and every thing that is bad.

Art. VI. *A Journey to Morocco*, in 1826. By Capt. G. Beauclerk, Tenth Infantry. 8vo. pp. 356. Plates. Price 1*l.* 1*s.* London. 1828.

WE are indebted to Capt. Beauclerk for assuring us, that 'that correct writer of travels, Ali Bey, has not only' (in reference to the countries which he traversed) 'reaped the harvest, but has *gleaned* it too so carefully, that hardly any thing remains for' the present Writer 'to tell, but "the tale of a straw."' 'The strictest reliance', adds Capt. B., 'may be placed in the truth of his narrative concerning those parts of Morocco through which I have travelled, where his name is well known.' We do not say that this information is quite worth the high price set upon the present volume; but there are some pretty lithograph engravings, which shew that the Writer handles the pencil better than the pen. The volume

contains, moreover, a number of stories, not always very decent, some lively remarks on the angelic beauty of the Jewish women, and a few amusing details, which will, no doubt, render it acceptable to light readers; although we must confess that it has not materially added to our information with respect to the country which the Author visited.

Art. VII. *Occasional Thoughts on Select Texts of Scripture.* By the late John Mason Good, M.D. 12mo. pp. 194. Price 3s. 6d. London. 1898.

WE regret that these "Occasional Thoughts" were not printed as an appendix to Dr. Gregory's interesting memoir of their Author. In this detached form, they lose much of their value, as they want the key which the Memoir supplies. The circumstances under which they appear, preclude all criticism upon these fugitive papers, which were never designed, we apprehend, for publication. They will not be unacceptable within the circle of Dr. Good's friends, and may be read with advantage by others; but the price of the volume is quite disproportioned to the quantity of the contents.

ART. VIII. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

EDUCATION.

The History of Little Jack in French and English, adapted for the use of an Englishman learning French, and of a Frenchman learning English, by a Two-fold Key, constructed on the Principles of the Hamiltonian System. By Philip Orkney Skene. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

HISTORY.

Historical Sketches of the Ancient Native Irish and their Descendants; illustrative of their past and present State, with regard to Literature, Education, and Oral Instruction. By Christopher Anderson. 12mo. 5s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Works of Samuel Parr, LL.D. Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Curate of Hatton, &c. With Memoirs of his Life and Writings, and a Selection from his Correspondence. By John Johnstone,

M.D. In 8 vols. 8vo. with Portraits. 7l. 7s. Royal Paper. 12l. 12s.

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King James the Second; or, the Revolution of 1688: a Dramatic Poem. With Historical and other Notes. By John Crawford Whitehead, M.D. 8vo. 8s. 6d. Hymns, chiefly on the Parables of Christ. By D. R. Ford. 18mo. Cloth, 2s. 6d.

THEOLOGY.

Occasional Thoughts on Select Texts of Scripture. By the late John Mason Good, M.D. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

Sermons intended for the Use of Families, or to be read in Villages. By the Rev. W. Garthwaite. 1 vol. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

TRAVELS.

A Spinster's Tour in France, the States of Genoa, &c. during the Year 1827. 12mo. 10s. 6d.

* * * *The Select Literary Information and some other articles, are unavoidably reserved for the next Number, which will contain an additional half sheet, to supply the deficiency of the present Number in point of quantity.*

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR OCTOBER 1828.

Art. I. 1. *A History of the Mahrattas.* By James Grant Duff, Esq. Captain in the First or Grenadier Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, and late Political Resident at Satara. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 1566. Price 2l. 15s. London, 1826.

2. *Letters addressed to a Young Person in India,* calculated to afford Instruction for his Conduct in general, and more especially in his Intercourse with the Natives. By Lieut.-Col. John Briggs, late Resident at Satara. 12mo. pp. 242. Price 7s. 6d. London, 1828.

THE number of publications continually issuing from the press, upon subjects connected with India, might seem to amount to a palpable refutation of the remark, that the public take a slender and limited interest in the affairs of our Eastern possessions. It must be presumed, that there is a demand for such works, which prompts their liberal supply; and indeed, some few of these publications have passed through more than one edition. Mr. Mill's *History* has even reached a third. Notwithstanding these exceptions, it will, however, be found, that the interest excited by works relating to India, is by no means either intense or general, but is chiefly confined to that portion of the British public in this country and in India, whose worldly interests, personal recollections, or relative connexions, give them individually a concern in our Asiatic possessions. On looking over the catalogue of costly quartos, learned and dry, or light and picturesque, for which India has furnished a theme, it will be found, that some have been published at the expense or under the patronage of the Honourable Company; others have been forced into circulation by a subscription; a few have been printed to gratify a private cir-

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cle of friends; some have been still-born; and not a few of the more valuable have been of a description to interest only the man of science, or to find purchasers only among the wealthy. With the exception of Captain Sherer's lively little volume, which would have sold as well wherever the scene of the Sketches had been laid, Bishop Heber's Journal is the first work, relating exclusively to India, which can be considered as having awakened any considerable degree of popular attention. In this point of view, its value and importance are very highly to be estimated. Being dead, the amiable Author yet speaketh, and may, perhaps, speak more loudly and effectively for that country to whose welfare he had sincerely consecrated himself, than he could have done by his living voice. We apprehend that it will be owing, in part, to the attention which his volumes have thrown round the subject, if our readers shall be brought to give their patient attention to the articles which from time to time we shall have occasion to introduce.

Every reader of Bishop Heber will, we imagine, feel a curiosity to know something about the history of the country and people which he describes. Without some general information of this kind, the names and titles of the various personages referred to, and the complicated divisions and sub-divisions of the country, must be not a little perplexing. The Rohillas, the Jauts, the Patans, the Khasyas, the Rajpoots, the Mahrattas, the Pindarries, the Bheels, the Jains, &c. present a barbarous array of nations, tribes, and sects, unknown to ancient history or to western literature, and the very nomenclature of which is somewhat appalling. Then, instead of meeting with kings or sultans, governors or pashas, as in the accounts of other countries, the annals of India present to the unfamiliar ear, the enigmatical titles of the Mogul, the Vizier, the Peishwa, the Soubahdar, the Nabob, the Nizam, the Maharajah, the Rannee, the Zamorin, the Bhonslay, the Guikwar; together with those mysterious personages, the Residents, the Political Agents, &c. with their whole train of *sirdars*, *goomashas*, *soubahdars*, and other officers, Moslem or Hindoo. When to this source of perplexity we add the confusion arising from an ever-shifting frontier, an ever-changing administration; and an ever-varying orthography in describing the same scenes and transactions, we shall have accounted, perhaps, in some measure, for the repulsive aspect of most narratives or discussions relating to the country in question.

We know not how far the slight articles which have at intervals appeared in this Journal, have succeeded in throwing any light upon the tangled tissue of Indian affairs. In review-

ing the volumes of Sir John Malcolm, Mr. Prinsep, and Col. Blacker*, it was necessary to give our readers credit for some previous acquaintance with the terms employed and the parties referred to. But the valuable historical work now before us, (which claimed, indeed, our earlier notice,) presents an occasion of which we are tempted to avail ourselves, to lay before our readers a brief outline of that important section of Indian history which it contributes so essentially to illustrate.

'The want of a complete history of the rise, progress, and decline of our immediate predecessors in conquest, the Mahrattas, has long been felt,' Capt. Grant Duff remarks, 'by all persons conversant with the affairs of India.'

'The indefatigable Orme has left his Fragments as a monument of his research, accompanied by an attestation of the labour which they cost him. The subsequent attempt of Mr. Scott Waring proved not only the difficulties of which Mr. Orme's experience had warned us, but that, at a period comparatively recent, those who had the best opportunities of collecting information respecting the Mahrattas, were still very deficient in a knowledge of their history. Circumstances placed me in situations which at once removed many of the obstacles which those gentlemen encountered, and threw materials within my reach, which had been previously inaccessible. Nevertheless, the labour and the expense requisite for completing these volumes can be appreciated only by those who assisted me in the design, or who have been engaged in similar pursuits in India.'

On the subversion of the Poona Government in 1818, all the Mahratta state papers, with an immense mass of both public and secret documents, came into the possession of the British authorities. To these, the Author was favoured with the freest access, while the records of the Satara Government were placed under his own immediate charge. Being also permitted to examine those of the Bombay Government, he had 'read the whole, both public and secret, up to 1795, and had 'extracted what formed many large volumes of matter', when the chief secretary put into his hands a compilation from the records, made by himself, which afforded materials amply sufficient for the history of the subsequent period. The political agent at Surat extracted for our Author the whole of the records of the old Surat factory; the viceroy at Goa liberally furnished him with extracts from the records of the Portuguese Government; and the Court of Directors allowed him to have partial access to those in the East India House. One can

* Ecl. Rev. N.S. Vol. xxii. pp. 115, 342, 528.

easily conceive the delight with which Orme would have availed himself of these enviable facilities for prosecuting his favourite researches. But, besides all these sources of information, manuscripts of every description, in Persian and Mahratta,—records of temples, family legends, imperial deeds and state papers, law-suits and law decisions, were procured from all quarters. Upwards of one hundred of these manuscripts, we are told, some of them histories at least as voluminous as the Author's whole work, were translated purposely for it. Of these materials, thus laboriously accumulated, such good use has been made, that they could not have fallen into more competent hands.

The history of the Mahrattas is but another phrase for the history of India during the seventeenth century. They rose with the decline, and attained the zenith of their power on the fall, of the Mogul empire. They received their first most important check from the Dooraunees of Caubul, in the field of Paniput, in the year 1760; and their annihilation as a military power by Lord Hastings, has made the British the undisputed masters of Hindostan. Such is the brief outline of their political history. As a nation, however, the Mahrattas, or the Hindoos of Maharashtra, are to be considered as comprising one of the original and not the least powerful of the grand divisions of the Brahminical population of India. Succeeding geographically to the Gujerattees southward, they appear to have possessed themselves of the whole north-western portion of the Deccan, where they met the Telinga and Tamul tribes of Southern India; their eastern limits being determined by Orissa, where a different dialect prevails, more nearly allied, apparently, to that of Magadha or Bahar; while northward, the Sautpoora mountains and the Nerbuddah divided them from the tribes of Central India. Owing to their geographical position, they have probably been less mixed with other races than any of the other Hindoo nations, and may therefore be supposed to retain more of the primitive characteristics.

When Baber made himself master of Hindostan, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, two Pagan monarchies yet survived the Patan and Mogul conquests. One of these was that of the Rana of the Rajpoots; the other and more powerful prince was the Rajah of Bijanugger, whose successors maintained themselves in the Carnatic till the middle of the seventeenth century. At that period, there appears to have existed, properly speaking, no Mahrattâ kingdom; but there seems little room to doubt, that the Rajahs of Deoghur were, prior to the Mohammedan conquests of the fourteenth century, the sovereigns of an extensive territory comprising the greater

portion of Maharashtra; and that, on the overthrow of that state, the mountainous region of Baglana gave shelter to those who refused to bow to the conquerors.

The earliest sovereignty in the Mahratta country, of which we have any authentic account, is that of which Tagara was the metropolis. This city was frequented by Alexandrian merchants two hundred and fifty years before the Christian era; and the Author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* particularly mentions it as a famous emporium. Its name, Captain Grant Duff states, is well known to learned Hindoos, although its exact position is not ascertained: Major Wilford supposes it to have occupied the site of Deoghur or Dowletabad; but our Author has adduced strong reasons for concluding, that its situation was much more to the south east, 'probably on the bank of the Godavery, a little to the N. E. of the modern town of Bheer.' He is of opinion, however, that Deoghur succeeded to the honours of Tagara; 'Tagara, Paithana (Puttun), and Deogurh', it is remarked, 'seems each to have been the metropolis of the same tract of country at different periods.'* The power of the Rajahs of Tagara, is supposed to have originated by conquest from the northward.

In the year 77—78 of the Christian era, Shalivahan, a person of an inferior caste, succeeded in establishing himself in the sovereignty; and he greatly enlarged his dominions by conquest. He is stated in particular to have annexed to his empire the territory of the Rajah of Asseer. This prince claimed a descent from Sisooday, a Rajpoot Rajah of the Solar race, who emigrated from Oude, and founded a state on the southern side of the Nerbuddah, which, at the period of its overthrow, had existed 1680 years. Shalivahan put to death all the members of this family, except one woman, who escaped with her infant son to the Sautpoora mountains; and this son afterwards became, according to Hindoo legends, the founder of the family of the Ranas of Cheitore. Shalivahan long waged war with Vikramajeet, the sovereign of Malwah, with whom he is said to have at last concluded a treaty by which the Nerbuddah was made their mutual boundary. The accession of this prince forms the Mahratta era, which still continues to be used south of the Deccan. That of Vikramajeet, which prevails north of the Nerbuddah, corresponding to B. C. 57, is 183 years earlier, and must therefore refer to the accession of a former monarch of that name. Some manuscripts, Captain Grant Duff informs us, deduce a succession of rajahs from this Shalivahan to Jadow Ramdeo Rao, who was the

* Bombay Transactions, vol. iii. p. 393.

reigning prince at Deogurh, at the time of the first appearance of the Mohammedans in that quarter, towards the end of the thirteenth century. Whether Deogurh had become the capital of this region by another revolution, or by a voluntary removal of the seat of government, is unknown. Rajah Shalivahan is said to have made Puttun his capital; but it is probable, that Tagara continued to be governed by tributary rajahs, long after the subversion of its ascendancy. By a grant of land found at Tannah in Bombay, it appears, that there was a Rajah reigning in or near the Island of Salsette, A. D. 1018, who claimed descent from Jimuta Vahana, lord of Tagara. And a similar grant found at Satara, proves that, towards the close of the same century, there was a Rajah at Panalla, in the heart of the Mahratta country, who also claimed a descent from the illustrious Jimuta Vahana: he is styled, 'lord of an extensive principality, and chief of the nobles of the city of Tagara, born of the race of Shilahara.*' To this Rajah is ascribed the erection of fifteen of the forts, (among the rest, that of Satara,) the number and strength of which forms so remarkable a feature in this part of the country. He, too, was doomed to see his country reduced by a Rajpoot invader; and after his death, the territory fell into the hands of Mahratta polygars.

The historical axiom of Sir John Marsham, *Quot urbes tot regna*, will apply to India scarcely less closely than to Egypt. At different periods of history, a conqueror has started up, who has succeeded in reducing the sovereignties of neighbouring cities and states to the condition of feudatories, and in extending his supremacy over an extensive region. But not unfrequently, the death of the individual has been followed by the immediate dismemberment of the empire,—in other words, by the re-assertion of independence on the part of the petty kings or rajahs who had been compelled to do him homage. An hereditary empire of any extent or duration, the authentic annals of ancient history will scarcely be found to present. The law of hereditary succession, though not always in connexion with the right of primogeniture, has been pretty generally respected, in all ages, by the mass of the governed; but governors and nobles, princes and barons, have been less disposed to acquiesce in hereditary claims to an invidious supremacy; and one half of the civil contests that have desolated the East, have arisen out of disputes respecting the imperial prerogatives. This must ever be the case in a country, the government of which is essentially aristocratical, like old Ger-

* Bombay Trans. vol. iii. p. 395. As. Res. vol. i. 361.

many, England in the olden time, and Hindoostan under its native Rajpoot rajahs. Provinces, under such a condition of things, are kingdoms,—either independent monarchies or federal states. According to the Brahmins, Bharat-khund comprised, in ancient times, no fewer than ten great kingdoms, corresponding to which, Mr. Colebrooke enumerates ten distinct dialects; the Pracrit, the Hindee, the Tirhootiya, the Bengalee, the Gujurattee, the Mahratta, the Orissa, the Telinga, the Canarese, and the Tamul. Each of these ten kingdoms, however, will be found to have been, at different periods, subdivided into smaller states and rival monarchies*; while at other times, they have been consolidated for a time, by conquest or defensive confederacies, into larger empires. Rama may have conquered Ceylon, and Vikramajeet may have extended his dominion from Cashmeer to Cape Comorin; but, like Sesostris and Alexander, they left no undivided empire to their successors.

The most striking feature in the social polity of the Hindoos, is the division of the whole country into distinct village communities or townships, which appears to have obtained from the highest antiquity. This system can have originated only with a nation essentially agricultural in their habits, as the Hindoos were, no doubt, in primitive times; being in direct contrast with the aristocratical constitution which society necessarily assumes in a military people. It presents to us, in fact, a primitive democracy; such, however, as might well comport with a theocratic or hieratic government,—like that which existed in Palestine or in Egypt. Colonel Mark Wilks was, we believe, the first writer who brought distinctly under notice this very interesting peculiarity in the internal structure of Hindoo society; so different from the institutions of their Mohammedan conquerors and the northern tribes of shepherds and warriors. ‘Every Indian village is’, says the Historian of Mysore, ‘and appears always to have been, in fact, a separate community or republic; and exhibits a living picture of that state of things which theorists have imagined in the earlier stages of civilization, when men have assembled in communities for the purpose of reciprocally administering to each other’s wants.’† In the third volume of the Bombay

* According to Megasthenes, the Greek envoy at the court of Sandracottus, India was, at that era, divided among 122 several nations; and Major Rennell remarks, that, in the Punjaub alone, at the time of the Macedonian invasion, we find no fewer than seven nations, and along the lower parts of the Indus, many more. See Rennell’s Memoir, p. 130.

† Wilks’s South of India, p. 117.

Transactions, a minute description is given of one of these townships, furnished by a gentleman who resided for seventeen years at Poona, during which period he successfully extended the benefits of vaccination to the surrounding country; and the familiar access which he by this means obtained to the interior of Indian society, afforded him an opportunity which few Europeans have enjoyed, of acquiring an intimate knowledge of every minute circumstance of their social economy. For our present purpose, the brief account contained in Colonel Briggs's Letters, will be sufficiently explicit. The original mode in which the natives conceive that a village was peopled and settled, is thus described.

' The Potail (Mokuddum, Gowr, or Reddy, as he is indifferently called in the several languages of India) is supposed, in the first instance, to apply to the sovereigns for permission to occupy a spot of waste forest land, unattached to any township. Having obtained that permission, he proceeds to the place, attended by his relations, carrying a basket on his head, containing a few implements of domestic use and of husbandry, besides offerings for the local deity. After the necessary sacrifice to the gods, measures are taken to construct huts, and to congregate the members of the village community. These consist at first of a village accountant (usually a Bramin), a carpenter, a smith, a barber, a currier, a watchman, a waterman (who distributes the running water of streams over the cultivated lands); besides other officers, who are requisite in some villages, but not necessary in all. Each of these is a member of a distinct tribe, and can follow no other occupation than that to which he is destined by birth. These persons are retained in the village by annual stipends, payable either in kind (each cultivator contributing a portion of his crop) or by allotments of land.

' Having established the village officers, the potail, or chief of this little society, usually agrees, in the name of the agriculturists, to clear the land, and to till it on the following conditions. First, That the land so cleared shall not be liable to any tax for a term, say the first three years. Secondly, That after the fourth year, the tax payable to Government shall be fixed at a maximum equal to one third or one fifth of the gross produce, as the case may be, which shall be paid as follows; viz. one seventh part of the tax on the fourth year, two sevenths on the fifth year, and so on, increasing one seventh part annually for seven successive years, till the whole amount of the land-tax be completed. Thirdly, That the tax shall be levied on cultivated land only, and that fair remissions shall be made of a portion of the tax, at the discretion of Government, in cases of entire failure of crops, arising out of the destruction occasioned by the elements, termed *Asmāny*, or by the devastation of armies, termed *Sooltāny*.

' The management of the details, whether of fields or realizing the taxes from each cultivator, belongs wholly to the potail, or head-man; and he is too much controlled by public opinion to be guilty of any

act of very glaring injustice, without risk of exposure or liability to punishment. The mere collection of the revenue by the potail, does not cost the Government one farthing, as the hereditary land he holds, and the perquisites of his office, are intended to remunerate him for his trouble and responsibility, and to maintain him in sufficient respectability to enable him to perform this and other official duties with effect.

‘ Besides the Government-tax, is an additional one, not unlike our parish rates, though applicable to different purposes; the nature of which may be easily conceived from the following examples:—

- ‘ To feeding Brahmins on particular festivals.
- ‘ To lighting the village temples and gates.
- ‘ To expenses incurred on certain anniversaries.
- ‘ To feeding travellers and strangers; one meal to each.
- ‘ To repairing a part of the village wall.
- ‘ To repairing the chief temple.
- ‘ To constructing a new gate for the village.
- ‘ Paid to certain men for killing the tiger which long infested the neighbourhood, &c.

‘ Much discretion is necessarily left to the potail in incurring these expenses, many of which are fixed and admitted by the Government annually, while others are casual and temporary. It is usually supposed that great abuses exist in the exercise of the latitude allowed to the potail under the native governments; but where the superior local officers are open to complaints, and the head-man liable to punishment, the individual injury sustained is trifling, in a general point of view, compared with the benefit which accrues to the people, and to the government, by confiding the management of the village concerns to its own community. The importance of upholding this system is not at once apparent, till trial is made of some other; and the experience we have already had in legislating for the Indians, does not encourage us to hope for much improvement by abolishing their institutions.’ Briggs, pp. 146—152.

‘ Such are the primitive component parts,’ in Col. Wilks’s opinion, ‘ of *all* the kingdoms of India. Their technical combination to compose districts, provinces, or principalities, of from ten to a hundred thousand villages, has,’ he remarks, ‘ been infinitely diversified, at different periods, by the wisdom or caprice of the chief ruler, or by the vigour and resistance of those who have coveted independence for themselves, and the power to govern the greatest possible number of their fellow creatures.’ But, ‘ the interior constitution and condition of each township has remained unchanged: no revolutions affect it; no conquest reaches it.’ ‘ Each village,’ says Colonel Munro, ‘ is a kind of little republic, with the potail at the head of it; and India is a mass of such republics. The inhabitants, during war, look chiefly to their own potail. They give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and di-

'vision of kingdoms: while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred. Wherever it goes, the internal management remains unaltered: the potail is still the collector, and magistrate, and head farmer. From the age of Menu until this day, the settlements have been made either with or through the potails.*'

The 'bigoted Mohammedans,' who at first acknowledged no civil rights in their Hindoo subjects, shewed little respect to this village magistracy, which ill suited their ideas of military government; few traces of it, therefore, are to be found in the northern provinces. Nor does it seem at all more congenial with the habits of the Rajpoot tribes. We question, indeed, whether it was ever adopted by them. Even those Rajpoot chiefs, who acknowledge Mahratta rulers as their lords paramount, have a distinct jurisdiction and separate form of administration within their respective limits, differing little in principle, Sir John Malcolm says, from the feudal system of Europe. They are the *Normans* of Hindostan; and the agricultural tribes of the Deccan, with their democratic institutions, are the Saxons who were doomed to retreat or bow before these martial conquerors. The former are, in almost all respects, the very opposites of the Mahrattas, with whom they have been at perpetual variance. They appear to be the remains of the Canyacobja nation, the genuine Hindoostanees, whose original seat was Delhi and Oude. 'We know from concurring evidence,' says the high authority last cited, 'that all the Rajpoot tribes trace their origin from Ayodhya or Oude; and their chiefs (in Central India), whom they term princes, were probably no more than leaders or viceregents from the Hindoo sovereigns of Canoje. . . . There is, in short, every reason to conclude, that, before the Mohammedan invasion, the armies of the monarchs of Canoje and Delhi, which were chiefly composed of the Rajpoot tribe, made a partial conquest of this province. When these monarchs were, in their turn, obliged to yield to the Mohammedan invaders, the tide of the warlike clan of the Rajpoots rolled south, and, in its course, overwhelmed the weaker inhabitants of the countries towards which it was impelled.† The Rajpoots of Central India, unlike other Hindoos, pay comparatively little attention to Brahmins. 'A holy man of this tribe,' we are told, 'has a share of their respect and veneration; but their priests are the *Charuns* and *Bhâts*, who, to the direction of their superstitious devotions, add the office of chroniclers of their che-

* Wilks's South of India, Vol. i. pp. 117—121.

† Malcolm's Central India, Vol. ii. pp. 126, 7.

‘rished fame, and that of their ancestors. It is to them that the proudest Rajpoot looks for solace in adversity, and for increased joy and exultation in prosperity.’*

As the Rajpoot tribes differed in their martial habits from the feeblér races of the South, so, they blended to a far greater extent with their Mussulman conquerors. The first Patan emperors were induced by a jealous policy to court into their service this class of Hindoos, as a check upon their own turbulent soldiery or ambitious *omrahs*; and in their willing allegiance to the house of Timour, some of the proudest of the Rajpoot princes merged all their national and religious prejudices, so far as to deem it an honour for their daughters to enter the imperial haram. It is remarkable that they have shared in the political decline of the Moslem dynasties, and have, in their turn, given way before the Mahrattas of Central India.

For upwards of three hundred years, the Mahrattas had, as a nation, been lost sight of, and the very name of a Mahratta government had fallen into oblivion; when, in the seventeenth century, they started up from their native hills, a new and almost unknown race of people. A bond of union, however, still existed, which neither time nor conquest had been able entirely to dissolve. The religion of the vanquished was still different from that of the conquerors: and the Mahratta language, which continued to be spoken over the whole extent of the ancient Maharashtra, gave a national character to the powerful confederacy which was founded upon religious feeling. The cause of the Mahrattas had, in all its early stages, the character of a holy war; and the appearance of Brahmins at the head of their armies, gave, in the first instance, force to this impression. Yet, it is remarkable, that, previously to their resuming, under the celebrated adventurer Sivajee Bhonslay,

* Malcolm's Central India, Vol. ii. p. 131. ‘The Rajpoot princes of India,’ says Colonel Tod, ‘have been, and still are, frequently poets themselves; resembling many of the princes of Europe about the same period, many of whom were no mean troubadours. Cœur de Lion, who, with Blondel, bears some resemblance to the Long-armed *Chohan* and his faithful *chand* (bard), was no bad poet. Pratap Sinh, Raja of Bakanair, was esteemed the first of the non professional bards of his time. But it is not in these points alone, that similarity of character exists between the Rajpoot and the rude noble of the dark ages of Europe. The feudal law which guided both, may still be traced. . . . He who will compare the heroic poetry of the martial Rajpoots with the Scandinavian poetical relics, will observe the same imagery, a similar peopling of the celestial regions, the same incitements to glory, and similar rewards.’ Trans. of Roy. Asiatic Society, Vol. i. p. 149.

the character of a nation, their chiefs were found serving under the Mohammedan sovereigns of the Deccan; and 'neither national sentiment nor unity of language and religion prevented their fighting against each other.'

'Not only,' remarks their present Historian, 'did Mahratta subjects of these governments' (Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur) 'stand in array opposite to each other, but the most active enmity was frequently evinced between members of the same family. They fought with rancour wherever individual dispute or hereditary feuds existed; and that spirit of rivalry in families, which was fomented by the kings of the Bahminee dynasty, was one means of keeping the Mahrattas poised against each other in the dynasties which succeeded them.' Vol. I. p. 84.

The Mogul invasions for the purpose of subverting the kingdoms of Ahmednuggur, Bejapoor, and Golcondah, had a great influence on the rise of the Mahrattas. Several of the principal chiefs in the service of those monarchs were induced, by dazzling offers or prospects of advancement, to desert their standard and go over to the Moguls. Among others, in 1629, the father of Sivajee made a tender of his services to Shahjehan, who immediately promoted him to the rank of a commander of 6000 horse. Some time after, taking disgust at being deprived of some of his *jagheers* (lands held on military tenure), he entered into the interests of the Bejapoor Government, and during the minority of the young prince, exercised the powers of regent.

'By the assistance of some Brahmins, he commenced regulating the country, got possession of most of the forts, occupied the districts in the name of the new king, and collected troops from all quarters. The whole of that part of the Concan which had belonged to the kingdom of Ahmednuggur, and the districts as far east as Ahmednuggur, extending from the Neera river on the south, to the Chandore range on the north, with the exception of a few of the garrisoned places, were, for a time, overrun by Shahjee.'

Vol. I. p. 111.

The fame of Shahjee has been so completely eclipsed by that of his more illustrious son, that the fact of his having acted so distinguished a part, has been but little known; and the Author has been indebted for his information on this head to Mahratta manuscripts. For his eminent services in the Carnatic, he was invested by Mohammed Adil Shah, the king of Bejapoor, with the extensive *jagheers* in the neighbourhood of Poona and Satarah, which were destined to be the cradle of the Mahratta power; and the seat of a future dynasty in the line of his descendants.

Sivajee was born in the fort of Sewnerree, about fifty miles north of Poona, in May 1627. Under the care of his guardian, a Brahmin high in the confidence of Shahjee, he received such an education as was deemed proper for a person of his birth.

'Mahrattas seldom can write or read: they consider all such learning the business of a *carcoon*, and, if not degrading, at least undignified. Sivajee could never write his name, but he was a good archer and marksman, skilled in the use of the spear and of the various swords and daggers common in the Deccan. His countrymen have always been celebrated for horsemanship; and in this accomplishment Sivajee excelled. By the care of his guardian, he was fully instructed in all the ceremonies and observances enjoined by the rules of his cast; and such parts of the sacred histories as are generally known, were explained to him. The fabulous exploits detailed in the Mahabharat, the Ramazan, and the Bhagwut, were the delight of Sivajee's youth. The religious and natural feelings of a Hindoo were strongly implanted in his mind, and he early imbibed a rooted hatred to the Mahomedans. These feelings in part supplied the want of a more exalted patriotism; but, although they may have tended to stimulate his own love of enterprise, he did not employ them to animate others, until success had taught him to plan new schemes, and to apply such powerful and natural auxiliaries in their execution.' Vol. I. pp. 127, 8.

From about his sixteenth year, Sivajee began to associate with persons of lawless habits, and to talk of becoming an independent *polygar*. Soon it was whispered, that Shahjee's son was a sharer in the profits of some extensive gang robberies committed in the Coucan. It was in these secret expeditions that the young bandit grew familiar with the paths and defiles of that wild tract where he afterwards established himself. He had marked the condition of the adjacent strong-holds, and soon began to devise schemes for getting one of them into his possession, as a necessary preliminary to bolder operations. In 1646, when only nineteen, he contrived, by means unknown, to gain possession of the strong hill-fort of Torna, twenty miles s. w. of Poona, at the source of the Neera. Here he is said accidentally to have discovered a large quantity of gold, which he resolved to apply to the building of another fort, three miles s. e. of Torna. He used astonishing exertion to fortify this post, to which he gave the name of Rajgurbh. Orme tells us, that the old Brahmin, his guardian, afraid of being made to answer to Shahjee for these lawless proceedings on the part of his son, and unable to restrain them, swallowed poison. The present Historian gives a different turn to part of the story.

'Dadajee Konedee, with the deepest interest in his welfare, urged every argument to induce Sivajee to abandon his designs. He represented the probable ruin and the certain risk he incurred by such daring and unjustifiable conduct. He likewise set forth the great prospects which his father's name and respectability presented in a faithful adherence to the government of Beejapoor. Sivajee answered by fair words; but the old man saw that his purpose was unshaken. Infirm by age, worn out by disease, and now a prey to anxiety for the fate of his master's house, Dadajee did not long survive. But just before his death, he sent for Sivajee; when, so far from dissuading him in his accustomed manner, he advised him to prosecute his plans of independence; to protect Bramins, kise, and cultivators; to preserve the temples of the Hindoos from violation; and to follow the fortune which lay before him. After this, having recommended his family to his young master's care, he expired.'

Vol. I. pp. 132, 3.

Shahjee was too much occupied with his own affairs in the Carnatic, to be able to interfere with the proceedings of his son; and the Bejapoor sovereign, who was intent on building palaces and mausoleums, did not trouble himself with these irregularities in a distant *jagheer*. By a series of stratagems, Sivajee gradually obtained possession of the whole tract between Chakun and the Neera.

'The manner in which he established himself, watching and crouching like the wily tiger of his own mountain valleys, until he had stolen into a situation whence he could at once spring on his prey, accounts both for the difficulty found in tracing his early rise, and the astonishing rapidity with which he extended his power, when his progress had attracted notice, and longer concealment was impossible.' p. 136.

We shall not pursue into detail the romantic story of his daring and artful course. It has been given by Orme, by Mill, and by the Editor of the *Modern Traveller*. The manuscript authorities to which Capt. Grant Duff has had access, have enabled him to supply some further particulars and a few corrections, which do not, however, materially affect the general accuracy of Orme's narrative, although that accurate writer inevitably fell into a few mistakes. Up to 1657, Sivajee abstained from all hostilities against the Moguls, professing to be a servant of the Emperor, and confining his ravages to the Bejapoor territory. Letters are still in existence from Aurungzebe to Sivajee, which shew the good understanding that existed between them during the life-time of Shahjehan. It suited the crooked policy of Aurungzebe, to encourage the Mahratta in his aggressions on the Bejapoor Government;

and the same policy led him even to overlook and pardon the first inroads which Sivajee made into the Mogul districts. Aurungzebe's favourite scheme was the conquest of the Mohammedan kingdoms of the Deccan. To this, he sacrificed the prosperity of his own dominions; and his dear-bought success paved the way for the downfall of the Mogul empire. Under no other circumstances could Sivajee have escaped destruction from either of the two powers between which he was placed, and of whose mutual jealousies or open hostility he so artfully availed himself. In 1662, the Bejapoor sovereign, Ali Adil Shah, took the field in person against his rebellious *jagheerदार*; and Sivajee, unable to cope with the king's army, was deprived of several of his forts and their dependencies. But he indemnified himself in other directions, and at length made his peace with that sovereign, it is supposed through the mediation of Shahjee; during the remainder of whose life, he abstained from all further aggressions on the Bejapoor territory.

By this time, he had made himself master of the whole Concan, from Kallian to Goa, a length of coast extending through about four degrees of latitude; but his territory did not reach, at its greatest breadth, above a hundred miles inland. He had an army, however, much larger, in proportion, than the size of his territory; amounting to not less than 50,000 foot and 7000 horse. He had also a small fleet; to prevent the ravages of which, the Portuguese of Goa thought it necessary to send an ambassador to the Mahratta chief, who readily promised to refrain from molesting them, on condition of being supplied with warlike stores. In 1664, he first surprised and plundered Surat; when the English and Dutch factories stood on the defensive, and escaped. In the following year, he was threatened with destruction by a formidable Mogul army; but again his address and dissimulation extricated him from his perilous embarrassment. 'He seriously reverted to his early plan of entering the Mogul service, and relinquishing a part of his acquisitions'; and Aurungzebe, who appears to have either felt or affected, at this time, a contempt for the Mountain Rat, as he styled Sivajee, readily entertained his proposals, which were not unaccompanied with the solid inducements of a tribute. Sivajee now gave the most satisfactory demonstration of his intended good faith, by repairing in person to the court of Delhi; and he is said to have offered his services in conducting the war in Candahar against the Persians. Of this circumstance, however, no mention occurs in the volumes before us; nor does Capt. Grant Duff supply any confirmation of the romantic embellishments with which the story of his re-

ception at Delhi, the tender interest he excited in the Emperor's daughter, and his haughty and intrepid bearing before the Mogul, are given by Thevenot and the Persian authority translated by Dow. Thus much is certain; that Aurungzebe committed the serious political error of slighting and menacing the man towards whom no middle course or half measures ought to have been adopted. If a sense of honour or any other consideration restrained him from getting rid of so formidable a subject and so dangerous an enemy, by the approved expedients of Mohammedan policy,—the only course left was, to conciliate and to employ him. Had either plan been adopted, the Mahratta empire would never have existed; and that of the Moguls would not, perhaps, have fallen. Sivajee escaped in a basket to the suburbs, whence, in disguise, eluding all pursuit, he made good his retreat to the Deccan, which he reached in December 1666, after an absence of nine months.

Five years elapsed before Aurungzebe was sufficiently at leisure to attempt in earnest the reduction of the Mahratta Rajah; for such was the royal title which Sivajee now assumed. In the mean time, he had pursued his career of aggrandisement, employing his gold in bribing the connivance or inactivity of the Mogul leaders; and even the viceroy of the Deccan, Sultan Mauzum himself, the Emperor's son, is believed to have received large sums from the rebel he was directed to chastise. In 1672, Sivajee's generals obtained a signal victory over the force sent against him; the most complete ever achieved by the Mahratta troops in a fair-fought action with the Moguls, and which was followed by the most important results. Deserters from both the Bejapoor and the Mogul armies now began to join the Mahratta standard in considerable numbers. After this, Sivajee alternately turned his arms against the falling states of Bejapoor and Golconda, and the Mogul forces, plundering in all directions, and always surmounting, by fraud or dexterity, every reverse or emergency; till, at length, in April 1680, a short illness terminated his brilliant career, in the fifty-third year of his age. We must give Capt. Grant Duff's fair and judicious view of his character.

Sivajee was certainly a most extraordinary person; and however justly many of his acts may be censured, his claim to high rank on the page of history must be admitted. To form an estimate of his character, let us consider him assembling and conducting a band of half-naked *Mawulees* through the wild tracts where he first established himself, unmindful of obstruction from the elements, turning the most inclement seasons to advantage, and inspiring the minds of his followers with undaunted enthusiasm. Let us also observe the

singular plans of policy he commenced, and which we must admit to have been altogether novel, and most fit for acquiring power at such a period. Let us examine his internal regulations, the great progress he made in arranging every department in the midst of almost perpetual warfare, and his successful stratagems for escaping or extricating himself from difficulty; and, whether planning the capture of a fort, or the conquest of a distant country; heading an attack, or conducting a retreat; regulating the discipline to be observed among a hundred horse, or laying down arrangements for governing a country; we view his talents with admiration, and his genius with wonder. For a popular leader, his frugality was a remarkable feature in his character; and the richest plunder never made him deviate from the rules he had laid down for its appropriation.

Sivajee was patient and deliberate in his plans; ardent, resolute, and even persevering in their execution: but, even in viewing the favourable side, duplicity and meanness are so much intermixed with his schemes, and so conspicuous in his actions, that the offensive parts of a worse character might be passed over with less disgust. Superstition, cruelty, and treachery are not only justly alleged against him, but he always preferred deceit to open force, when both were within his power. But, to sum up all, let us contrast his craft, pliancy, and humility with his boldness, firmness, and ambition; his power of inspiring enthusiasm, while he shewed the coolest attention to his own interests; the dash of a partizan adventurer, with the order and economy of a statesman; and, lastly, the wisdom of his plans, which raised the despised Hindoos to sovereignty, and brought about their own accomplishment, when the hand that framed them was laid in the dust.' Vol. I. pp. 296, 7.

Aurungzebe could not suppress his joy, on hearing of his death; but he bore at the same time this striking testimony to his genius: 'He was a great captain, and the only one who has had the management to raise a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India. My armies have been employed against him for nineteen years, and nevertheless his state has been always increasing.*' At the time of his death, Sivajee was in possession of the whole of the western coast from Gundavee to Ponda, with the exception of the small territory of Goa, Salsette, and Bassein, belonging to the Portuguese, the English settlement at Bombay, and Jinjeera, in the hands of the Abyssinians; an extent of about 400 miles in length, and reaching inland 120 in breadth. At the distance of 300 miles from this territory, he held half the Carnatic, which was in itself equal to most of the Indian sovereignties. He had various districts in other directions; and the Rana of Bednore, in the Mysore territory, was his tributary. His personal wealth is believed

* Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 95.

to have amounted, at the time of his death, to several millions in specie.

None of Sivajee's successors inherited his genius; and when the master mind was withdrawn, it might have been anticipated, that the imperfectly consolidated empire which he had created, would soon have been resolved into its crude elements. The kingdoms of Bejapore and Golconda fell before the arms of Aurungzebe, and nothing remained to complete his long cherished plans of conquest, but the annihilation of that rude power which his policy had contributed to build up into strength. The power of the Mahrattas in the Carnatic rapidly declined, and a laxity took place in the discipline of the Mahratta army, which seemed to threaten the infant state with total disorganization. But this very circumstance, though detrimental to the resources of the prince, had a wonderful effect in extending predatory power.

'Every lawless man and every disbanded soldier, whether Mohamadan or Mahratta, who could command a horse and a spear, joined the Mahratta parties; and such adventurers were often enriched by the plunder of a day. The spirit which, independent of every other cause, was thus excited among a people fond of money and disposed to predatory habits, can easily be imagined. The multitude of horsemen nurtured by former wars, were already found too heavy a burden on a regular state, and no resources could support them. The proportion of the best troops which was retained in the imperial service, would probably soon have enabled Aurungzebe to suppress the disorders commonly attendant upon Indian conquest, had there been no spirit kindled among the Mahratta people. But a pride in the conquests of Sivajee, their confidence in the strength of the forts, the skill and bravery of several of the Mahratta leaders; the ability and influence of many of the Brahmins, and lastly, the minds of the Hindoo population being roused, by reports of the odious poll-tax, to jealous watchfulness on the tenderest point, had excited a ferment which required not only vast means, but an entire change of measures, before it could possibly be allayed.' Vol. I. p. 352.

The reign of Aurungzebe was prolonged beyond all expectation, and far beyond the usual term of man. He survived Sivajee nearly seven and twenty years; and, to the last, he persevered in his unavailing endeavours to stifle Mahratta independence. But he was warring with a hydra; and while he was occupied in reducing the Mahratta forts, various bands, under their respective chiefs, issued from their mountains, and spreading over the newly conquered countries, as well as even Berar, Kandeish, and Malwah, carried off great plunder, leaving only devastation behind them. The resources of the Mogul Empire, had they been fairly directed, were fully equal to bringing into the field, a force more than sufficient to clear the coun-

try of these marauders. But the administration of Aurungzebe betrayed the feebleness and relaxation of age. Corruption had spread through every part of the system, and the unwieldy fabric was ready to fall to pieces from inward decay. It is said, that Aurungzebe's own generals purposely prolonged the war in the Deccan, as well for the sake of the plunder which it yielded, as from the apprehension that, on its termination, they should be employed in some harder and more hazardous service.

'Many of the Mogul officers in charge of districts, were in the pay of both parties, and likewise wished that the existing confusion might continue. Parties of Mahrattas in the service of the Moguls, met, rioted, and feasted with their countrymen; and at parting, or when passing within hearing of each other, they used to mock the Mahomedans, by uttering an *Uhumduhillah* (praise be to God), and praying for long life to the glorious Alumgeer.' Vol. I. p. 401.

Aurungzebe kept the field to the last, and died in his camp at Ahmednugger, in Feb. 1707, in the ninetieth year of his age. We do not think that the present Writer has by any means done justice to the character of this celebrated monarch. He has been held up, in opposite representations, as a monster of cruelty and hypocrisy on the one hand, and a model for sovereigns on the other. He was neither. If judged of by comparison with his predecessors or contemporaries, he appears, in many respects, to great advantage. The fratricidal contest by which he attained the throne, has left a dark stain upon his character; but the conqueror was not the only criminal, and the accession of an eastern despot is seldom unattended by a similar sacrifice. It is certain, that Aurungzebe was neither sanguinary nor cruel. Capital punishments were almost unknown during his long reign. In his disposition, he is said to have been placable and humane; in his judicial administration, indefatigably vigilant and impartially just; in his habits, simple, temperate, and exemplary, the severe enemy of licentiousness. He was the munificent patron of learning, the enlightened promoter of agriculture; and the unfortunate and distressed invariably found a resource in the wise policy or bounty of their sovereign. It would be difficult, indeed, it has been observed, to find a despotic reign extending through half a century, stained by fewer crimes, or marked by a more laudable attention to the general interests of the empire. 'His greatest political error', Captain Grant Duff justly remarks, 'was the overthrow of Bejapoor and Golconda, instead of applying their resources to the suppression of predatory power.' But in this, he was but pursuing the ambitious and

short-sighted policy of his predecessors, and his fault consisted in not being in that respect superior to the statesmen and monarchs of his age and creed.

Shah Allum, the son and successor of Aurungzebe, was too busily occupied, during his short reign, in repressing the depredations of the Seiks, to give his attention to the affairs of the Deccan; and with him, the Mogul empire may be said to have terminated. From one end of Hindostan to another, anarchy prevailed, and the Mahrattas had almost an open field. Within thirteen years from the death of Aurungzebe, five princes of his line had occupied an unstable throne; two of whom, together with six unsuccessful competitors for the crown, had either fallen in the conflict or been put to death. The natural consequence of this degraded state of the royal authority, was, a disposition in all the provincial governors to shake off their dependency on the House of Timour. Some of these encouraged the invasion, or courted the alliance of the Mahrattas. By about the year 1732, these ruthless marauders had completely reduced under their dominion the provinces of Gujerat and Malwah, and had extended their predatory incursions almost to the gates of Agra. In 1735, Delhi itself was visited by a Mahratta army; and four years after, Nadir Shah occupied for seven weeks the devoted capital, which was doomed to undergo, in horrible succession, the miseries of pillage and massacre, famine, and pestilence.

The viceroyalty of the Deccan was now finally alienated from the empire of Delhi, being constituted an independent kingdom by the Nizam-ul-Mulk, although he chose to waive the title of sovereignty, and to preserve that which designated him only as the servant and officer of the Emperor. Candahar and Caubul, Moulton and Lahore, were seized by the Afghan sultan; the Jaats and the Robillas had made themselves masters of other districts; and by the year 1750, the entire dissolution of the Mogul empire had taken place.

Under these circumstances, the rapid expansion of the power of the Mahrattas had nothing in it marvellous, except that, amid the confusion, weakness, and total anarchy which soon ensued on the death of Sivajee, any thing like a central government should have been preserved. This was owing chiefly to the ability and influence of the Brahmins who succeeded to the direction of public affairs; in particular, of Ballajee Vishwanath, the first Peishwa (or prime minister), and the founder of the power which soon eclipsed that of the nominal sovereign. Although the sons and grandsons of Sivajee were acknowledged as the head of the Mahratta nation, and exercised the functions of royalty, the government may be said to have

passed almost immediately out of the military and monarchical form into that of a Brahminical oligarchy.

A circumstance which materially favoured the artful policy of the ministry, and tended to consolidate the Mahratta power, was one which, at first sight, might seem to have had an opposite tendency. The childhood of Shao, or Sahoo-jee, the grandson of Sivajee, was passed within the enclosure of the imperial seraglio, where, with his mother, he was detained a captive by Aurungzebe; and seduced by the pomp and luxury of which he partook, his habits became those of a Mohammedan, rather than of a Mahratta. After his accession to the throne of Satara in 1708, his indolence led him gladly to devolve upon his obsequious ministers the drudgery of business, and, with it, a delegated power which virtually superseded his own. At the same time, he acknowledged himself a vassal of the throne of Delhi, and while styling himself king of the Hindoos, he affected, in his transactions with the Moguls, to consider himself merely as a zemindar or head *deshmoukh* (landholder) of the empire. The manner in which he was, in consequence, courted by the Moguls, and the dignities and rights conferred upon him, gave an influence and respect to the name of Shao, which, under other circumstances, he could never have attained; and the importance of the nation of which he was the legitimate head, was proportionally increased. Their alliance was, in the end, sought for by the Moguls; and as the only way to restore tranquillity, it was deemed advisable to recognize their extravagant claims, in order that they might have a stake in the prosperity of the country. Under the name and form of an imperial grant, the successor of Baber, and Akbar, and Aurungzebe virtually transferred to the grandson of a Mahratta adventurer, the sovereignty of Hindostan. The conditions of alliance which the aspiring mind of Ballajee, the Peishwa, prompted him to insist upon, were, the *chouth* (fourth) and *surdeshmookee* (ten per cent. on the whole revenue) of the six *soubahs* (provinces) of the Deccan, including the Carnatic districts belonging to Bejapoor and Hyderabad, and the tributary states of Mysore, Trichinopoly, and Tanjore; together with the whole of the territory in Maharashtra, in sovereignty, which had belonged to Sivajee, with the exception of his possessions in Kandeish, in lieu of which, other territory was to be ceded; and a confirmation of some more recent conquests in Gondwana and Berar.

On these conditions, Shao promised to pay to the imperial treasury, for the old territory, a *peshkush*, or tribute of ten laks of rupees; for the *surdeshmookee*, he bound himself to protect the country, to suppress every species of depredation, to bring thieves

to punishment or restore the amount stolen, and to pay the usual fee of 651 per cent. on the annual income for the hereditary right of *surdeshmookee*:—for the grant of the *chouth*, he agreed to maintain a body of 15,000 horse in the Emperor's service, to be placed at the disposal of the soubahdars, foudars, and officers in the different districts; but upon the grant of the *chouth*, no fee was to be paid. The Carnatic and the soubahs of Bejapoor and Hyderabad, which were then over-run by the partizans of the Rajah of Kolapoor, Shao promised to clear of plunderers, and to make good every loss sustained by the inhabitants of those provinces from the date of the final settlement of the treaty.' Vol. I. pp. 445, 6.

These proposals, with some modifications, were acceded to by Hoossein Ali Khan, at that time viceroy of the Deccan. The Emperor Feroksere, indeed, refused to ratify the treaty; but he was soon afterwards put to death; and Mahomed Shah, by three imperial grants, (still in possession of the Rajah of Satara,) formally invested the Mahratta sovereign with a *legitimate* right to the *chouth* and *surdeshmookee* of the Deccan and Carnatic, as well as with the *Swuraje* (or imperial sovereignty) of the districts possessed by Sivajee at the time of his death, with the exception of certain detached possessions, in lieu of which other territories were ceded. The plans laid down by Ballajee for collecting and appropriating these revenues, are explained by the present Author with as much clearness as the subject admits of; but they almost defy analysis from their artful intricacy. Two objects were kept in view by those who framed them; to give so indefinite a character to these imposts as to make them a pretext and cover for further encroachments on the Moguls, and to keep the illiterate Mahratta chief wholly dependent on his Brahmin accountant.

'The Raja's authority was considered necessary to collect the revenues thus conceded; but authority, for which they were constantly petitioning, was a mere mockery. The Brahmins soon proved, at least to their own satisfaction, that the Raja's *sunnud* was sufficient for levying tribute in districts not specified in the imperial deeds. A district once over-run, was said to be under tribute from usage, whilst the others were plundered from letters patent.' Vol. I. p. 436.

Angria, the notorious Mahratta pirate, retaining his districts in the Concan, levied his *chouth*, as he termed it, by continuing to plunder the ships of all nations that appeared on the coast; and he long derided the combined efforts of the English of Bombay and the Portuguese of Goa, who united to suppress his piracies. Captain Grant Duff has inserted a curious letter from this personage to Governor Boone, which is so highly illustrative of the Mahratta politics and morality, that we cannot withhold it from our readers. It was received at Bombay,

in Nov. 1720, after an attempt on Gheriah (or Viziadroog) by an expedition under Mr. Walter Brown. The letter is given as it appears on the records of the Presidency, with a few corrections of the Translator's orthography.

“ I have received your Excellency's letter, and have understood all your Excellency writes me. ‘ That the differences that continue even until now, are through my means; that the desire of possessing what is another's, is a thing very wide of reason; that such-like insults are a sort of piracy; that such proceedings cannot continue long; that had I from my beginning cultivated trade, and favoured the merchant, the port I now govern might, by the divine favour, have in some measure vied with the great port of Surat, and my name have become famous; all which’, your Excellency says, ‘ is not to be brought about but by opening a fair trade; that he that is least expert in war, generally comes off a sufferer thereby; and that he who follows it purely through a love that he hath thereto, will one time or another find cause to repent; that if I had considered this something sooner, I might have found some benefit and convenience thereby.’ Your Excellency says, ‘ you are very well acquainted with the manner of my government, from its beginning, and for that reason you would not on any account open a treaty with me until I set at liberty the people of your nation that are prisoners here: after that, you would receive any proposition from me that was friendly, or might tend to an accommodation.’

“ At all which I very much admire, especially when I find your Excellency persuaded that I have been the cause of the past differences and disputes, the truth of which your Excellency will soon find when you examine both sides; for, as touching the desire of possessing what is another's, I do not find the merchants exempt from this sort of ambition, for this is the way of the world; for God gives nothing immediately from himself, but takes from one to give to another. Whether this is right or no, who is able to determine?

“ It little behoves the merchants, I am sure, to say our government is supported by violence, insults, and piracies; forasmuch as Maharaja (which is Sivajee) making war against four kings, founded and established his kingdom. This was our introduction and beginning; and whether or no, by these ways, this government hath proved durable, your Excellency well knows; so likewise did your predecessors; and whether it is durable or no, I would have your Excellency consider, it is certain nothing in this world is durable, which if your Excellency does consider, the way of this world is well known.

“ Your Excellency is pleased to say, ‘ if I had regard to the weal of the people, and favoured commerce, my power would be much augmented, and my port become like that of Surat’; but I never have been wanting to favour the merchants, trading according to the laws of this country, nor of chastising those transgressing the same, as your Excellency well knows. ‘ The increase of power depends on the divine will, in which human diligence little availeth.’ Until this day, I have kept up the power that was neces-

sary: whether I shall continue it or no for the future, who can tell? But that will be as God is pleased to determine.

"Your Excellency was pleased to write, 'that war proves most fatal to those where the use of the sword is not understood'; but in the government of his Excellency Charles Boone, nobody can say there was not loss on both sides; for victories depend on the hand of God, and for this reason great men take little notice of such losses.

"Your Excellency is pleased to write, 'that he who follows war, purely through an inclination that he hath thereto, one time or another will find cause to repent'; of which I suppose your Excellency hath found proof; for we are not always victorious, nor always unfortunate.

"Your Excellency was pleased to write, 'that you well understood the manner of my government, and for that reason you could not enter upon any treaty of peace with me, unless I would first act at liberty the people of your nation that are prisoners here.' I very well know your Excellency understands the manner of my government from its beginning, therefore this gives me no wonder; but if your Excellency says you will admit any proposition, after having your people released, I must then likewise say, my people are prisoners under your Excellency: how can I then give liberty to yours? But if your Excellency's intent was cordially to admit any overtures of peace for ending our present disputes, and do really write me for that end concerning the liberty of your people, I am to assure you my intent is cordially the same. It is therefore necessary, that some person of character intervene, and act as guarantee between us, to whom I will presently send your Excellency's people. Your Excellency will afterwards do the like by mine: the prisoners on both sides, having by this means obtained their liberty, afterwards we shall enter on what relates to our friendship and treaty of peace for the avoidance of prejudice on both sides. For this end, I now write your Excellency, which I hope will meet with regard; and if your Excellency's intention be to treat of peace and friendship, be pleased to send an answer to this, that, conformable thereto, I may consider on what is most proper to be done. As your Excellency is a man of understanding, I need say no more."

Vol. I. pp. 458—461.

Angria died towards the close of the year 1728. About a year before his death, he captured the *Darby*, a ship richly laden, belonging to the East India Company. The crews of his vessels, 'like all Mahrattas when successful,' became very daring; and his forts on the coast were deemed, at the time, impregnable.

All the principal Mahratta officers had, in addition to their revenue commissions or collectorships, particular claims assigned to them on whole villages or portions of territory.

The greatest Mahratta commanders, or their principal Brahmin agents, were eager to possess their native village; but, although

vested with the control, they were proud to acknowledge themselves of the family of the patell or koolkurnee; and if heirs to a miras field, they would sooner have lost wealth and rank, than have been dispossessed of such *mutun* or inheritance. Yet, on obtaining the absolute sovereignty, they never assumed an authority in the interior village concerns, beyond the rights and privileges acquired by birth or purchase, according to the invariable rules of the country.' Vol. I. p. 461.

This conscientious scrupulosity would seem to be like that of some great landed proprietor in possession of the manorial rights, the great tithe, and the whole patronage of a district, who should disclaim all interference with the church and poor's rate, and the concerns of the parish vestry. The *patell* appears to be something between an hereditary constable and a perpetual churchwarden. This respect for the ancient institutions of their country, on the part of a nation of marauders, is not without its parallel; but we are willing to let the Mahrattas have all the benefit of this much vaunted feature of their policy. The mode of paying Mahratta officers, however, which connected them with every village, '*opens*', Sir John Malcolm remarks, '*a wide door for abuses of all kinds*.' With regard to those families who have exercised power in Central India, 'neither the chiefs nor their subordinate officers have ever limited themselves to their ordinary allowances; but still, they have been uniformly particular,' we are told, (and here their conscientiousness is again singularly manifested,) 'in recognizing such as the amount to which alone they were entitled.' * How the judicial system of the Mahrattas worked, the reader may learn from the same unexceptionable and impartial authority.

'When the Mahrattas became masters of Central India, they preserved some of the forms, but set aside, or left to perish from neglect, the most useful establishments of the Mogul government. Among these fell every institution for the administration of justice; and though, in a few principal towns, of which a proportion of the inhabitants were Mohamedans, a *fazai*, or judge, was continued, his duties were limited to drawing up contracts of marriage, or writing and registering bonds and deeds of sale in his own tribe. . . . The fact was, that (with the exception of Alia Bhye†) justice became, from the first establishment of the Mahrattas, a source of profit to those who had power for the moment, from the military prince

* Malcolm's *Central India*, Vol. i. p. 542.

† For an account of this admirable princess, see our review of Malcolm's *Central India*, *Eclcc. Rev.* Vol. xlii. p. 123, *et seq.*

'upon his throne to the lowest Brahmin who, as a delegated karkoon, or agent, tyrannized over his village.' *

Such is a brief outline of the system and arrangements settled by the Mahratta ministry at this period; and such was the mode by which a common interest was created, and for a time preserved, among the Mahratta chiefs. The character of Shao, the influence and power of Ballajee Wishwanath, the abilities of his sons Bajee Rao and Chimnaje, and the preponderance of Brahmin opinion and authority, were the circumstances which paved the way, though by gradual steps, for the supremacy and usurpation of the Peishwa. Here we must pause, having advanced sufficiently far in the narrative to enable our readers fully to comprehend who the Mahrattas were, who precoded the British in their Indian conquests, and to what causes their power owed its formation. They are thus recapitulated by the present Writer, on closing the first volume of his history with the death of Bajee Rao in 1740:

'The Mahomedan wars from the commencement of the seventeenth century, the plans and conquests of Sivajee, the state of the Deccan after his death, the increase of habitual rapine by the absence of controlling authority, the immense predatory power which was thus prepared, and the means of directing it placed by the Moguls in the hands of Shao, had all their share in accumulating the mighty mass of Mahratta force; and when we consider the skill with which Ballajee Wishwanath, and his successor, combined and guided the whole weight of such a tremendous engine of destruction, we cease to feel surprise at the havoc which it spread.' Vol. I. p. 562.

At this period (1740), neither the English nor the French had taken any prominent share, as political powers, in the affairs of India: they 'remained on the defensive', while the Portuguese had been severely humbled by the Mahrattas. Putting out of consideration the few European factories and settlements, the political map of India exhibited the following divisions. The Mogul, Mahomed Shah, after being plundered by Nadir Shah, was left in possession of the imperial crown and a degraded sovereignty; but his actual dominions were greatly circumscribed. Cabul, Tatta, and part of Mooltan were annexed by Nadir Shah to his kingdom of Persia; and Lahore was soon after wrested from the Mogul sovereign by the Afghan monarch. The viceroyalty of Oude, though nominally subject to the Emperor of Delhi, had become an hereditary kingdom in the family of the vizier. Aliverdy Khan had established an usurped authority, with the title of nabob, and the powers of a sovereign, over Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. The Jaita, a

* Malcolm's Central India, Vol. i. p. 543.

tribe from the banks of the Indus, had established themselves in a territory between Agra and Jyepoor, in the very heart of Hindostan. The Rohillas, a Patan race, had taken possession, as an independent state, of a tract bordering on the province of Delhi. Central India, Gujerat, and great part of the Deccan, were under the power of the Mahrattas. The viceroy of the Deccan, known under the title of the Nizam, whose capital was Hyderabad, claimed the independent sovereignty of all the states and principalities south of the Teongbuddra, which had submitted to Anrunglebe. The Mysore state, though a declared tributary of the Moguls, and of the Rajah Shao, was rising into power and importance. And in the Carnatic, various deputies or nabobs were taking advantage of the general confusion, to set up for themselves: among these, the most celebrated in the subsequent annals of British India, was Dost Ally, the nabob of Arcot.

A hundred years have not elapsed, and what is now the political geography of India? The Mogul empire is extinguished: The Mahrattas, as a political power, are annihilated. A pageant Rajah of Satara is substituted for the once powerful Peishwa, the head of the Mahratta confederacy; and Sindia, Holkar, and the Guikwar, are the only Mahratta chiefs who can claim, in courtesy, the title of sovereigns. The Vizier of Oude has been encouraged to indemnify himself with the title of king for the loss of great part of his kingdom, and the whole of his political power. The Rohillas and the Jauts, like the Rajpoots and other tribes, no longer claim enumeration among the powers of India, although they exist as tributary states. The short-lived dynasty of Seringapatam has been destroyed. The Nabob of Arcot is almost forgotten. There is a pageant Rajah at Mysore, and a Nizam at Hyderabad, both under the *surveillance* of a Resident. A new power has obtained possession of Lahore—the Seiks; the only one, except the Ghoorkahs of Nepaul, which can be considered as retaining any portion of independence. Bengal, Bahar, Orissa, Allahabad, Delhi, part of Agra and Gujerat, the Concan, the Carnatic, are British territory; and by means of residents at every native court, a chain of posts intersecting the country in every direction, and the possession of the whole of the three coasts, India, from Himalaya to Cape Comorin, and from the Indus to the Brahmapootra, is under the supremacy of a power which, a century ago, was unable to make itself respected by a Mahratta pirate, and was repeatedly on the point of losing all its Indian possessions. The annals of history present no parallel to this astonishing revolution, either in rapidity or magnitude, involving as

it does the government and destinies of above a hundred and twenty millions,—more than an eighth part of the human race.

The remaining volumes of Capt. Grant Duff's history are full of interest; but we cannot go further into the subject. Volume the second embraces the period between the death of Bajee Rao in 1740, and the year 1786, when Sindia's power had reached its zenith. Volume the third brings down the history to the final reduction and settlement of the Peishwa's territory in 1819, when the conquest of India by the British may be regarded as having been completed, by the destruction of the Pindarries and of the Mahratta confederacy. The highest praise is due to the Author for the manner in which he has accomplished his laborious task. To the primary merit of fidelity and accuracy, he unites the rare qualifications (in a writer upon Indian subjects) of unaffected moderation and impartiality, and a singular freedom from any apparent party bias. He is neither the panegyrist, nor the calumniator, of the Hindoos and their institutions. He is neither the eulogist of the Honourable Company, nor their opponent. His volumes possess the genuine interest of history, without any of the high colouring and exaggeration which it is apt to receive from writers whose main object it is to interest the passions, or to bias the opinions in favour of some side or party, some course of policy or political question. There is nothing of the pamphleteer, nothing of the advocate about the present Author; nor are there any attempts at philosophizing. He apologizes, indeed, for having given to his first volume too much the appearance of mere annals, by cautiously refraining from that amplification and generalizing which form so cheap a method of manufacturing what passes with many for philosophical history. It would have been easy for Capt. Grant Duff, in this way, to have expanded his three volumes into six; and we commend his good sense and forbearance. As it is, he has produced a work which will always be referred to with confidence, as the best possible substitute for primary authorities in relation to the statements which it comprises; and no library, of which Indian literature forms a part, can be complete without it. The style of the narrative, it will be seen from the extracts we have made, is manly, perspicuous, and correct; and it is due to the Author to add, that we have seldom read a work in which so much compression was observable, without producing dryness or obscurity in the narrative. A good index is given, which forms also a glossary. There are two excellent maps, and three very neatly engraved frontispieces, the subjects of which are particularly well chosen and interesting.

ing; the mausoleum of Adil Shah at Bejapoor; the fortress of Raigurb, and Satara.

Col. Briggs's Letters are well adapted to answer the purpose of supplying the novice, on his first entrance into India, with much important information and some useful cautions. In this point of view, the reprint of Sir John Malcolm's *Notes of Instructions*, which takes up a fifth part of the work, is not to be considered as unnecessarily adding to the bulk and price of the volume. We are, however, somewhat disappointed at meeting with so little original information, and even with occasional inaccuracy. For instance, Col. Briggs asserts, that the only religious edifices of importance, devoted to the Hindoo worship, not built since the period of Mahratta supremacy, are found south of the Krishna and the Toongbuddra, 'a tract over which the Mohammedans never held undisputed sway.' He must have forgotten the pagodas of Benares, of Bindra-bund, of Jyepoor, and of various other places in Central and Western India, which are certainly of higher antiquity; and indeed Aurungzebe was the only emperor of his family who shewed much iconoclastic zeal. We regret to find Col. Briggs arguing in favour of the continued toleration of *suttees*, and that in a style of whimpering sentimentality and affected alarm, not altogether worthy of either the statesman or the soldier. 'The justice of depriving the infatuated females of their only religious consolation in the depth of grief, however mistaken their belief, seems,' he says, 'at least doubtful.' Shame on the man who regards it as doubtful, whether it be just to prevent murder,—for such most of these *suttees* really are. But then, how cruel to prevent these affectionate women from suicide! Exquisite philanthropy!

Our Indian alarmists are perpetually reminding us of the fearful odds which the population of India present to the handful of Europeans by which they are governed. 'It were absurd,' says this Writer, 'to imagine, that India is held in forcible subjection by the few Englishmen who reside there for a time. No, India is united to England by the singular system which pervades its administration.' That the strength of our Indian government consists in our intellectual and moral ascendancy, we admit; but what government does not depend, in like manner, upon the moral subjection of the governed? What is it that bows the millions of China to a Tatar despot? What binds together the heterogeneous elements of the Russian empire under one autocrat? What keeps under the brute force of a nation of serfs, held in subjection by a few tyrannical nobles? The spell is upon the mind; the bondage is that of the will. What is a soldiery without officers, but a rabble—

an unintelligent machine, that has lost its guiding impulse? *Le besoin d'être gouverné* is an instinct to the full as strong in the mass of mankind, as *le besoin d'être aimé*. In all that Col. Briggs says, as to the duty of treating the natives of India with kindness and consideration, we entirely concur; and it is humiliating to find our national character so frequently disgraced by the ignorant and vulgar petulance or proverbial arrogance of our countrymen towards foreigners. We are afraid that the Englishman must be admitted to be naturally the most self-sufficient and insolent of mortals,—next, at least, to the Tatar. Some of the instances cited by Col. B. of the conduct of the young gentlemen sent out to India, are truly disgraceful. Yet, we are not afraid of any more Vellore mutinies. While we admit that our Indian empire is greatly an empire of opinion, which must be retained by attaching the Hindoos to their rulers by ties of gratitude and moral esteem, we cannot but regard with contempt and indignation the notes of alarm sounded in the ears of the Legislature, when any measure is contemplated that has for its object the promotion of Christianity, the discouragement of the abominations of idolatry, or the repression of actual crime. We cannot believe that the security of our Indian empire depends upon putting so wholly out of consideration the claims, the authority, and the providence of Him by whom kings reign, and who is the Ruler of princes.

Art. II. 1. *A Practical and Pathological Inquiry into the Sources and Effects of Derangement in the Digestive Organs; embracing Dejection and some other Affections of the Mind.* By William Cooke, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 290. Price 9s. London. 1828.

2. *Commentaries on the Causes, Forms, Symptoms, and Treatment, Moral and Medical, of Insanity.* By George Man Buttrows, M.D. &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 716. Price 1l. 8s. London. 1828.

IT must not be supposed, that, because we class these two works together for consideration under one head, we are therefore affected with the *insanity* of generalization, as we to imagine it to be in the digestive organs only, that all ailment, mental or bodily, physical or moral, has its seat and source. Our readers, indeed, who may have looked over the several articles which have been devoted to topics of a medical character and bearing, will already have perceived that, so far is the Eclectic Review from being the advocate of any sweeping and systematic opinions, its pages have always been directed to their suppression, rather than their support; and we are pleased

to find, that the two able Authors with whom we are now about to be engaged, take themselves the same objections which we have repeatedly advanced against the application of any pathological principles in the exclusive spirit of abstract system.

But the stomach, although not the sole organ for primary consideration on the part of the physician, has, we all know, and all have long known, most extensive connections and sympathies. And even what are called mental, as opposed to bodily disorders, are often so manifestly modified by different states of the first passages and organs subservient to the assimilation of food, that no Author who takes a comprehensive view either of nervous affections on the one hand, or of stomachic irregularities on the other, can fail to allude, the one to digestive derangements, the other, to derangements of the mind. Accordingly we find, that several of the remarks, and even of the cases which are submitted by Mr. Cooke and Dr. Burrows, would admit of being mutually transferred into each other's pages. There is, therefore, no impropriety in a simultaneous review of these treatises, both of which contain (we are pleased at being able to say it) much that is interesting in matter, as well as worthy of commendation for the manner in which it is presented to us.

It is not only respecting the stomach and its dependencies, that a mistaken pathology has mischievously obtained. Mental disorders and alienations have been judged of, almost from the commencement of physic, under misconception relating to first premises. Nor can it excite surprise, that disordered conditions which exhibit such an awful series of morbid manifestation,—and which, even in the present day, are inexplicable upon any known principles of the connexion of body and mind,—should, in the earliest ages, have been referred in an immediate and specific manner to spiritual visitation, and even set down to the score of moral demerit. The miserable metaphysico-theology of the dark ages served to establish, what a defective anatomy, and a vague pathology, and a poetical abstraction, had introduced; and the poor lunatic was not only consigned at once to darkness, and chains, and dungeons, but viewed as a being in whom reason was suspended as a mark of the vengeance of Heaven! *

* The word *ἡβερναι*, as applied even to apoplectic affections, is sufficiently indicative of the mode in which these maladies were judged of. The more modern term, lunacy, is, indeed, at present generally considered to be of fanciful or superstitious origin; the best writers on the subject having discarded the opinion, which still continues however to be maintained by the vulgar, that the phases

A re-action upon this vague reference to moral and imaginary causes in application to a particular class of diseases, came at length to produce inferences in all ways, and to the extreme, the reverse; and while the pathologist set himself to prove, that, in all instances of mental aberration, the blood-vessels of the brain are the parts of the material organization alone implicated with the complaint,—the physiologist attempted to attribute every thing, both natural and morbid, to primary impulse of an organic kind;—to shew that crime and disease are mere modifications of the same thing; and that vice and virtue are but opposed to each other, as an irregular circulation differs from a tranquil and harmonious concert of nerve and blood-vessel;—that, in fine, mad-houses and jails might be mutually converted or made one.

But that madness is often a very different affair from inflammation of the brain, and that criminality may exist independently of disease, are not only wholesome doctrines, but positive truths. Although we are far from supposing that immorality could be brought to light by any physiological reasoning,—although we are as averse as any persons can be to attempts to strain physical science into the service of religion,—we are of opinion, that, even as a mere matter of medical discrimination, it often becomes of the highest importance to recognize the responsibility of man, beyond the government and direction of his organic construction. We shall have more to advance on this point, when we are considering the very delicate and difficult question of suicide, on which we find Dr. Burrows complains of some previous strictures of ours. We merely allude in this prefatory manner to the moral question involved in such topics, because it is principally from the interest which they naturally excite in this point of view beyond the precincts of the medical profession, that we have been induced again to bring forward subjects of which some of our readers may be disposed to think that they have already had enough.

What is Insanity? In that part of his treatise which is devoted to the discussion of this preliminary question, Dr. Burrows is less happy and successful than on most other points. We fully accord with his remarks on the difficulty attending definition; but we conceive that, at any rate, something like a line should be drawn between the healthy and the morbid condition of the mind; otherwise a laxity obtains, both of a medical and moral nature, which would lead to inferences in many

of the moon have some connexion with disordered conditions and changes of the mind.

cases of a mischievous tendency. It has been our aim, in former articles, to establish such a distinction as consisting in the existence or absence of illusion; and although our Author, and many who think with him, may consider the attempt itself to be illusive, we imagine that we should find it no difficult matter to prove, from their own statements and admissions, that, unconsciously perhaps to themselves, they give in to our views. It is not that we are by any means partial to those cramping principles which demand concentrated views of what is necessarily extended over too wide a surface to admit of such limitation; but we feel quite certain, that all the multifarious phenomena which deranged minds manifest, are traceable to certain principles which it is expedient to recognize;—that although madness slides into sanity, and sanity into madness, by almost insensible gradations, there is, in point of fact, an absolute difference between the states: just in the same way that human reason and brute intelligence, although, in one point of view, gradually and imperceptibly falling into each other, are, in another and very important respect, decidedly and essentially different.

That delusion is not necessarily a constituent of insanity, is demonstrated, say some, by the circumstance, that mad actions often seem to result from ungovernable impulse, rather than from erroneous conception. But, in this very word ungovernable, or, if you please, uncontrollable impulse, there is implied almost an admission of the principle we should contend for. *Ira furor brevis est*. Granted; but, when this anger is excited, and its consequences are produced beyond a certain pitch, there is, for the time being, a delusive feeling: an ideality, if we may employ a phrenological phrase, usurps the place of reality. While the excitement lasts, other and common excitements and motives cease to possess their wonted restraining and regulating influence;—and according to the degree that this takes place, and in proportion to the permanence of the feeling, will be the measure, and confirmation, and protraction of the disease. Dr. Burrows himself allows the correctness of this representation, in the following strictures on Pinel's assumptions.

'Pinel', says Dr. B., 'refines too much. For instance, he contends, that a person may be under the impulse of instinctive maniacal fury, and yet the understanding be sane. This appears to me a paradox; for, whenever the passions are so excited as to overpower the judgement, although perception may be correct, yet, there must be a lesion of the understanding, or the predominant fury would cease. If delirium consist in a want of correspondence between the judgement and perception, as is described, what else is insanity?

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If both these faculties act in unison, there is nothing wanting to constitute sanity?'

We would not require expressions more in harmony with our own opinions on the matter. If, then, a mind is in a state of health, only when the perceptions and the judgement are duly balanced, it follows, that, when either faculty unduly preponderates, insanity exists, and must be predicated in the exact measure of such preponderance.

But it is further urged, that some species or degrees of insanity exist, in which the subject of it is conscious that the impulse, if given way to, will involve criminality; and yet feels at the same time, that the impulse must be obeyed. Instances in illustration of this kind of madness are of hourly occurrence. A female patient has just been with the writer of this paper, full of grief and fear lest she should, sooner or later, destroy a child of which she is doatingly fond. Should her sad forebodings be realized, the dreadful act will be committed under the impression that it must be done, and therefore under misconception; which misconception will constitute the insanity. Such an act will be utterly different from that of a suicide; who goes from the gaming-table with ruined fortunes, and puts a pistol to his ear, in dreadful disregard of an after-reckoning, intent only on escaping from present shame and disgrace. Impulse, then, in cases of actual insanity, is beyond control, only inasmuch as the condition of the mental and bodily fabric is such as to induce in the individual a false impression of the necessity of the act; and it is only during lucid intervals that the act is contemplated with apprehension and horror. It must be admitted, that distinctions and decisions in relation to these particulars, are often matters of great delicacy and difficulty. It must be confessed, too, that degrees of hallucination are almost endless. But it does, we must reiterate, seem to us necessary to trace some such line of demarcation as that which we are now indicating, in order to direct and satisfy juridical inquiries; in order to assist us in forming correct estimates as to the condition of mind under which an individual has perpetrated deeds which are acts either of criminality or of madness. *Delusion is the essence of insanity*; and we are inclined to think, that the definers or non-definers of the disorder never gave a more correct account of it, than is conveyed by the statement, that 'it is the dream of him who is awake.' *

* Dr. Burrows recommends, that medical men should never commit themselves in a court of justice by stating definitively what madness is, and what it is not. This might be very well, if the advocates and court left them to their own volition; but many cases present

In that section of our Author's book which treats of the question of religion in connexion with insanity, there is much to be commended. More especially are we pleased to find, that the tendency of his reasoning is to oppugn and oppose the vulgar error, that religion is the most common source of mental alienation. Dr. B. somewhat awkwardly puts the question, 'Is religion a cause or an effect of insanity?' But his object in discussing it, is to shew, (and, in our opinion, he successfully makes out his point,) that even in cases where fanatical notions in respect of religious subjects, constitute the prominent features of the disorder, the hallucination of mind, or a marked disposition to it, is the prior circumstance; and that matters of faith are seized upon by the deranged mind, and shaped and coloured in a distorted and fantastic manner, in the same way that other subjects would be handled and treated, that might flit across the brain while thus perturbed or morbidly excited. But on this particular we have previously commented; and, indeed, the division of the work now alluded to, is little more than a repetition of what was formerly published in the Author's 'Inquiry.'

While discussing the subject of 'physical causes of insanity', Dr. B. very properly combats that notion to which we have already made allusion, as being by far too loosely adopted, and as leading to practical errors of a most serious kind; *viz.* that maniacal excitement is necessarily accompanied or caused by vascular impetus; or, that inflammation of the brain, and (if we may so term it) inflammation of the mind, are one and the same thing. The fact is, that we are totally ignorant of that alteration which takes place in the sentient part of the organization, to constitute aberration of mind; and although a disorder of the intellect cannot possibly exist independent of a disorder of the body, the nature and extent of the latter are, in very many cases, hidden from anatomical investigation. Even when death has been caused by mental disturbance, and dissection demonstrates this or that lesion in the brain, or in any other of the viscera to have taken place, we cannot tell how far such organic change may have been the consequence or the occasion of the functional lesion with which it is thus connected in the *post mortem* appearance.

For the opinion, that affections of the mind are much more remediable than is usually supposed, we have the high authority of the Author now before us.

themselves, in which a verbal recognition of the malady becomes absolutely necessary, or the inquiry would proceed altogether upon a *petitio principii*.

'Few popular errors', says Dr. Burrows, 'have been more prejudicial, either to the interests of science or those of humanity, than that insanity is commonly incurable, and consequently that all remedies are useless. This was not the conviction of the ancients :

Et quoniam mentem sanari, corpus ut ægrum,
Cernimus, et flecti, medicinâ posse videmus.

And happily, the experience of the present age, as we shall shew, clearly demonstrates, that a very large proportion of the insane recover the perfect use of their understanding.'

As this is a very important part of the present inquiry, and Dr. Burrows has been at considerable pains in collecting and collating evidence bearing upon the point, we should not do justice either to the subject or the Author, were we to abstain here from a pretty large quotation. It must be premised, that the investigation relative to the curative nature of the disorder, has led Dr. Burrows into a very extensive field of observation, relative to the comparative efficiency of the several institutions for the insane, both in this country and on the Continent; and he has evinced no small portion of patient industry in the execution of the task thus imposed upon himself. We are, indeed, always pleased with the acumen and diligence of Dr. Burrows when he undertakes any statistical inquiries which have a bearing upon the subject of insanity; and we think that the framers of the new bill for regulating lunatic establishments, would have done well to pay more deference than they seem to have done to his suggestions, and to the medical character as represented by such individuals as our Author.

'From this extensive survey, I drew two very satisfactory conclusions; first, that among all the provincial asylums excepting one, there was much to commend, and nothing to condemn, but what arose from locality or faults in the designs of the buildings; and secondly, that a most laudable emulation prevailed to improve the system of treatment to the uttermost of the means each respectively afforded.

'The remarkable discrepancy displayed in the proportion of cures in different institutions, cannot escape notice, and requires some comment. Reasoning *à priori*, we may naturally infer, that the results will always correspond with [to] the means adopted for the treatment of lunatics, and that these must be greatly influenced by the rule for the admission and duration of patients in asylums. The objects, economy, and regulation, indeed, of public asylums, often differ as much from each other, as they necessarily do from those of private asylums; and nearly the same diversity obtains among the latter as among the former. Again, even under the most judicious management, much difference in the degree of success must obtain from local circumstances. Nobody will expect the same results in Bethlem and St. Luke's, as in the Quaker's Retreat, or in the asylums of Nottingham, Stafford, Exeter, Gloucester, or Glasgow, or in the mili-

tary asylum, or in those of Wakefield and Lancaster. Even the very site and construction of such edifices must produce different effects on the curative system.

' Besides, the object for which these establishments are intended, differ. I shall briefly detail the essential distinctions in British public lunatic asylums. They may be divided into three classes: 1. Those which are entirely eleemosynary, or are supported partly by an income, funded or landed, but arising from benevolence, and partly by voluntary contributions. 2. Those which are supported partly by voluntary contributions, and partly by pensionary patients, paying according to a certain gradation of rank. 3. Pauper lunatic asylums, founded under Mr. Wynne's act, at the expense of the county, and wherein the patients are supported by their parishes. In all these, except where there are patients taken on profitable allowances, or any officer of the establishment is remunerated according to the number or ability of such pensioners, at least a common interest prevails, if no better feeling operate, to facilitate the cure, and consequently the discharge of every patient.

' Private asylums are also of different descriptions. In some, nothing more is professed, unless especially required, than kind usage and safe custody; while in others, the means of cure are not only professed, but sometimes very efficaciously employed. The first are commonly under the superintendence of unprofessional persons: the second are generally under that of a member of the faculty.

' The destination of these institutions being as dissimilar in England as they are in France, it might be wise to imitate the French custom, and to both kinds attach a characteristic name: the former, the French call *Maisons de Détenation*; the latter, *Maisons de Santé*, or *Pensionats*.

Our Author goes on to make other remarks in reference to the regulations of different establishments; some admitting epileptic and paralytic affections, others rejecting them; some taking in idiots and positive incurables, while others refuse them. He then adds:—

' Such being the diversity in the views, regulations, and systems in British public lunatic asylums, any generalization of the contents of the comparative table is totally precluded. But we may safely deduce from the success of particular establishments, that the ratio of cures is always commensurate with the means and the judgement in administering them.'

The result of the tables which Dr. Burrows has formed by a collation of the returns from the several public institutions in this country, presents an average of rather more than 40 to 100 discharged from the houses cured. In a national point of view, it is gratifying to add, that this proportion is larger than the aggregate taken from a number of continental establishments, in which, according to the calculation, the cures appear to be about 34 in 100. Even the higher proportion, however,

is under what might be expected from a faithful return of all the private asylums, and indeed, is under the result of such returns as have been furnished by these institutions. These details are the more gratifying, when we recollect that the proportions of cures are taken from a number of indiscriminate admissions, some of which are obviously *ab origine* of an incurable nature, and many of which would even be considered as scarcely coming under the denomination of insanity. But we still think, that the assertion made by Dr. Willis some years ago, and which Dr. Burrows thinks does not go too far, that 'nine out of ten cases of insanity would recover, if placed under proper care within three months from the attack',—requires for its substantiation more facts than have hitherto been furnished.

The plans of treatment would be of course uninteresting to our readers. Indeed, one of the great merits of Dr. Burrows, and of those who think and feel with him, is, that in respect of the administration of drugs and medicinals, whether of the lowering or stimulating kind, no *plan* is laid down. The curative indications are circumstantial, rather than systematic. Blood-letting and tonics, narcotics and excitants, cathartics and cordials, are all kept in readiness for employment, according to the varied demands of the respective cases.

There is one passage, however, relating to the management of the insane, which we shall extract, from the conviction that much injury often arises in consequence of a wish on the part of relations to indulge themselves with too frequent or precipitate interviews.

'One of the most painful duties of the physician is the repressing of the importunities of the patient himself, and also of his relations and friends, to allow of communication. When convinced that it will be detrimental, resistance to such communication should be carried to the utmost point, and should be yielded only when importunity on the part of those who have authority, assumes the character of a command. In yielding contrary to his judgement, the physician should distinctly throw all responsibility on the applicant; otherwise the consequence, if injurious, will certainly be cast on him.

'When allowed to follow my own course, before I permit the visitation of any individual, I examine the state of the patient's feelings and views towards that person. Moreover, I always select the one who the least interests the patient's affections for the first interview. If that is borne without ill effect, I next fix on one who is nearer, and reserve, as the last trial, communication with the object of warmest attachment.

'Proceeding in this cautious way, the mind too sensitive, or too enfeebled by recent sufferings, is gradually brought to bear a renewal of intercourse with long lost friends, without being too much moved.

'Frequently, however, all the sagacity of the physician is deceived by the art and dissimulation of the patient, who will assume the appearance of amendment merely to obtain an interview with a friend; his only object in seeking it being, to request his release, or perhaps to make accusations respecting his treatment.

'Should the mental derangement have proceeded from habitual intemperance, a longer confinement after convalescence is obviously required than from any other cause; for the more it is protracted, the greater is the probability of that habit being obliterated, and the permanence of recovery.'

Dr. Burrows further goes on to refer to a very interesting case published by Dr. Gooch, in which the admission of a beloved relative was the first step to the cure of the patient. But, in this case, the hallucination consisted partly in the supposition that the relation was dead, and that his spirit appeared; and at the best, Dr. B. remarks, it can be taken only as an exception to the rule.

Another source of gratification, to the British public especially, Dr. Burrows has provided, by demonstrating, that insanity is by no means on the increase, as is generally supposed; and that other countries present a larger annual proportion than our own, of mental hallucination. Even suicide, which, among us, is of dreadful frequency, and which has been considered as almost a national characteristic, proves to be, in other capitals, of still more frequent occurrence in proportion to the population. From a census taken of the number of cases of self-destruction in one year, the proportions are thus deduced:—

	Suicides.	Population.		Proportion.
Copenhagen	51	84,000	or	0.6 in 1000
Berlin	57	166,584	or	0.34 in 1000
Paris	300	700,000	or	0.42 in 1000
London	200	1,000,000	or	0.2 in 1000

The proportion of suicides, therefore, in Paris, Berlin, and Copenhagen, was, in relation to that of London, as 5 to 2, 5 to 3, and 3 to 1.

On the subject of self-destruction, we have already remarked, that Dr. Burrows complains of our strictures; and it is curious, that the complaint is of an opposite description to that which might be supposed to proceed from an author who contends for insanity's being, in all its stages, and modes, and expressions, a bodily disorder. Insanity, in his system, we should have imagined, would have been pretty largely assumed as the cause of suicide, and that suicide would be considered as a physical affair. But no; he regards the act for the most part as one of sane volition, and as therefore amenable to the charge

of criminality; and he complains of the Eclectic Reviewer, as 'deeming him harsh for speaking of suicide generally as a vice.' Nothing, we should hope, can be more remote from our intentions, than to encourage a laxity of principle in respect to the awful crime of wilful self-destruction. Yet, on the other hand, to consider suicide abstractedly as a vice, is surely inconsistent with all pathological truth, and is calculated to excite feelings on the part of surviving relatives, which would give dreadfully additional poignancy to the sufferings occasioned by the loss, in this way, of those who were near and dear to them.

Within our own recollection, and in the circle of our own immediate acquaintance, four recent cases occur to us, all of which, so far as we can possess the means of judging, took place under different mental impressions; even in a philosophical point of view, therefore, it would be improper to register them all under one head, or to refer them to one principle. And this impropriety becomes more manifest, when the generalization implies on the part of the suicide the commission of crime. The first to which we allude, was in the instance of a most interesting individual of the medical profession, the son of a popular preacher. This individual was constitutionally disposed to the depths of melancholic abstraction; they were, however, although violent, yet so transitory as not to occasion the interruption, to any extent, of his professional pursuits. Too often, it must be told, he had recourse to the worst of all expedients,—the excitement of spirituous liquors, in order to dispel them. In these visitations of melancholy gloom, he frequently felt an all but unconquerable impulse to put an end to his life. Indeed, according to his own confession, the feeling had in many cases been prevented from being brought into act, only by the presence of his wife, or his children, or some circumstance of counter impulse. But the act was at length committed, and that in the most determined and effectual manner. Now, who shall say, that the impulse in this case was not absolutely irresistible? Who shall dare to deny the possibility of the *physical* condition of the frame being such at the time of the act, as to bear away with it all religious counteractives, and thus to stamp it as a deed of positive insanity? But no qualification of this kind can be admitted to apply to the second instance we shall adduce, which was a case of self-destruction on the part of a dissolute young man, the son of an officer in the army, who rushed away from the place where he had staked his last guinea, and knowing that the world afforded him no solace, and that his friends would turn their backs upon him, presented a pistol to his head, and at once ter-

minated his existence, under the feeling (as far as could be judged from his former demeanour and the tenor of his whole life), that present shame and ruin were certain, and futurity uncertain! Who does not directly see a wide difference in these two cases? And even the philosophical error which would be committed is obvious, of making them both amenable to the same sweeping charge of suicidal criminality.

The third example we shall adduce, and which is of recent occurrence, is that of a young poet, who had given to the world many proofs of a fine genius, and to his friends, many demonstrations of an amiable mind; but who conceived the insane idea, that poverty and distress awaited him, and under the impulse of this hallucination, destroyed his useful life. The fear of poverty, it may be said, could no more justify the act in the present instance, than in the one just before cited; but the person who should so say, ought to recollect, that insanity in this last case, but not in the preceding one, induced the fear. In such a case, it is clear, that the object of apprehension is not the *cause* of the feeling of apprehension, but that the feeling caused by disease, creates and shapes its object. For the same individual who, in a healthy state of mind, would have borne adversity with resignation and cheerfulness, is impelled, when labouring under disease, to regard the imaginary subject of his terror as both insupportable and irremediable, and to act under the delusion in a manner which the reality would never have occasioned.

Not many days ago, a case of self-destruction came under our notice, the last we shall record, which, to our minds, was more equivocal with respect to its real nature, than any of the others above referred to. The first and the third of these seem to us clearly referrible to the influence of insanity, and to be, in this respect, of a nature decidedly and essentially different from the second. The instance to which we now refer, was that of an individual of violent passions and eccentric character. He was one of those who, judging from their conduct, seem to suppose, that nothing is right which is in the orderly and established course of events;—that you must deviate from the practice of others, or you are nothing worth. Withal, there were some exceedingly interesting points of character about him; he was warm in his friendships, and ardent in his benevolence. Loose company, and its concomitant, drinking, became his ruin. His thoughts and actions, which were always verging upon madness, partly from constitution, and partly, as the Writer always thought, from affectation of singularity, now put on the semblance of lunacy in a higher degree. Still, we always hesitated to consider the case as one of decided

insanity; and his confinement for a short time was recommended, for the purpose of keeping him out of harm's way, rather than under the full persuasion of his being positively in a maniacal condition. In the asylum to which he was sent, he was so kindly treated, and found himself so comfortably circumstanced, as to induce a desire on his own part for the protraction of his confinement; but his request could not with propriety be complied with, inasmuch as the means of supporting him in the house, were furnished from a fund to which he had been a subscriber. He was therefore discharged. He returned to the world with broken fortunes and with blasted expectations; became dull and melancholic; and in a fit of despondency, as it should seem, strangled himself.

Here, then, within the compass of a short time, and in a limited sphere of acquaintance, we find the act of suicide to have been committed under totally different circumstances as regards both the real cause and the obvious motive. And it must always be taken into the account, that individual acts, whether partaking of the nature of crime or of disorder, are performed under the direction of inward workings which no human eye can perceive. While, then, we join with Dr. Burrows in condemning the creed and judgement of those who refer every example of suicide to the operation of insanity; we must at the same time believe, that it would be a gross error, as well as the extreme of cruelty, to attach the stigma of crime to the act when it has been committed under the ungovernable impulse of positive hallucination. At the same time, the Author has our heartfelt approbation for the stand he has made against that laxity of inference which has a tendency to increase the dreadful evil of self-destruction,—not only dire and dreadful in itself, but, in its operation upon social connexions, most calamitous. Were pains taken in all cases to trace the effect to its true cause, and, in the instances of obvious sanity, to mark in some signal way the act with infamy, we are persuaded, that instances would be much fewer than they are at present, and that the anticipation of posthumous disgrace would prove more influential as a preventive, than what ought to be a higher and a more powerful motive.

'A gentleman told me,' says Dr. B., 'that when at Malta, a few years after that island was taken possession of by the British, suicides became alarmingly common in a particular regiment. Every means was tried in vain to put a stop to it. At length, the commandant resolved, that the body of the next suicide should be denied Christian burial, and be treated with every indignity. The opportunity soon offered: another suicide occurred. The regiment was drawn out; the corpse was stripped naked, placed on a hurdle, and dragged with

every mark of ignominy, and thrown into the fosse. After this, there were no more suicides.'

We should say, that although, by some, the conduct of the commanding officer would be considered as more consistent with the practice of darker ages, than with the present, it was more judicious and philosophical than that of Dr. Darwin, who, when a gentleman told him, that he intended to make away with himself, for he was tired of all life afforded, viz a warm fireside and a pack of cards, ordered him to have an issue on his head. When philosophy has reached the conclusion, that criminal resolves are the mere consequences of physical conditions, or that our lives and destinies are at our own capricious disposal, the march of intellect has proceeded a step too far, and has made its way, unconsciously and unprotected, upon the enemy's frontier.

The question of the hereditary nature of insanity, is one that involves much matter of interest, both of a general and an individual nature. Restrictions upon marriage union on the ground of constitutional taint, have been carried, it is thought, much too far. Indeed, intermarriages would appear to be providentially designed as a security against the perpetuation of hereditary tendencies, and, unless in cases where the predisposition is of a most marked and prominent kind, ought to be encouraged, rather than opposed, on the score of salutary influences. Some of our readers may recollect that this principle has been very ingeniously argued on by Dr. Adams, who contends, that we may trace a provision against the deterioration of the race, which the great apprehension of hereditary maladies supposes, in that revealed law by which any sexual intercourse between near relations is forbidden. This prohibition, he says, as far as we can judge, proves sufficient to prevent the too great influence of such an hereditary cause, since the number of maniacs does not increase in proportion to our increased population, and the great exciting causes of madness, namely, increased wealth and other sources of ambition. 'Have we not reason,' he adds, 'to be satisfied with the provisions of nature and with the Divine commands? Yet, in the most serious of all hereditary peculiarities, the great susceptibility to madness, celibacy has been recommended as a duty.' He contends further, that the restrictions are not only cruel, but inefficient; and he conceives, that it is only where seclusion is acted on, that perpetuation of maladies is effected. It is a curious fact in confirmation of Dr. Adams's principle, that, among the Society of Friends, madness is of much more frequent occurrence than would be supposed, when we take into account

the sober habits and quiet manners of this people; for perhaps, the only explanation that can be given of this fact, is, their practice of intermarriage, or, if we may be pardoned the technical phrase, breeding in and in. Our own opinion has always been, that hereditary tendencies have been presumed and apprehended too largely. 'Were *madness*, gout, scrophula, as 'absolutely hereditary as has been supposed, the world by this 'time must have presented nothing but one vast lunatic asylum or universal lazar-house.'

But we check our disposition to pursue these interesting investigations; and we must now take leave of our Author with thanking him for his present contribution to medical literature. We think that his volume, however, is rather too much expanded; and it is, here and there, a little disfigured by common place and by some antiquated notions. It is, for example, too late in the day for the introduction of lengthy dissertations respecting the identity or diversity of hypochondriasis and hysteria; for the very assumption of the abstract existence of either, seems grounded on false notions. This sort of disputations as to what a disease is, and what it is not, has served in all ages to vitiate the theory and to injure the nomenclature of medicine. In spite, however, of these and some other faults which rigid criticism might perhaps detect, we do not hesitate to pronounce the book a good one, and worthy the reputation its Author has acquired.

Mr. Cooke's treatise displays much pathological acumen and practical tact. We have been exceedingly pleased to find his views so clear from the obscurations of a cramping system. He has taken the human frame as it is, a circle and bond of sympathies; and has not only refused to recognize, but has ingeniously opposed, and successfully combated, those opinions which turn upon the assumption of medicine's being reducible to a few leading *principia*. His inferences are clinical, without being empirical; and his generalizations are always free from the bias of particular theories.

In the first part of the work, Mr. C. considers the various sources of dyspeptic symptoms; and in the second, the effects produced on remote parts of the body and on the *mind*, by derangements of the digestive organs. Nothing can be more important than to recognize the connexion of sentient states with the condition of the first passages and of the organs subservient to alimentation. Although we often see aberration of mind exist from its lowest to its highest degrees, while the digestive organization is to all appearance entirely unconnected with the change that is taking place in the nervous part of the system, no medical practitioner

would prove himself in any measure worthy his vocation, who should come to the investigation of mental ailment without a minute inquisition of the digestive, assimilating, absorbent, and secernent functions. Whether hypochondriasis and melancholia are one and the same disorder, is a useless and unmeaning question; but, whether the cloud that is resting upon our patient's understanding and feelings has been attracted by the physical workings of the interior, and if so, to what extent and in what manner this has been the case,—are always points of the greatest interest, and points that demand the most vigilant attention from the individual who should apply his knowledge and his talents to dispersing the 'coming thick mists of 'vaporious depression.' Even a common cathartic, judiciously or injudiciously administered, may chase away the gloom of melancholy, or add to, and in some instances actually produce a fretfulness and peevishness of spirit. The lancet, that 'muted instrument of mighty mischief', may indeed prove such in the hands of an undiscerning practitioner, or when wielded by a physician whose only guide is dogmatic system; while it may 'convey a cordial on its point' when the hand which employs it is guided by skill, or directed by unbiassed observation. So very different an affair is medicine from those sciences which are taught by abstract rule, or dependent upon undeviating postulata; and so much better a guide is pathology than precept,—observation than nosology.

We should have been glad, had our limits allowed, to go analytically through the volume of Mr. Cooke, submitting a few remarks of our own in the course of the abstract; but we are restrained from fulfilling our intention by want of space and time; and we must content ourselves with recommending where we had designed to quote. For one short case, however, we shall make room, as the intimations that are appended to it, appear to us worthy the consideration of those who are disposed to give ready credence to every narration which has the slightest semblance of truth, in connexion with much of the marvellous.

Dr. Ferriar, it is well known, has endeavoured to trace the belief in ghostly visitations to impressions upon the mind connected with certain states of the body; which impressions, had they happened under different circumstances of mental and bodily condition, would have passed off unnoticed, or merely have been thought of as the sports and freaks of fancy; the predisposition to credence being of course greater or less according both to constitutional susceptibility, and early education or associations. We would not be thought to encourage a sceptical or *organic* philosophy beyond certain bounds; but we can-

not help thinking, that if such reasoning as Dr. Ferriar's, and such cases as the one immediately to be cited, were properly appreciated, many of the narrations, to the truth of which even respectable and intelligent men have subscribed, and often with the best feelings and intentions, would come to be universally thought of either as 'baseless fabrics' or mere physical phenomena.

'On the 8th of February, 1808, I was consulted', says Mr. C., 'by an individual who, being unable to give any very explicit account of his indisposition, felt a little embarrassment on presenting himself for my advice. He was conscious of some affection of the head, but it was so exceedingly slight, that he regarded it as scarcely worthy of notice. The circumstance that most annoyed him, was the nightly appearance of apparitions. He distinctly saw the figures of persons at his bed-side, and held conversations with them; and he assured me that, if his judgement had not opposed the idea, he should have considered his house as haunted.

'On careful enquiry and examination, I found that the man's tongue was somewhat coated, that his excretions were of an unhealthy colour, and that his bowels were rather irregular; therefore, I had no doubt that the ghostly visitors were *bilious phantoms*. He was advised to take six grains of the blue pill every other night, with a slightly stimulant bitter, combined with a little carbonate of ammonia twice daily: a blister was also applied *inter scapulas*. After having taken two doses of the pills, he suffered no further inconvenience from visions.

'In this instance, the evidence of hepatic derangement was but slight; not enough to attract the observation of the patient himself; but the analogy of the circumstance to numerous cases of the same kind, in which similar phenomena had occurred from disorder in the liver, led me to attribute the nightly illusion to that cause. The speedy removal of the annoyance, under the simple means employed, confirmed the inference which had been deduced. Though in humble life, the patient was an intelligent man, and neither credulous nor superstitious; he therefore wisely inferred, that what appeared to be a deviation from the ordinary course of nature, must necessarily be owing to some error in his own perceptions. It will be found, I believe, that derangement in the functions of the digestive organs, is the most prolific source of the phenomena of ghosts, usually ascribed to supernatural agency. Their appearance, indeed, is frequently connected in the most plausible manner with events. This often happens from the mind's having dwelt in earnest and solicitous expectation of the events; or it might have resulted from accidental coincidence; but much more frequently, they are connected, *post factum*, by persons who delight in telling what is marvellous.

We have been much gratified by the suggestions and intimations of Mr. Cooke on the subject of those hyper-particu-

larities respecting diet, and those abstemious rigidities, which have lately resulted from the notion, that food is taken in quite sufficient quantities, if it prove sufficient to preserve the vital principle from quitting entirely the body. Repletion is manifestly the occasion of much disease, both of an acute and a chronic nature; but the forcible representations made by some talented individuals, of this well known fact and principle, have introduced extreme notions which, in their consequences, have proved exceedingly pernicious, especially to the young and growing. As medical superintendent of a charity which comprises a large school of boys and girls, the Writer of the present article has had to oppose the wishes of a well-meaning but hyper-abstemious committee of management, who, wishing to convert the poor little inmates of the establishment into young Cornaros, are desirous of putting them upon a system of diet that, by cramping their growth and occasioning craving and sinking sensations of the stomach, would come to be destructive of the very design for which the proposed alteration is recommended. In this particular, as in almost every thing else, the middle course is the safest. We mention the circumstance of the school, because we have ascertained by large observation and experience, that an undue quantity of aliment, or the prohibition of meals beyond the accustomed time, which was formerly enjoined as a punishment, and is now thought of and adopted upon more praise-worthy, but still mistaken motives, is a practice calculated to enervate, rather than to strengthen—to invite, rather than to ward off disease. Under this persuasion, it is with much gratification that we embrace the opportunity afforded us, of extracting the following very useful remarks from so competent a judge as Mr. Cooke; and having made the quotation, we must take leave at once of him and of our readers.

‘ The diet of persons labouring under any variety of disease of the digestive organs, is certainly of great importance; but, like every thing else in the treatment, this must depend on the peculiarities of the case. To have only one system for adoption in these cases, is as perfect empiricism, as to have only one medical prescription. The capabilities of the stomach must be regarded, as well as the congeniality of the supply; and proper intervals must be observed; but I must maintain, that many adults, and *many more at a tender age*, cannot endure the long intervals of five or six hours, which some practitioners seem to enjoin almost universally. We observe this diversity in healthy children. I have lately been consulted respecting a youth at a preparatory school, a boy of most amiable mind and industrious in his habits, who appears in perfect health, with the exception that, about four hours after his meals, he loses all power of exertion, his head throbs, and he is obliged to lie down. His eating

a biscuit, or dry crust, prevents the attack. *It is perhaps quite as necessary, in the present day, to caution against protracted fastings, as against superabundant and too frequent supply.*

Art. III. *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, translated from the original Sanscrit.* By Horace Hayman Wilson, Esq. In Three Vols. 8vo. pp. 996. Calcutta. 1827.

WE are somewhat inclined to suspect that an undue importance has been assigned to dramatic literature, as exhibiting the 'very age and body of the time, its form and 'pressure.' The tragic writer, excepting in what has been called the *tragedie bourgeoise*, avowedly resorts to distant scenes and heroic times, and removes himself as far as possible from contact with familiar life and surrounding objects: nor can he altogether abandon this principle, even in those less elevated compositions in which the characters and decorations are nearer the common level. In such plays as *The Gamester*, *George Barnwell*, and *Fatal Curiosity*, where laudanum, the gibbet, or the knife, the details of the Old Bailey, and the coroner's inquest, the vulgar horrors of the cross road, or the new drop, furnish the repulsive materials by which sympathy, and grief, and terror are to be awakened,—there will, of course, be so much illustration of character as may be derived from the *New-gate Calendar*, or the *Hue-and-cry*; but the finer traits of manner, the marking lineaments of national or individual feature, will be sought for in vain. Nor does that higher and more interesting *grade* of the domestic drama, of which *The Fair Penitent* and *Venice Preserved* may be taken as examples, afford more definite delineations. No one thinks of referring to either of those productions, or to any of their class, for elucidations of local, personal, or national peculiarities: they make every thing subservient to the deep impression upon feeling at which they exclusively aim; and all the discrimination of character, or exhibition of habit and manners that they present, is limited by the variations of the interest, the demands of the plot, or the necessity for giving effect to dramatic grouping and situation.

The main stress, however, is laid on comedy. Here, at least, we are told, will be found the faithful, even if somewhat overcharged portraiture of men and things as they are; a fair transcript of the social map; an adequate exhibition of the freaks of folly, the workings of passion, and the vagaries of opinion. We doubt exceedingly whether any thing of all this can be attained from the source in question, with sufficient precision or correctness for the purposes of sound and specific inform-

ation. There must be so much of abatement and allowance, so much of conjecture and adjustment, and, after all, there will remain such an abundant alloy of uncertainty and suspicion, that we are disposed, for ourselves, to dismiss the entire collection of evidence that has been brought from this quarter, as injurious, rather than auxiliary to historical illustration. When all the necessary deductions have been made for satire, gay or malignant, for party and personal enmity or partiality, for ignorance and misconception, for any or for all of the thousand sources of misrepresentation connected with comic exhibition; how much that is trustworthy will remain applicable to the purposes of the inquirer after facts and fashions? Shall we take our estimate of Socrates from the libels of Aristophanes?—or of Euripides from the fantastic jests of the same ‘chartered libertine’? Attempts, ingenious but ineffectual, have been made, to throw light, or rather darkness, on the manners, character, and government of the Athenians, by citations and inferences from the same singular authority. Nothing, in our view, can be more absurd, or more mischievous than this. Assign to Aristophanes the highest possible character, as a patriot and sage deploring the errors of his countrymen, and seeking to avert the calamities that hung over them, by honest and vigorous counsel; place him above all suspicion of malice, mistake, or dishonesty, and what will be the result? Nothing, but that, of all methods of reform, he took the worst. To exaggerate crime or folly, is not only to blunt the edge of monition, by giving conscience a pretext for rejecting the lesson, but amounts to a positive transfer of criminality, by placing the accuser in the situation of the accused. Who, at this time of day, can undertake, excepting from contemporary and collateral information, to determine how much or how little of all this venomous satire is true, and how far we may go in accepting it even as plausible information. Are Gilray and Cruickshanks historical authorities? Is the immortal memory of George Whitfield impaired in our veneration by the loathsome malignity of Foote; or does any one feel himself justified in citing the Macsycophant and Macsarcasm of Macklin as proofs of Scottish selfishness and subserviency? For our own parts, we are disposed to carry this matter the full length of contending, that the drama, though valuable to the antiquary, in some degree, as illustrating opinion and feeling, is nearly useless in throwing light on facts and manners. Take, for instance, the old comedy of Gammer Gurton’s Needle, full of rich humour and strong painting, though coarse and disgusting in many of its details. Its construction and management involve a continual recurrence to the habits of rustic society in England,

a country which has always been remarkable for decided and peculiar character. And yet, how little is there, throughout the play, that might not have taken place, allowing for merry exaggeration, in any region under heaven where gammers, parsons, and justices are to be found? Again, if we were required to name the dramatist who has, apparently, made the greatest use of local and individual character and custom, we should unhesitatingly refer to Ben Jonson; yet we apprehend, that if scrutiny were made, it would be found, that there is incomparably more of invention than of truth, of rich and vigorous colouring and expression, than of experience and observation. 'Every Man in his Humour', and 'Bartholomew Fair', promise every thing in the way of specific delineation, but are more distinguished by native, than by derived qualities; by a joyous combination of genuine comedy and broad farce, by powerful conception, and boldness of handling almost unrivalled, by inexhaustible variety and infinite jest, than by the expression of actual circumstances and tangible shapes.

We are not aware that a different result would be procured by an extension of these inquiries to the German, French, or Spanish drama. There may be much nationality with very partial and questionable illustration of national character. The motives, feelings, and modes of expression, may all be strongly marked by peculiarities of caste and country, without affording direct information of any kind: nor can the romance and mysticism of Germany, the vivacity of France, or the bustle and intrigue of Spain, as exemplified in their dramatic literature, supply any thing in this way, beyond their own very limited range of influence and exhibition.

Apparently, the dramatic literature of Asia is somewhat more instructive in these respects. The 'Laou-seng-urh' is full of references to Chinese customs and habits; and the highly interesting volumes before us are fraught with indications of Hindu peculiarities. We are not, however, by any means certain, that there is so much of this as may, at first sight, appear. When there is so entire a difference, as exists in the present instance, in language and in habits, we are in danger of confounding expression with circumstance, contrast with character, and costume with custom. This may, perhaps, appear more clearly in the course of the following observations.

The drama of the Hindus is known to the English reader, chiefly by the exquisite mytho-pastoral of *Sacotala*, translated by Sir William Jones; and partially by a few incidental extracts and comments in Mr. Colebrooke's valuable essay on 'Sanskrit and Pracrit Poetry.' *Sacotala*, amid all the disadvantages of a prose translation, maintains the high character

which it bears among the literati of India. The plot is simple, but interesting and skilfully managed; the characters are sufficiently, though not strongly discriminated; the dialogue richly poetical; and the whole drama is evidently the production of a poet of the highest order in his own peculiar class, although by no means justifying the extravagant eulogy passed by his translator on Kalidasa, as the 'Shakspeare of India.' The fourth act, in particular, is fraught with tenderness and beauty; and it might be worth learning Sanscrit, to read in the original, the exquisite scene in which Sacontala quits her garden and her favourite fawn, for the palace of Dushmanta.

Sir William Jones, on the authority of his Pundit, affirmed, that the 'Indian theatre would fill as many volumes as that of any nation in ancient or modern Europe.' He appears, however, to have been egregiously misinformed, since Mr. Wilson, with far better opportunities for acquiring accurate knowledge, expresses his conviction, that all the Hindu dramas extant, or known by name and citation, do not 'amount to many more than sixty.' It is no small corroboration of this statement, that the two great masters of dramatic composition, Kalidasa and Bhavabuti, so far as is known, have, each of them, left no more than three plays; 'a most beggarly account, when contrasted with the three hundred and sixty-five comedies of An-tiphanes, or the two thousand of Lope de Vega.' The first of these illustrious writers is said to have been one of the *Nine Gems* that adorned the reign and court of the celebrated Hindu Raja Vikramaditya, who flourished in the century preceding the commencement of the Christian era. There is much uncertainty, however, about all this; and it appears by no means improbable, that there may have been two poets distinguished by the name of Kalidas. Of the three plays ascribed to the genuine Kalidasa, we have two fully translated, and a third described with sufficient minuteness for general curiosity. The first of these, Sacontala, has been too long and too accessibly before the public, to claim either analysis or specific criticism from us; but the very interesting composition which has been translated by Mr. Wilson, will afford us an opportunity of giving our readers a fair view of one of the finest specimens of the Indian drama.

All compositions of this kind among the Hindus, open with an induction or 'prelude', sometimes awkwardly, and at others ingeniously constructed; usually consisting of a brief explanatory dialogue between the manager and one of the actors, and occasionally connected in a rather whimsical manner with the first scene. The *Vikrama and Urvashi*, after a prologue of this kind, containing little more than an intimation that the play

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about to commence is the work of Kalidasa, opens, in a very striking way, with a view of part of the Himalaya range, with a troop of Apsarasas, or heavenly nymphs, flying about in great distress, and calling very musically for aid in rescue of their companion Urvasi, who has just been carried off by a demon. The hero, Pururavas, enters in a 'heavenly car', and goes off in quest of the monster: the rapidity of his flight is well described.

' Before the car,
Like vollied dust the scattering clouds divide;
The whirling wheel deceives the dazzled eye,
And double round the axle seems to circle;
The waving chowrie * on the steed's broad brow
Points backward, motionless as in a picture;
And backward streams the banner from the breeze
We meet—immoveable.'

The nymph is saved, and brought in fainting. Her recovery and her charms are poetically described by her enamoured deliverer.

' Have patience—she recovers though but faintly.
So gently steals the moon upon the night,
Retiring tardily.—So peeps the flame
Of evening fires through smoky wreaths—and thus
The Ganges slowly clears her troubled wave,
Engulfs the ruin that the tumbling bank
Had hurled athwart her agitated course,
And flows a clear and stately stream again.'

..... ' Love himself
Was her creator, whilst the moon
Gave her his radiance, and the flowery Spring
Taught her to madden men and gods with passion.'

The whole party *perch* on the 'towering Hemakuta,' the golden or snowy peak of the Himalaya mountains, where the hero and heroine get rapidly and irrecoverably in love with one another, and are at last reluctantly compelled to separate. The groupe is enlarged by a swarm of Gandharbas, or celestial choristers, and the whole convoy ascends through the sky, leaving the king behind gazing after Urvasi.

* 'The Chamari or Chowrie—the white bushy tail of the Tibet cow, fixed on a gold or ornamented shaft, rose from between the ears of the horse like the plume of the war-horse of chivalry; the banner or banneret with the devices of the chief, rose at the back of the car.'

‘ The beauteous nymph
Bears off my heart in triumph through the path
Her sire immortal treads : so flies the swan
Through the mid air, charged with its precious spoil,
The milky nectar of the lotus stem.’

The second act transfers the scenery to the royal gardens, and introduces to our notice the *Vidushaka*, a character invariably attendant on the hero, as an humble but attached friend. He is always a Brahman, a great tattler, at all times desperately hungry, and acts as the *gracioso* of the piece, prompt with an idle jest to make ‘the groundlings laugh.’ This worthy is on the present occasion entrusted with the secret of the Raja Pururavas, and expresses a ludicrous uneasiness in the anticipation of his own indiscretion. His uneasiness turns out to be well-founded, since the queen’s confidant, Nipunika, manages, at a very small expense of dexterity, to obtain the particulars of the king’s new amour. Then follows an interview between Pururavas and Urvasi, who has descended from Swerga, to look upon her love. She first listens, invisible herself, to his conversation; then throws him a billet-doux written on a leaf; and lastly shines forth in all her beauty, but is speedily summoned back to heaven, to bear a part in a celestial ballet. The inscribed leaf is dropped by the luckless *Vidushaka* or *Buffo*, to whose care it had been consigned, and is soon after picked up by Nipunika, who, with the queen, has just entered the garden. Her majesty hands it to her recreant lord, who makes a clumsy apology, to no purpose; the lady sweeps away in high style, followed by the remark of the buffoon, that she ‘has gone off ‘in a hurry, like a river in the rains.’ This act closes with the following picturesque description of an Indian noon.

‘ ‘Tis past mid-day :—exhausted by the heat,
The peacock plunges in the scanty pool
That feeds the tall tree’s root : the drowsy bee
Sleeps in the hollow chamber of the Lotus,
Darkened with closing petals : on the brink
Of the now tepid lake, the wild duck lurks
Amongst the sedgy shade ; and even here,
The parrot from his wiry bower complains,
And calls for water to allay his thirst.’

In the third act, the plot thickens. We learn that Urvasi, while enacting a part in a drama got up in Indra’s heaven, for the entertainment of an earthly saint on a visit to Swerga, forgot her cue; a lapse that put the holy man into a passion, and drew from him a curse on the fair delinquent, which has the effect of banishing her for a time to earth. This, of

course, brings her to the palace of Pururavas, to which the scene shifts, after representing a hermitage during the commencement of the act. The Raja enters, 'attended by the damsel train, with flambeaux in their delicate hands: he moves', in the poetical description of his chamberlain, 'like a mountaintain, around whose stately skirts the slender *karnikara* spreads its brilliant blossoms.' The moon rises, compared by the king to a fair and smiling face between 'jetty curls', and hailed by the lickerish *Vidushaka* as 'the king of the Brahmans, beautiful as a ball of almonds and sugar'. The queen now comes on the stage, in the performance of sacrificial rites, and makes atonement for her previous petulance, promising to live on the best possible terms with any accession that her lord may be pleased to make to the number of his wives; not, by the way, that Pururavas, for an Asiatic, can be considered as extravagant in that article, seeing that he appears to have but one, and limits his wishes to a second. Urvashi, who has been present all this while, though invisible, now shews herself; and her introduction is managed with an elegant playfulness that, as the green-room folk say, would *tell* in the acting. All is now apparently settled, much to the satisfaction of the buffoon, who, like Dame Quickly, wonders that people should ever think of heaven—'a place where they neither eat nor drink, *nor close their eyes even for a twinkle*'. This comic deprecation of celestial vigilance, gives Mr. Wilson a fair occasion for introducing the following curious note.

'The Gods are supposed to be exempt from the momentary elevation and depression of the upper eyelid, to which mortals are subject, and to look with a firm, unintermittent gaze. Hence a deity is termed *Animisha* and *Animesha*—one whose eyes do not twinkle. Various allusions to this attribute occur in poetry. When *Indra* visits *Sita* to encourage her, he assumes, at her request, the marks of divinity—he treads the air, and suspends the motion of the eyelids. (*Ramayana*). When *Agni Varuna*, *Yama*, and *Indra*, all assume the form of *Nata* at the marriage of *Damayanti*, she distinguishes her mortal lover by the twinkling of his eyes, while the gods are *Stabdha Lochana*, fixed-eyed. (*Mahabharat Nalapakhyan*.) And when the *Asvini Kumaras* practise the same trick upon the bride of *Chyavana*, she recognises her husband by this amongst other indications. (*Padma Purana*). The notion is the more deserving of attention, as it is one of those coincidences with classical mythology which can scarcely be accidental. Heliodorus says, 'The gods may be known by the eyes looking with a fixed regard, and never closing the eyelids'; and he cites Homer in proof of it. An instance from the *Iliad* which he has not noticed, may be cited, perhaps, as an additional confirmation; and the *marble eyes* of *Venus*, by which Helen knew the goddess, and which the commentators and translators seem to be much perplexed with, are probably the *Stabdha Lochana*, the

fixed eyes of the Hindus—full and unveiled even for an instant, like the eyes of a marble statue.'

The fourth act is, so far as our cognizance extends, the most extraordinary composition in the whole circle of dramatic composition; and, in performance, must make extravagant demands on the skill and physical powers of the actor. With the exception of an explanatory dialogue at the outset, it consists almost entirely of monologue, and includes song, recitation, and pantomime. The scene lies in a forest, at the foot of a mountainous country; and we learn, from a conversation between two celestial nymphs, that Urvashi, having persuaded Pururavas to retire awhile from the cares of royalty, and to reside amid the groves of Gandhamadana, had, in a jealous fit, wandered from the side of her lord, and trespassing on an enchanted region, became transformed into a vine. It is further intimated, that nothing can effect the reunion of the lovers, but a mystic ruby which had derived its virtue from contact with the feet of Parvati. Then enters the Raja, 'his dress disordered, and his general appearance indicative of insanity.' He is, however, only poetically mad; he can 'tell a hawk from a handsaw'; when the wind is in the right direction; and if madness always originated such exquisite fantasies, the sane might envy the moon-struck. He appeals, in turn, to all the objects that surround him;—the peacock; 'the hoil, of love-breathing song'; the elephant; the bee; the swan; the chackwa, or 'ruddy goose'; the antelope; the rock; and the torrent. We must find room for one of these alternations of song and speech.

' Away with this humility—the wise
Call kings the lords of time—I will assert
My power, and bid the seasons stay their course.

' Air.

' The tree of heaven invites the breeze,
And all its countless blossoms glow:
They dance upon the gale; the bees,
With sweets inebriate, murmuring low,
Soft music lead, and gushes strong
The Koil's deep thick warbling song.

' No! I will not arrest the march of time,
For all around behold my state apparell'd.
The clouds expand my canopy—their lightnings
Gleam as its glittering fringe—rich chowries wave
Of many coloured hues from flowering trees.
The shrieking peafowl, clamorous in their joy,
Are the loud heralds of a sov'reign's honour,

And those bright torrents flashing o'er the brows
 Of the tall mountains, are the wealthy streams
 Poured forth profuse from tributary realms.
 — Fye on it—what have I to do with pomp
 And kingly pride—my sole sad business here
 To thread the woods in search of my beloved.'

At last he finds, in the cleft of a rock, the magic gem; and 'a voice in the air', apprises him of its virtue. He then encounters a drooping and half-withered vine, and fancying that it 'shews the image' of his 'repentant love', embraces it, and it turns to Urvasi. After a rapturous recognition, they determine to return to the Raja's capital, and on the nymph's inquiring respecting the mode of their conveyance, he replies:

'Yonder cloud
 Shall be our downy car, to waft us swift
 And lightly on our way; the lightnings wave
 Its glittering banners, and the bow of Indra
 Hangs as its overarching canopy
 Of variegated and resplendent hues.'

The fifth and last act would, according to European rules, be considered as superfluous; since it has nothing whatever to do with the main plot, and relates to the discovery, by Pururavas, of his son by Urvasi. It appears, that when the nymph quitted the celestial region, it was enjoined by Indra, that she should return when the Raja should see his son. To avert the necessity for their separation, she had concealed the birth, and committed the child to the care of a distinguished sage for education. Of course, all is misery again, and the king is about to abandon his throne, when the poet cuts the knot by the *deus ex machinâ*. A celestial descends, confirms the union of the happy pair, and the piece terminates in a splendid *spectacle*, the inauguration of the young Raja as 'partner of the empire.'

It is quite clear, from this sketch, that when Sir William Jones placed the names of Kalidas and Shakspeare on the same level, he either made large allowance for the difference between an *English* and an *Indian* Shakspeare, or drew, to an *ultra* extent, on the deference of his readers. In the 'Urvasi', as in the 'Sacountala', we have character, but it is neither strongly painted, nor finely discriminated. The nymph is a very loving nymph; the Raja is a sort of mystic Mejnoun; the buffoon is a common-place joker; and the rest are make-weights. Compare it with our own Shakspeare's inimitable *fantasia*, the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and—to say nothing of *Titania* and *Puck*—the admirable Bottom and his gallant associates display more of originality, and more of intuitive knowledge of character, more, in short, of intellectual power and range,

than Kalidasa ever dreamed of, with the other eight 'Gems' to boot. It might be worth while, had we space and time—those two inconvenient pre-requisites to so many 'enterprises of great pith and moment'—at command, to run a parallel between the work of Kalidasa and the Ion of Euripides; a drama with which it has more than one point of similarity, in principle, at least, if not in detail. Apart, however, from all these vague comparisons—the cheapest and least effective of all the various modes of criticism—there can be no question of the genius and high faculty of the Author of *Sacountala*; nor will his fame among us be lessened by the present naturalization of his '*Vikramā* and *Urvashi*.' We cannot say that we quite agree with Mr. Wilson in the opinion, that the latter is superior to the former in the construction of the story and the consecution of the incidents, inasmuch as these appear to us to be its weak points; but, in all other respects, the hand of the same great master is manifest in both. There is the same rich and redundant flow of poetry; the same highly imaginative cast of thought; the same prodigality of description; and the same fertility in inventive resources. His feeling is entirely Asiatic, essentially voluptuous, but qualified and mitigated by an elegance and a tenderness that deprive it of its grossness.

The two favourite dramas of the Hindus are, the *Sacountala* and the '*Malati and Madhava*'; the latter by Bhavabuti, a Brahman of Berar, who flourished in the eighth century, and seems to be placed by his countrymen on an equality with Kalidasa, as it appears to us, very unjustly. He has more bustle and effort, and makes more use of contrast and transition, than his more highly gifted rival; but he is far below him in tenderness and delicacy. Kalidasa's poetry is of a richer vein, a purer ore, and a more finished mintage: he has greater simplicity, and far more real power, without the ostentation and glare of Bhavabuti. The latter manoeuvres for effect, where the former is content with natural expression and circumstance: and while the elder bard trusts to truth and feeling, his successor employs more violent methods, and substitutes gorgeousness and complication for the legitimate springs of dramatic excitation. Still, with all these faults, the Berar poet is no common man: the *Malati* is a composition of powerful interest; the vicissitudes are skilfully managed, the characters fairly discriminated, and the terrific portion of the business is well worked up. We shall endeavour to give a clear view of the conduct and quality of the piece, as a sort of a counterpart to the preceding, borrowing part of our analysis from Mr. Colebrooke.

'Bhurivasu, minister of the king of Padmavati, and Devarata, in

the service of the king of Viderbha, had agreed, when their children were yet infants, to cement a long subsisting friendship, by the intermarriage of Malati, daughter of the first, with Madhava, son of the latter. The king having indicated an intention to propose a match between Bhurivasu's daughter and his own favourite Nandana, who was both old and ugly, the minister is apprehensive of giving offence to the king by refusing the match; and the two friends concert a plan with an old priestess, who has their confidence, to throw the young people in each other's way, and to connive at a stolen marriage. In pursuance of this scheme, Madhava is sent to finish his studies at the city of Padmavati, under the care of the old priestess Kamandaki. By her contrivance, and with the aid of Malati's foster-sister Lavangika, the young people meet and become mutually enamoured. It is at this period of the story, immediately after their first interview, that the play opens. The first scene, which is between the old priestess and her female pupil Avalokita, in a very natural manner introduces an intimation of the previous events, and prepares the appearance of other characters, and particularly a former pupil of the same priestess, named Saudamini, who has now arrived at supernatural power by religious austerities; a circumstance which her successor Avalokita has learnt from Kapalakundala, the female pupil of a tremendous magician, Aghoraghanta, who frequents the temple of the dreadful goddess near the cemetery of the city.

Asiatic Researches, Vol. x. pp. 450, 451.

A garden scene then brings forward the hero, over head and ears in love, conversing with his friend Makaranda, and giving a good deal of rich description concerning the person of his lady-love, and the circumstances of their first interview near the fountain of Kamadeva: this terminates in a little by-play about a picture. The second act presents the heroine, among her maidens, avowing her affection, and lamenting her unhappy pre-engagement to the king's favourite. The third act is busy and brief, nor can we understand why it is disjoined from the fourth. Be this, however, as it may, the lovers have been brought together by the assistance of Kamandaki; their mutual faith has been pledged; and Madayantika, the sister of Nandana, the ugly old gentleman to whom Malati is to be sacrificed, having been rescued from a tiger by Makaranda, falls in love with her deliverer. The fifth act transfers us from groves and gardens, to a field in which dead bodies are burned, in the vicinity of a temple—'Enter in the air, in a heavenly car and in a hideous garb, Kapalakundala' the sorceress. The worthy dame describes her powers and personal appearance in terms sufficiently terrific.

' Upon my flight
Horrific honors wait;—the hollow skulls
That low depending from my neck depend,
Emit fierce music as they clash together,

Or strike the trembling plates that gird my loins.
 Loose stream on every side my woven locks
 In lengthening braids. Upon my ponderous staff,
 The string of bells light waving to and fro,
 Jangles incessantly. My banner floats
 Upborne upon the waiting breeze, whose tone
 Is deepened by the echoes it awakes,
 Amidst the caverns of each fleshless skull,
 That hangs in dread array about my person.

She alights, snuffs up the air, and, like *Thanatos* on the threshold of Admetus, exults in the scent of 'fragrant odours 'from the funeral pile.' Madhava now comes forward, says Mr. Colebrooke, 'as a vender of human flesh; offering, but in 'vain, to the ghosts and demons, the flesh of his limbs as the 'purchase of the accomplishment of his wish.' This is at variance with Mr. Wilson's rendering; nor would it in fact be very consistent with the object in view. He offers flesh, it is true, torn from the bleeding trunk, but not his own, nor is it stated 'how our hero comes by his merchandize.' His description of the scene around him is, however, powerfully drawn, though a little in the Freischutz style.

'Now wake the terrors of the place, beset
 With crowding and malignant fiends; the flames
 From funeral pyres scarce lend their sullen light,
 Clogged with their fleshly prey, to dissipate
 The fearful gloom that hems them round. Pale ghosts
 Sport with foul goblins, and their dissonant mirth
 In shrill respondent shrieks is echoed round.
 Well, be it so, I seek, and must address them.
 Demons of ill, and disembodied spirits,
 Who haunt this spot; I bring you flesh for sale:
 The flesh of man, untouched by trenchant steel,
 And worthy your acceptance.

(*A great noise.*)

How the noise
 High, shrill, and indistinct, of chattering sprites
 Communicative fills the charnel-ground.
 Strange forms like foxes fit along the sky;
 From the red hair of their lank bodies, darts
 The meteor-blaze; or from their mouths that stretch
 From ear to ear, thick set with numerous fangs,
 On eyes, or beards, or brows, the radiance streams.
 And now I see the goblin host: each stalks
 On legs like palm trees, a gaunt skeleton,
 Whose fleshless bones are bound by starting sinews,
 And scantily cased in black and shrivelled skin:
 Like tall and withered trees by lightning scathed,
 They move, and, as amid their sapless trunks
 The mighty serpent curls, so in each mouth,

Wide yawning, rolls the vast blood-dripping tongue.
 They mark my coming, and the half-chewed morsel
 Falls to the howling wolf!—And now they fly—

(*Pauses and looking round*)

—Race, dastardly as hideous!—All is plunged
 In utter gloom.—The river flows before me,
 The boundary of the funeral ground, that winds,
 Through mouldering bones, its interrupted way.
 Wild raves the torrent as it rushes past
 And rends its crumbling banks; the wailing owl
 Hoots through its skirting groves, and to the sounds,
 The loud, long moaning jackall yells reply.'

A voice is now heard behind the scenes, calling for help, that thrills through every nerve of Madhava, and he 'rushes off' exclaiming:

'What should this be?—

The dreadful sound came from Karala's fane,
 Fit scene for deeds of horror—Be it so—
 I must be satisfied.'

The scene changes to the interior of the temple, with Ag-horaganta and Kapalakundala at the altar, where also stands Malati, attired as a victim. This is altogether a magnificent conception: the scenery, the fearful incantation, the strange and sanguinary agents, contrasted with the youth and beauty of the sacrifice, the opportune appearance of Madhava, the combat, and the death of Aghoraghanta, are well worked up and in a highly poetical strain. But the drama should have closed here: after the strong excitement of these passages, the remainder comes tamely off, although there is both spirit and beauty in the remaining five acts. The scene in which the lovers pledge their faith under the sanction of Kamandaki, after Malati has been tricked into a direct confession of her love to Madhava himself, is managed with much delicacy and interest; and the following act, where Nandana, expecting to find Malati in his palace, is introduced to Makaranda in female attire, and gets soundly cuffed; with the scene in which Madayantika is made to avow her love to Makaranda, unconscious that he is present in the dress and character of her brother's bride, is admirably wrought up both in dialogue and situation. The rest may be told in few words. The two friends rout the king's guards, but find favour with the monarch. Malati is again carried off by Kapalakundala, but, rescued by Saudamini, is restored to Madhava; all parties are reconciled, and all made happy. Mr. Wilson sums up his criticism on the works of this able dramatist in the following paragraph.

'There is more passion in the thoughts of Bhavabhuti, than in those of Kalidasa, but less fancy. There are few of the elegant similitudes in which the latter is so rich, and there is more that is common-place, and much that is strained and obscure. In none of his dramas does Bhavabhuti make any attempt at wit, and we have no character in either of his three dramas approaching the Vidushaka of either of the two preceding pieces: on the other hand, he expatiates more largely in the description of picturesque scenery, and in the representation of human emotions, and is, perhaps, entitled to even a higher place than his rival, as a poet.'

Of the two remaining dramas of Bhavabhuti, one is given entire, and the other in analysis: both are founded on the history of Rama, and the well-known Ramayana of Valmiki has supplied the materials.

We have now gone through the two principal attractions of the volumes before us: the remainder, with one exception, we shall dismiss with all possible brevity, although they might supply matter for much interesting comment. The 'Mudra 'Rakshasa' is a very singular, as well as an extremely interesting composition; perhaps, however, the subject is better suited to narrative, than to dramatic composition. It has for its subject, a deep and dark political intrigue, by which Chanakya, the minister of Chandragupta, succeeds in winning over Rakshasa, an able and hostile Brahman, to his monarch's interests. The 'Retnavali, or the Necklace', is a tale of the Haram, dexterously and even skilfully wrought out of slight materials. The dramas thus naturalized, are stated by Mr. Wilson to be the 'best' and 'most celebrated specimens of the Hindu 'theatre'; but, to afford an opportunity of forming a more general estimate, he has, in an analytical 'Appendix' of considerable extent, given a rapid, but distinct sketch of all the remaining 'specimens procurable', so that these volumes may be taken as a fair and comprehensive representation of the dramatic literature of India. The most curious and, in some respects, the most interesting article in the work, is a comedy in ten acts, called 'Mrichchakati, or, The Toy-cart.' It is too complicated for abstract, and too desultory for detailed criticism; and we do not therefore deem it expedient to go regularly through the contents, since it would require much explanation to make them intelligible. Its composition is of ancient date; not later, it should seem, than the commencement of the Christian era; there is a great variety and vivacity in the dialogue and conduct; nor are the attempts at comic situation and humour unsuccessful. A liberal and high-minded Brahman, Charudatta, reduced to poverty by his large heart and free hand, loves and is beloved by Vasantasena, a courtesan

who is held in chace by the Rajah's brother, a selfish and ignorant blockhead. After many intricate entanglements, well-conceived incidents, and alarming vicissitudes, Vasantasena is rescued from death, Charudatta is saved from impalement, and a happy and legal union takes place between the lovers. In this curious relic of antiquity, we have the quarrels of gamblers, the manœuvres of housebreakers; minute description of the splendid interior of the courtesan's dwelling, with its rich entrance, its eight courts, and its garden of delights; a trial for life and death; and the proceedings of an execution. We shall extract part of the thief's soliloquy while breaking into Charudatta's house.

‘ Enter Servillaka.

‘ Creeping along the ground like a snake crawling out of his old skin, I effect with slight and strength, a passage for my cowering frame. (*Looking up.*) The sovereign of the skies is in his decline. 'Tis well; night, like a tender mother, shrouds with her protecting darkness, those of her children whose prowess assails the dwellings of mankind, and shrinks from an encounter with the servants of the king. I have made a breach in the garden wall, and have got into the midst of the garden. Now for the house. Men call this practice infamous, whose chief success is gained from the sleep of others, and whose booty is won by craft. If not heroism, it is at least independence, and preferable to the homage paid by slaves. As to nocturnal attacks, did not Aswatthama, long ago, overpower in a night onset, his slumbering foes. Where shall I make the breach; what part is softened by recent damp; where is it likely that no noise will be made by the falling fragments; where is an opening, *secundum artem*, most practicable; in what part of the wall are the bricks old and corroded by saline exudations. . . . Here is a rat hole. . . . Let me see, how shall I proceed? The god of the golden spear prescribes four modes of breaking a house; picking out burnt bricks, cutting through unbaked ones, throwing water on a mud wall, and boring through one of wood: this wall is of baked bricks, they must be picked out; but I must give them a sample of my skill. Shall the breach be the lotus blossom, the full sun, or the new moon, the lake . . . or the water jar? It must be something to astonish the natives; the water jar looks best in a brick wall; that shall be the shape. . . . Shame on me, I have forgotten my measuring line; never mind, my Brahminical thread will answer the purpose; this thread is a most useful appendage to a Brahman, especially one of my complexion; it serves to measure the depth and height of walls, and to withdraw ornaments from their position; it opens a latch in a door as well as a key, and is an excellent ligature for the bite of a snake; let us take measure and go to work: so, so; (*extracting the bricks,*) one brick alone remains. . . . How! a lamp alight; the golden ray streaming through the opening in the wall, shows amidst the exterior darkness, like the yellow streak of pure metal on the touchstone. The breach is perfect—now to enter.

Recurring, for an instant, to observations with which we commenced the present article, it may be expected, that we should retract or qualify them, with reference to the drama before us. We admit, that the *Mrichchakati* may pass for what is called, among the French, a comedy of manners, and that it apparently describes the habits of the different classes to which it relates. We cannot but believe, however, that there is more of seeming, than of reality in this; and that the prevailing character of pleasant and whimsical exaggeration, renders all appeal to it as an authority uncertain and unsafe. The description of Nasantasena's dwelling savours of the *Arabian Nights*; the learned and mercurial lecture of Servillaca is more, we apprehend, in conformity with the *Thief's Dictionary*, than with the thief's practice; and the whole seems to us more illustrative of modes of thinking and feeling, than of an actual system of performance.

In his valuable preface, Mr. Wilson enters rather largely into the dramatic arrangements of the Hindus, and cites much illustrative matter from their systematic writers. Into this we shall decline following him, since it would require very considerable detail to render it intelligible, and after all, it would be exceedingly deficient in general interest.

Mr. Wilson has performed his task with distinguished ability, though a careful revision might have added to the finish of the language, without injuring its accuracy as a translation. He has completed our view of an important branch of Hindu literature; and in this department, at least, there will be, henceforward, nothing to desire.

Art. IV. *Historical Sketches of the Native Irish and their Descendants*; illustrative of their past and present State with regard to Literature, Education, and Oral Instruction. By Christopher Anderson. 12mo. pp. xviii. 266. Price 5s. 6d. Edinburgh. 1828.

IF Ireland were but situated in the Indian ocean or the South Seas, its scenery, its language, and its history, to say nothing of the people, would render it one of the most attractive countries to English travellers on the face of the globe. If the Irish were but so fortunate as to be oppressed by the Turks, the day of their liberation might even now be at hand. They might then be allowed to retain their religion, bad as it is, without forfeiting any of their claims to the sympathy of their fellow Christians; and all their turbulence would be set down to the account of patriotism. But as things are, St. George's

Channel, notwithstanding the steam boats, forms a wider barrier between Ireland and the rest of civilized Europe, than would the whole expanse of the Atlantic; and its western coast is certainly in one sense further off from London, than New York or Bombay. More Englishmen can speak Sanscrit, or perhaps Chinese, than can converse with the natives of the 'sister island' in their own original and most ancient dialect.

Who are the Irish? They are the people who come over to this country in shoals, bare-legged and ragged, at the beginning of hay-harvest, to mow and reap our fields. They are the hod-bearers of our bricklayers,—the Pariahs of our social system. They are the fellows of whom there is so much too many in Ireland,—who live upon potatoes, and multiply faster than the children of Israel under King Pharaoh, and towards whom we are reversing the ancient policy, by urging them to go out, by ship loads, into the western wilderness. They are, in fact, very much like the Jews,—for they are, in the first place, one of the most ancient nations in the world;—they speak a *dead* language, like the Poles who talk Latin;—they are foreigners in their own country; they are found every where; and are too often treated, like the Jews, with scorn and contempt. Who *were* the Irish? The teachers and civilizers of the barbarous and illiterate English; the conservators and revivers of western learning; the evangelists of the dark ages; the last people who bowed their necks to the Papal yoke, and this only when it was forced upon them, at the point of the sword, by England.

'Scattered throughout several countries on the western shores of Europe, there are to be found various confessedly ancient tribes of our fellow-men, between which there still exists a marked affinity in point of language. They are generally supposed to be the earliest waves of that tide of population which proceeded westward in Europe, till stopped in their progress by the sea; and most of them occupy at this moment nearly the same ground which they did in the days of Cæsar. Their dialects being the children of one common parent, and this unquestionably a very ancient tongue, these various tribes of course belong to a people correspondingly ancient. But the neglect of their dialects has, in its measure, contributed to a discordance of sentiment with regard to the people; since, in the absence or deficiency of other data, languages may so far be regarded as the chronology of nations.' Pref. vii.

Mr. Anderson here adopts the opinion, that the Basque language, that of Bas Bretagne, the Welsh, the Irish, and the Gaelic, are all dialects of the same language. We are not aware that this has been clearly ascertained. Of the identity of the Welsh, the Cornish, and the Armoric or Breton, there

can be no question ; but the Erse and the Welsh differ widely, at least in their vocabulary. In a table of 100 words from both languages now before us, not more than a dozen have any apparent affinity to each other. Between the Erse and the Cantabrian, we should expect to find a considerable resemblance, as the communication between Ireland and the coast of Biscay is of the highest antiquity. But we must not now meddle with the Celtic controversy *. General Vallancey tells us, that the Carthaginian of classic comedy is good Irish. Another learned writer has undertaken to prove, that neither Greek, Latin, or the Teutonic dialects, nor Arabic, Persian, or Sanscrit, have any affinity with the Celtic, as the Irish is loosely called. It may therefore be, for any thing he knows to the contrary, the Phenician of the first adventurous colonists. What the Irish language really is, and to what languages it has affinity, no one however appears to think it worth while to ascertain. There are manuscripts in existence which would throw at least some light upon the question ; but it remains for some future Grotefend or Champollion to decipher them. The total neglect of Irish manuscript during the last two hundred years, Mr. Anderson remarks, ‘furnishes one of the most striking illustrations of the power of prejudice as to one branch of our national history, to which the historian can point.’

‘We have been printing, very properly, ancient and modern Greek in parallel columns,—Turkish for the Turk ; and struggling hard to decipher the hieroglyphics of Egypt ; but the records of one branch of the British population are still to be explored. Of the manuscripts said to be in Spain, no one informs us, whether they are in the Escorial, at Salamanca, Alcala, or elsewhere. Of the king’s library at Copenhagen, as there has never yet been a printed catalogue, nor the written one completed, what those (Irish) manuscripts were which a former monarch wished to have translated, we are yet to be told. In Paris, by a few, the ancient Irish manuscripts in the Royal Library may be known to exist. Those in the Vatican have slumbered since and from before the days of Wadding. Fragments have been translated from a few at home ; and if all the rest are of no higher value, we should have the less reason to regret their neglect ; but chance specimens from a body of written composition are not like the specimens of most other things. At present, we are prepossessed with unexamined opinions ; and the positive assertions of national prejudice, whether for or against the antiquity and value of Irish writing, have yet to be met by a positive and candid examination of the writing itself. At all events, there is one evil which has hitherto “pursued the antiquities of Ireland ; that the writers in

* The subject is taken up at greater length in the Appendix ; and we may have occasion to advert to it in a future article.

general who have known her language, have been deficient in critical knowledge; while those who have possessed the genuine spirit of criticism, have not only been ignorant of her ancient tongue, but despised it." The language, however, of a people, which is as copious as our own, if not more so, can never prove a proper object of contempt; and the spirit which has begun to show itself in the nineteenth century, if it only continue, will at last do justice to this long neglected race.'

Dr. Johnson, seventy years ago, expressed an enlightened curiosity on this subject. 'Ireland', he remarked, in a letter to Dr. O'Connor, 'is known by tradition to have been the seat of piety and learning; and surely it would be very acceptable to those who are curious either in the origin of nations, or the affinity of languages, to be further informed of the revolutions of a people so ancient and once so illustrious. . . . Dr. Le-land begins his history too late. The ages which deserve an exact inquiry, are those times, for such there were, when Ireland was the school of the west, the quiet habitation of sanctity and literature.'

The first section of the present memoir contains a sketch of the literary history of the Irish, with notices of the eminent men whom that country produced from the seventh century downwards.

'With the existence of Patrick,' he says, 'the mission of Palladius, or the exertions of Columba, we do not interfere; but, whatever may be said of Ireland at that or an earlier period, by the seventh century, there certainly must have been something inviting in the island, before it could become the place of resort. Bede states, that then many Anglo-Saxons of the noble and middle classes, left their country, and went there to study the Sacred Writings,—that the Irish received them hospitably, supplying them with books and gratuitous instruction. It was towards the close of the seventh century, that Alfred, the Northumbrian king, in his youth, went voluntarily into Ireland, that he might pursue his studies; and of whom it was said, that the books revered by the Christians so engrossed his attention, as to procure for him the character of being most learned in the Scriptures. This account is in some degree strengthened by a poetical manuscript in Irish, of which he was the reputed author. The subject of it is, Ireland and the things he found there. A copy, on vellum, is now in the library of W. Monck Mason, Esq. About the same period, Willibrod of Northumbria proceeded to Ireland, the man who went as a Christian missionary into Friesland, and ultimately settling at Wittenburg, now Utrecht, founded its school. Alcuine, the Anglo-Saxon, who afterwards wrote his life, affirms, that he "studied twelve years in Ireland under masters of high reputation; being intended for a preacher to many people." Willibrod died in 739.' pp. 6, 7.

It should seem that, at all events, the Irish schools were in

high estimation before either Oxford, Paris, or Pavia had become the seat of learning; and there is strong reason to believe the general tradition, that Irish scholars, fugitives from their own country, or seeking employment and patronage in other lands, were the instruments of distributing knowledge over the continent, and of rousing the dormant spirit of literary emulation. It is quite clear that, for several ages, the Irish took the lead, in both classical and theological learning, of the Anglo-Saxons, the French, and the Italians themselves; and the attainments of these remote barbarians excited the surprise of the haughty Romans. As Ireland was not, however, the birth-place either of the language which was then the only medium of learned intercourse, or of the literature and philosophy which found an asylum in the Green Island, it remains to be ascertained, how the Irish came to succeed to their possession. Without laying any undue stress upon the supposed affinity of the Basque and the Erse, and the striking traits of resemblance between the manners of the Biscayans and those of the native Irish,—it seems in the highest degree probable, that from Spain, Ireland derived its civilization, religion, and letters. It was in the country which gave birth to the two Senecas, to Lucan and Quintilian, to Osius of Cordova, and the emperor Theodosius, that Roman literature was successfully cultivated, while Italy was the scene of civil war; and the university of Cordova is said to have existed under the Roman sway. In Spain, it is well known, that Christianity had taken root in the Apostolic age; and the Diocletian edict of extermination against the Christians, which was executed with peculiar rigour in Hispania Tarraconensis, may have been the occasion of driving numbers of the persecuted faith into the mountains of the Astures and the coasts of Ierne.

Ireland was in possession of the Holy Scriptures in her vernacular dialect, some time before Wycliffe gave the New Testament to his countrymen. Some attempts at translation 'into the Phenician dialect of the ancient Irish', appear to have been made in the ninth century; but they are of an equivocal character*. It is more certain, that Fitz-Ralph, archbishop of Armagh in the middle of the fourteenth century, possessed a translation of the New Testament into Irish, of which he is supposed to have been the author. Fox, in his *Acts and Monuments* (1570), says: 'I credibly heare of certayne old Irish Bibles, translated long synce into the Irysh tongue, which, if it be true, it is not other lyke but to be the doing of this Ar-

* See Townley's *Biblical Literature*, Vol. I. p. 194.

'machanus.' This learned and excellent prelate was for some time chancellor of Oxford, where he must have been the contemporary of Bradwardine, Wycliffe's master. Fitz-Ralph was promoted to the archbishopric of Armagh, by Edward III., his patron, only two years before Bradwardine was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, whom he survived eleven years. Being cited by the Mendicant friars to appear before Pope Innocent IV., he died at Avignon in November 1360. In the very same year, Wycliffe, at the age of thirty-six, was allured from his hitherto retired and silent life; and when he came to write his *Dialogus*, he speaks with respect of Fitz-Ralph as his predecessor in the contest.

The high rank assigned to the Irish primacy, long after its subordination to the papal see and the English crown, is a striking proof of the light in which Ireland was formerly regarded. At the council of Constance in 1417,

'some dissention arose between the French and the English, respecting their precedency as nations, which could be settled only by a reference to antiquity. The English canonists referred to Albert and Bartholomeus; and urged, among other arguments, "that, the world being divided into three parts, Europe, Asia, and Africa, Europe was distributed into four kingdoms; namely, first, the Roman; second, the Constantinopolitan; third, the *Irish*, which is now transferred to the English; and fourth, the kingdom of Spain: from which it is manifest, that the king of England and his kingdom are among the most eminent and most ancient of the kings and kingdoms of all Europe; which prerogative the kingdom of France is not said to hold." A similar precedency had been observed, in 1255, at the council of Lyons, when Albert Armachanus subscribed before all the bishops of France, Italy, and Spain.' p. 19.

If Fitz-Ralph may be regarded as the Wycliffe, Bishop Bedell, Mr. Anderson remarks, may with equal propriety be denominated the Tyndal of Ireland. He was not, indeed, a son of Erin, but he was a father to her, and every Irish heart will acknowledge with pride the relationship. The Irish New Testament had been published about thirty years before he entered upon the scene of his truly episcopal labours; but Bedell first resolved to give the whole Bible to the people in their native tongue.

'See, then, this interesting man, now in his sixtieth year (1630), sitting down to acquire the language spoken around him, and succeeding so well as not only to compose a complete grammar, but to attain a critical knowledge of it. After much inquiry, he found a Mr. King, already mentioned, ten years older than himself, who was reputed the best Irish scholar of his day. Providing for his support, and engaging also the Rev. Dennis O'Shereden, the father of one of

Bedell's successors, they commenced the translation of the Old Testament. The Bishop's favourite study, for many years, had been the Scriptures, so that the Hebrew and Septuagint were as familiar to him as the English. Every day, after dinner or supper, a chapter of the Bible was read at his table, whoever were present; when, Bibles being placed before each individual, the Hebrew or Greek was laid before himself: and, since he had succeeded so well with the native language, as he compared the Irish translation with the English, so he compared both with the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and with the Italian version of his friend Diedati, which he highly valued. For these comparisons of the text, Bedell was peculiarly qualified. Latin and Italian he wrote with great elegance, and his acquaintance with the latter, acquired from Sarpi at Venice, he could now turn to some good account. There, also, he had studied the Hebrew language under Rabbi Leo, the head, or chief Chacam of the Jewish synagogue, from whom he acquired the accurate pronunciation. During his past life, also, he had collected a large mass of critical exposition; and now, impressed with a conviction of the supreme importance of the work he had undertaken, he pursued it with unwearied diligence. "He thought," says his biographer, "the use of the Scriptures was the only way to let the knowledge of religion in among the Irish," and he used to repeat a passage of a sermon that he had heard at Venice by Fulgentio, with which he was much pleased. It was on these words of the Saviour, "Have ye not read in the Scriptures?" and so the preacher took occasion to tell the auditory, that if Christ himself were now to ask this question, "Have ye not read in the Scriptures?" all the answer which they could make to it, was,—*No; for they were not suffered to do so.*

pp. 28, 29.

To the publication of this Irish translation, however, on which his heart was set, an opposition of the most formidable character was raised; and Laud and the Earl of Strafford were induced to put themselves at the head of the hostile party. The ground of objection was strikingly similar to that which the opponents of the British and Foreign Bible Society took in decrying the revised edition of the Irish New Testament*: it was pretended, that Mr. King, the Bishop's venerable coadjutor, was incompetent for the undertaking,—an assertion as unfounded as it was malignant, and amply disproved by the work itself. With the death of Bishop Bedell, almost all exertion on behalf of the Irish terminated. His Irish manuscript was allowed to remain for above forty years without being printed; and Ireland was chiefly indebted to the patriotism and pious munificence of her illustrious philosopher, Robert Boyle, for the first edition of 500 copies, which appeared in 1686. A new edition of the New Testament had

* See Ecl. Rev. Vol. XIX. p. 83.

been printed, at that excellent person's expense, in 1681. Down to the close of the seventeenth century, by which time there had been 126 editions of the English Bible, this one solitary edition of the Irish Bible, in quarto, consisting of about 600 copies, and two editions of the New Testament, at an interval of eighty years, together including, at most, 1200 copies,—were all that had been given to the natives of Ireland. Their language was under excommunication; and when at length this expatriated dialect was suffered to speak, the same absurd jealousy fixed upon the Irish *character*, and it was ordained that the Irish language should be tolerated only in the English letter. Mr. Anderson's narrative of this singular literary persecution, cannot fail to excite, in every pious mind, the deepest regret and indignation. We blame the Irish priests for forbidding the Scriptures to the laity; but it is by English Protestants that the *Irish Bible* has been put in the Index Expurgatorius. We have withheld the Scriptures from them in the very dialect through which they would have come home to their intellect and heart,—the only medium of instruction to a very large portion of the population. And then we wonder that the Reformation has made no greater progress in that country, and exclaim against the barbarism and superstition of the poor benighted Irish!

But, though proscribed by the unsound and crooked policy of their English conquerors, the Irish language has not been altogether overlooked, as a medium of instruction and an instrument of power, by the Romanists; and Mr. Anderson has given a list of Irish works printed on the Continent, some of which have passed through more than one edition. The first of these is a Catechism, composed by a native of Ulster, printed at Louvain in 1608, and reprinted at Antwerp in 1611 and 1618, under the title of *Teagasg Críosaíde* (Christian Doctrine). In 1616, Hugh M'Caghwell, Divinity Lecturer at Padua, published, in the Irish language and character, his "Mirror of the Sacrament of Penance." In 1626, another Irish Catechism was printed at Louvain, under the title of *Seathan an Chraibhuigh* (The Mirror of Religion), by Florence O'Mulconaire, a native of Connaught, distinguished for his acquaintance with the works of Augustine. After mentioning some others, Mr. Anderson comes to notice, as the first book that seems to have been printed in English and Irish, an *Essay on Miracles*, plainly intended for the natives.

It was published in 8vo, at Louvain, in 1667, entitled, "Of Miracles, and the New Miracles done by the Relics of St. Francis Xavier in the Jesuits College at Mechlin." The author, Richard M'Giolla Cuddy, or Archdekin, born in the county of Kilkenny, in 1619, was a lecturer at Louvain and Antwerp, where he died in

1690. This man published several other works in Latin; one of which, in three volumes 8vo, went through a number of editions in different places. When the eighth was undertaken, 16,000 had been sold, and there was a great demand for more: the *eleventh* edition was printed at Venice in 1790.

Antwerp and Louvain were not the only places where an Irish press was busy during the seventeenth century. In 1676, Irish types were employed at Rome by natives of Ireland. "*Lucerna Fidelium*", printed at Rome in 8vo, in that year, is an Irish work with a Latin title, and contains an explanation of the Christian doctrine according to the faith of the Church of Rome. In the following year, an Irish Latin Grammar was published at Rome, and some other works issued from the same press. During the eighteenth century, several Irish philological works appeared at Paris; and in 1742, another Catechism, in Irish and English, was published under the sanction of Louis XV, by the Rev. Andrew Doulevy, prefect of the Irish community in that capital.

'In 1735, there was one effort upon Irish ground. Seventeen sermons in Irish were published by the titular Bishop of Raphoe, James Gallagher. In conformity with the prejudice of the day, these were printed in the English character, and have gone through eighteen editions. About the year 1750, two catechisms, one in English, the other in Irish, were published by O'Reilly, titular Archbishop of Armagh; "and though there have been many others written and printed since that period, his work, particularly in Ulster, has the ascendancy." So says the titular Bishop of Dromore in 1819.' pp. 58, 9.

During the whole of this century, Irish literature, and the spiritual wants of the native Irish, were by Protestant England totally disregarded.

'As if the native Irish were reserved to stand out in contrast to even every Celtic tribe in the kingdom, by this time there had been printed and circulated in Welsh, not fewer than twelve editions of the Bible, and as many of the New Testament, amounting to at least 120,000, of which 75,000 Bibles and 14,000 Testaments had been printed during this very century; and 3,000 Bibles and 32,000 Testaments in Gaelic, had been printed during the same period. Even in Manx, there had been thousands printed; and all this before the Bible Society had been thought of; while, for the native Irish, there had not been printed one single copy during the whole century.' p. 60.

'This year, 1828, the (Irish) Bible complete, in its appropriate character, has only just left the press',—being very nearly two hundred years since the venerable Bedell first sat down to the task of accomplishing its translation into that language!

We have gone through only the first section of Mr. Anderson's very interesting memorial, and must now merely advert to the remaining heads of his inquiry. Section II. gives an account of the 'schools of learning,' of early and modern date, which have been instituted for the Irish, and of the various attempts to employ the Irish tongue as a branch and medium of education. Under the head of Oral Instruction, Section III. includes notices of all that has yet been effected in preaching to the natives in their vernacular tongue. Section IV. is an answer to the objections raised against the employment and cultivation of the language. Section V. exhibits proofs of the extent to which it is spoken at present. In the following section, a statistical account is given of the islands of Ireland, as an object of special consideration. The next three relate to *Desiderata*; and the concluding section contains an address to the Native Irish. In an Appendix occur some further remarks upon the 'Celtic' dialects.

We have been constantly told, that the Irish language is exclusively spoken and understood by comparatively few, and that it is fast sinking into desuetude. The result of recent surveys is most striking and appalling. Mr. Anderson gives it as his deliberate opinion, founded as well upon his personal investigation as upon official documents, that not fewer than *three millions* require that instruction should be conveyed to them through this medium. 'Two millions will be found in Connaught and Munster alone,—a number equal to the whole population of Scotland', and five times that of its Gaelic natives. The islands of Ireland alone, of which nearly 200 of various sizes were inhabited seven years ago, contain about 50,000 souls,—without schools or places of worship in their vernacular tongue.

'Close upon our own native shore, yet as devoid of all the calm and profitable satisfaction which books afford, as if they had lain in the bosom of the Pacific, here it is that, so far as Christianity is concerned, our countrymen have seen Sabbath after Sabbath pass silently away, from one year's end to the other,—no church-going bell,—no gatherings of the people to hear the sweet sounds of Divine mercy, or, as the Native Irish say, *the story of peace*,—they have for ages lived and died amidst one unbroken famine, not indeed of bread and water, but of hearing the word of the Lord.' p. 169.

Of this portion of the united kingdom, almost every Englishman has hitherto known as little as of Borneo or Sumatra. These native foreigners have been as completely left out of all calculations, especially of a moral or a religious character, and have been as widely alienated from our sympathies, as if they

had no political relation to us whatever. Of all the large sums voted by Parliament for the chartered schools of Ireland, not a shilling has been applied to the instruction of the Irish in their mother tongue. All the costly apparatus of the richest hierarchy in Christendom, has afforded not the slightest provision for the spiritual wants of the native Irish. And still we stupidly wonder, that poor Ireland is—where we have sedulously kept her—in poverty and darkness!

The idea of suppressing and abolishing the Irish language, by proscribing it, is as absurd as it is unjust. We refuse to employ it as the vehicle of knowledge, and we leave it the medium of ignorance and prejudice, and the element of danger. The English are the last nation who should have adopted this tyrannical policy.

“It is but fair,” says our Author, “and may not be unseasonable, to remind the Englishman of this day, as well as the Anglo-Hibernian, that when Ireland was invaded in the twelfth century, English was *not* the language of authority and command, but French. When Henry II. himself was returning from Ireland in 1172, and passing through Pembroke, a Welshman accosted him. The Cambrian, supposing that a King of England must understand English, addressed Henry in that language, calling him “*gode olde Kyng*.” Understanding nothing of this salutation, his Majesty said to his esquire, in French, “What does this man mean?” and the esquire, who had been so situated as to converse with the Native English, had to act as interpreter. Thus the fifth King of England after the Conquest, did not seem to know the signification of the word king in the English tongue. His son and successor Richard, probably, knew as little; at least it is certain that he could not hold a conversation in English; though, sitting upon the throne of England, he is said to have made amends for this deficiency, by speaking and writing well the two languages of Gaul, both north and south, the language of *oui* and the language of *oc*! The English tongue, therefore, such as it was in these days, was indeed spoken by men in that army; but all the chiefs were Norman French. English was spoken by soldiers in the streets and markets within the pale; but French was the language in the castles and houses of the Barons. Thus the men of English race, upon Irish ground, occupied only a middle state between the Normans and the Irish. Their language, indeed, at that period was, in fact, *proscribed*; and in their own country despised, while, in Ireland, it held but an intermediate rank between that of the new government and the ancient dialect of the aborigines. Taught as the English or Anglo-Saxons had been, by this time, for a century, and were to be for two hundred years longer, that the edicts or dicta of the reigning power cannot wrest from a people the use of their mother-tongue; was it not strange that they could not perceive that the Native Irish were certain to act by their vernacular tongue, just as they themselves had done by theirs? Yet is it not a little remarkable, that the evil under which the Native Irish have

laboured for so many ages, and up to the present hour, is the precise evil under which England groaned for three hundred years, from the time of the Norman invasion? This last territorial conquest in the west of Europe is never to be forgotten, as having introduced a species of policy into this country which has checked the diffusion of *knowledge*, perhaps more than any one circumstance which can be mentioned. It was a sort of crusade on the colloquial dialect of the subdued party, and it certainly had its effects. It checked the diffusion of knowledge among the Native English; it sank the lower orders into darkness, and restricted all useful and scientific information to a privileged class. But did this experiment of three hundred years duration, root out, diminish, or abolish the English tongue? No such thing. Long after the Conquest, the preaching of the Normans was not at all understood by the audience; and though the court, the law, and the nobility used French, the Native English never, as Robert of Gloucester informs us, abandoned their vernacular tongue. In the first part of the reign of Edward III., Norman-French had reached its highest ascendancy in England. Boys in the schools were instructed in the French idiom; after this, in some instances, came Latin, and there was no regular instruction of youth in English. The children of the nobles were even sent abroad to secure correctness of pronunciation. Yet what signified all this unnatural procedure? Rolle, or, as he is sometimes named, Richard Hampole, who died in 1348-9, intimates, that the generality of the laity understood no language except the English; and the English versifier of the romance of Arthur and Merlin asserts, that he knew even many nobles who were ignorant of French. A change of fashion was now at hand. In 1362, the act passed, which recited, that the French language was so unknown in England, that the parties to law-suits had no knowledge or understanding of what was said for or against them, because the counsel spoke French. It therefore ordered that all causes should in future be pleaded, discussed, and adjudged in English. After this, English immediately so superseded its competitor, that, by the year 1385, the teaching of French in all the schools had been discontinued, and English substituted. "How hard a matter it is," says old Brerewood, "utterly to abolish a vulgar language in a populous country, may well appear by the vain attempt of our Norman Conqueror, who, although he compelled the English to teach their young children in the schools nothing but French, and set down all the laws of the land in French, (which custom continued till Edward the Third his days, who disannulled it,) purposing thereby to have conquered the language together with the land, and to have made all French; yet all was *labour lost*, and obtained no other effect than the mingling of a few French words with the English. And even such also was the success of the Franks among the Gauls, and of the Goths among the Italians and Spaniards." Brerewood here may be said to underrate the influence of the Norman-French; but still it is certain, that it can by no means be charged with the greater part of that difference which exists between the Anglo-Saxon and the modern tongue.

'After passing through such an ordeal as this, it might have been supposed, that, of all the nations on the face of the earth, the English would have been the last to have pursued measures which they *themselves* had shewn to be abortive, and which had been also followed by such injurious and barbarizing consequences to their own ancestors.' pp. 112—114.

'Language', it has been justly remarked, 'is the last bulwark which yields to the progress of foreign renovation. Manners, customs, prejudices, are gradually lost in the current of improvement; but language, that first-born of habits, to which every circumstance of life, however trivial, imparts additional strength, maintains its ground when every other vestige of a former age has been swept away. For many centuries, the Persian language has been employed by the Mahommedan governments of India in the transaction of all public business; a knowledge of it, therefore, became necessary for all those who panted for the dignity or emoluments of office. The British Government having continued the public use of it, the excitement to cultivate it, has suffered little abatement. The public functionaries speak it with fluency, and write it with considerable accuracy. Thus favoured and supported, however, it has not forced its way into the families of those who daily use it in the course of business; nor has it become the vernacular tongue of a single village in India. It is as far from becoming the language of the country, as though it had never crossed the Indus.* And thus, in order to render the holy Scriptures accessible to all the natives of the British isles, though so long united under one government, it has been found necessary to print them in *five* different languages. Why the Irish tongue should be proscribed, more than Welsh, or why the expectation should be entertained, that a language spoken by nearly half the Irish population, will wear itself out and be forgotten, while the old Britons of Gwynedh and Deheubarth have shewn so little disposition to lay aside their 'Celtic',—it is not very easy to comprehend. But a harder measure has been dealt out to the Irish, than to almost any other nation, the subjects of a civilized government; unless it be the Waldenses, to whom our readers will be sur-

* Friend of India. Vol. II. p. 526. The Author of this article cites the case of Ireland in proof of the impracticability of naturalizing the English language among the natives of India; and he remarks, that the restoration of the Sanscrit dialects as the court language, after so many ages of disuse and discouragement, would prove as great a boon to the Hindoos, as a similar concession was deemed by the English in the reign of our third Edward.

prised to learn, they are supposed to bear, so far as regards their language at least, a singular affinity.

But a brighter day, we trust, is dawning upon this long oppressed and neglected country. The claims of the Irish are those, not of a faction, not of a sect, but of a nation. Emigration, Reformation, Education, Emancipation, and Extermination, have each its advocates; and with regard to the first four measures, much of their success will depend, like the virtue of chemicals, on their being combined so as to act with and upon each other. As to the wretched Orange faction, that scum of Protestantism, that incubus of Ireland, whose whole patriotism is a concentrated and malignant selfishness, whose whole religion is summed up in fear and hatred,—we auger well from their menaces; their day of darkness is, we trust, almost up. The curse of millions is upon them; and if their names go down to posterity, it will be with the brand of scorn upon their memory. To them, what is called Catholic Emancipation will be a greater moral benefit than to the native Irish, inasmuch as it will reduce them to a sober estimate of their essential insignificance, and render them at least innoxious. The destruction of their abused ascendancy, would indeed be a triumph for humanity.

We need say nothing to recommend Mr. Anderson's volume to the earnest attention of our readers. The Author has most scrupulously abstained from touching on any political questions: he has confined himself for the most part to a simple statement of facts, facts which stand for most powerful arguments. The mass of information that is concentrated in this small volume, renders it a most valuable memorial, and does high credit to the Author's diligence and research. He deserves the thanks of both nations for his Christian labours, and he will have his reward.

Art. V. *Christian Charity explained*; or, The Influence of Religion upon Temper stated; in an Exposition of the Thirteenth Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. By John Angell James. 12mo. pp. 360. Price 6s. London. 1828.

WE believe that there is no surer test of high attainments in spirituality, than a simple relish for practical religion; and there is, consequently, no class of subjects which it is so difficult to render generally palatable and interesting, as those which are strictly practical. We should be glad to think that the popular eloquence of the Author of this volume would secure for it the attention which its design and subject so richly

merit. 'Too much has not been said,' remarks Mr. James, 'and cannot be said, about the *doctrines* of the Gospel; but 'too little may be said, and too little is said and thought, about 'its *spirit*.' The importance of *cultivating* the affections is seldom adverted to, and ill understood; and the consequence is, that, under the ungenial influence of worldly cares and disappointments, and the blights and frosts of life, the best feelings of our nature are apt to shrivel and wither. It is affecting to discover how very little real kindness there is among even the good; how little compassion even Christians are apt to feel for the infirmities and *disagreeablenesses* that they come in contact with in their brethren; how fierce a censoriousness—but we are, perhaps, ourselves beginning to verge on uncharitableness. We will only say, therefore, that there was ample room for such a work as this; and that, besides shewing the 'influence of religion upon temper,' Mr. James might have gone a little farther, and have pointed out, very instructively, the influence of temper upon religion.

Sins of temper form a blacker catalogue than is generally dreamed of. The Author very justly characterizes envy as 'the epidemic of the human race, the most common operation 'of human depravity.' In its grosser manifestations, it is seen at once to be vicious and detestable; but its more insidious operations are often unsuspected by the party himself, owing to the specious disguises which it can assume. Reasons for disliking our fellow-creatures, are always at hand, to justify to ourselves the promptings of spleen or wounded self-love. We wish that Mr. James had pursued this species of uncharitableness into some of its more secret lurking-places. Who will own, that he envies the very man to whom he imagines himself superior, and of whom he speaks, it may be, with ridicule and contempt? Yet, as the Author justly remarks, 'there 'is not any kind of superiority, however low in its nature, 'or obscure in situation, which is not found to call forth 'the ill-will and hatred of some inferior or disappointed spectator.' That species of superiority, however, which excites the most envy, is the apparent happiness of another, when viewed by the unhappy. To envy the happiness of men and angels, Mr. James remarks, is the passion of devils; and in order to illustrate the malignity of envy, he points to it as embodied in Cain, the proto-murderer; in the revengeful Saul; in Ahab, when he pined for Naboth's vineyard. But envy is not confined to Cains, and Sauts, and Ahabs. In such instances, it becomes the master passion: more frequently it plays a humble part, and, in a milder and more insidious form, creeps into the bosoms of even the good. Men are not devils, yet

they envy each other. Christians, brothers are found envying one another. Nay, those who would sympathize with others in their sorrows, and weep with those who weep, fall short of the higher attainment—to rejoice with those who rejoice. To be content that others should increase while we decrease, and to sympathize in a prosperity which we do not share,—this is a hard saying. To be willing that another who has toiled only one hour, should have the same wages,—is not in unregenerate human nature; and the regenerate too often fail here. Sorrow is selfish: it concentrates the affections upon our own interests. It may teach us to sympathize with others' griefs; but, that others do grieve, is something like consolation to the sorrowful. Sorrow cannot sympathize with happiness, and therefore heaven cannot admit of it, for envy would enter with it. Happiness will not only be the fruit of holiness in another world, but the perfection of it, since it is that native state in which alone the soul attains the full development of its affections, so as to take part, without a jarring fibre, in the universal harmony.

It is necessary to trace envy to some of its unsuspected sources, and to detect its more latent influence, in order to be on our guard against the workings of a passion which is generally deemed too malignant a thing in the abstract, to exist in an amiable mind. But envy is, we must maintain, a most reputable and orthodox vice, a regular church-going sin, one which often dresses like virtue, and talks like her. Envy has a great zeal for religion, a keen sense of public justice, and is much shocked at the inconsistencies of good people. It exults when a hypocrite is unmasked, and says, I always suspected him. It is also most benevolent, and when wholesome adversity overtakes a brother, prays that it may be the means of promoting his humility and Christian graces. It is, moreover, a great reformer, and has lately been very active in setting to rights our great religious societies. It has taken its degree.

Envy, however, though a main source of unkindness and uncharitableness, is not the only antagonist of Christian charity. The faults of others are often inconvenient to us, and it requires self denial to bear with them. The faults of most men, especially their disagreeable faults, lie on the surface, while their intrinsic excellencies require to be drawn out, and we are too proud or too mentally indolent to take the pains. Mental indolence is the cause of much unkindness: it may be added to the characteristics of charity, that it taketh pains and is patient, not only in enduring, but in acting, and does not grudge a little trouble to do a kindness. Another fruitful source of uncharitableness, is the dread of being taken in by amiable appear-

ances, so as to over-estimate another, and thus find ourselves mistaken. There is nothing upon which some good persons pride themselves so much, as upon that knowledge of the world which consists in suspecting every body, and that profound penetration into character which resolves itself into the quick detection of bad motives and intentions, or the imputation of them where they do not exist. Mr. James draws a lovely portrait of Christian candour, which is, we fear, a study from the Bible, rather than a study from nature. We must extract it as a specimen of the work, and one which, we hope, will serve to enforce our recommendation of it more especially to all our young readers.

‘ To all these sinful practices’ (detraction, rash judging, and censoriousness) ‘ Christian love stands directly opposed. *It is a long time before it allows itself to perceive the faults of others.* Not more quick is instinct in the bird, or beast, or fish of prey, to discover its victim, than the detractor and the censorious are to descry imperfections as soon as they appear in the conduct of those around them. Their vision is quite telescopic, to see objects of this kind at a distance, and they have a microscopic power of inspection, to examine those that are small and near : and, when looking at faults, they always employ the highest magnifying power which their instrument admits of ; while, for the purpose of looking at those spots which to the naked eye would be lost amidst the surrounding glory, they carry a darkened glass. They do not want to see virtues : no ; all that is fair, and good, and lovely, is passed over in quest of deformity and evil. But all this is utterly abhorrent to the nature of love ; which, intent upon the well being of mankind, and anxious for their happiness, is ever looking out for the signs and the symptoms which betoken that the sum of human felicity is perpetually increasing. The eye of the Christian philanthropist is so busily employed in searching for excellence, and so fixed and so ravished by it when it is found, that it is sure to pass over many things of a contrary nature, as not included in the object of its inquiry : just as he who is searching for gems, is likely to pass by many common stones unheeded ; or as he who is looking for a particular star or constellation in the heavens, is not likely to see the tapers which are near him upon earth. Good men are his delight ; and to come at these, very many of the evil generation are passed by : and there is also a singular power of abstraction in his benevolence, to separate, when looking at a mixed character, the good from the evil, and, losing sight of the latter, to concentrate its observation on the former.

‘ And when love is obliged to admit the existence of imperfections, *it diminishes as much as possible their magnitude,* and hides them as much as is lawful from its own notice. It takes no delight in looking at them, finds no pleasure in keeping them before its attention, and poring into them ; but turns away from them, as an unpleasant object, as a delicate sense would from whatever is offensive. If we find an affinity between our thoughts and the sins of which we are

the spectators, it is a plain proof that our benevolence is of a very doubtful nature, or in a feeble state : on the contrary, if we involuntarily turn away our eyes from beholding evil, and are conscious to ourselves of a strong revulsion and an acute distress, when we cannot altogether retire from the view of it, we possess an evidence that we know much of that virtue which covereth all things. If we are properly, as we ought to be, under the influence of love, we shall make all reasonable allowances for those things which are wrong in the conduct of our neighbour ; we shall, as we have already considered, not be forward to suspect evil ; but shall do every thing to lessen the heinousness of the action. This is what is meant, when it is said, that " Charity covers a multitude of sins. Hatred stirreth up strifes, but love covereth all sins."

' It is the wish and the act of love, to conceal from the public all the faults which the good of the offender, and the ends of public justice, do not require to be disclosed. There are cases, in which to conceal offences, whatever kindness it may be to one, would be unkindness to many. If a person living in sin, has so far imposed upon a minister, as to induce him to propose him for admission to the fellowship of the church, it is the bounden duty of any individual, who knows the real character of the candidate, to make it known to the pastor ; and the same disclosure should be made in reference to a person already in communion, who is actually living in sin : concealment in these cases is an injury to the whole body of Christians. If a person is likely to be injured in his temporal concerns, by reposing confidence in one who is utterly unworthy of it, it is the duty of those who are acquainted with the snare, to warn the destined victim of his danger. If any are so far regardless of the peace of society and the laws of the country, as to be engaged in great crimes against both, concealment on the part of those who are aware of the existence of such practices, is a participation in the crime. As our love is to be universal, as well as particular, it must never be exercised towards individuals in a way that is really opposed to the interests of the community.

' But where no other interest is concerned—where no claims demand a disclosure—where no injury is done by concealment, and no benefit is conferred by giving publicity to a fault,—there our duty is to cover it over with the veil of secrecy, and maintain an unbroken silence upon the subject.

' Instead of this friendly and amiable reserve, how different is the way in which many act ! No sooner have they heard of the commission of a fault, than they set off with the intelligence, as glad as if they bore the tidings of a victory, proclaiming the melancholy fact with strange delight in every company, and almost to every individual they meet ; and as there is a greedy appetite in some persons for scandal, they find many ears as open to listen to the tale, as their lips are to tell it : or, perhaps, they relate the matter as a secret, extorting a promise from those to whom they communicate it, that they will never mention it again. But if it be not proper to publish it to the world, why do they speak of it at all ? If it be proper for publicity, why lock up others in silence ? Sometimes the telling faults

in secret, is a pitiable kind of weakness, an utter impossibility of keeping any thing in the mind, accompanied by an intention of publishing it only to a single person; but not unfrequently, it is a wish to have the gratification of being the first to communicate the report to a large number of persons: each is made to promise that he will not disclose it, that the original reporter may not be anticipated as he pursues his round, and thus have his delight diminished, in being everywhere the first to tell the bad news.' pp. 195—198.

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'A tattling disposition, though it may have little of the malignity of slander, is a servant to do its work, and a tool to perpetrate its mischief. Persons of this description are far too numerous. They are to be found in every town, in every village—yes, and in every church. They are not the authors of libels, but they are the publishers; they do not draw up the placard, but only paste it up in all parts of the town; and are amenable, not for the malice which invented the defamatory lie, but for the mischief of circulating it. Their minds are a kind of common sower, into which all the filthy streams of scandal are perpetually flowing; a receptacle for whatever is offensive and noxious. Such gossips might be pitied for their weakness, if they were not still more to be dreaded for the injury they do. They are not malignants, but they are mischief-makers; and, as such, should be shunned and dreaded. Every door should be closed against them, or, at least, every ear. They should be made to feel that, if silence be a penance to them, their idle and injurious tales are a much more afflictive penance to their neighbours. Now, such persons would not only be rendered more safe, but more dignified, by charity: this heavenly virtue, by destroying their propensity to gossiping, would rescue them from reproach, and confer upon them an elevation of character to which they were strangers before. It would turn their activity into a new channel, and make them as anxious to promote the peace of society, as they were before to disturb it by the din of their idle and voluble tongue. They would perceive that no man's happiness can be promoted by the publication of his faults: for if he be penitent, to have his failings made the butt of ridicule, is like pouring nitre and vinegar upon the deep wounds of a troubled mind; or if he be not, this exposure will do harm, by producing irritation, and by thus placing him further off from true contrition.

'If it be essential to charity, to feel a disposition to cover the faults which we witness, and to treat with tenderness and delicacy the offender, it is quite distressing to consider how little of it there is in the world. How much need have we to labour for an increase of it ourselves, and to diffuse it, both by our influence and example, that the harmony of society may not be so frequently interrupted by the lies of the slanderer, the exaggerations of the detractor, the harsh judgements of the censorious, or the idle gossip of the tale-bearer.'

pp. 201, 202.

We suppose that every one has something about him that is disagreeable to some others; and the most agreeable of men

are not always the worthiest. There are few, on the other hand, in whose character there will not be found some interesting feature, some redeeming point, something which might be turned to advantage. It depends much upon ourselves, whether we shall converse with the agreeable qualities or the disagreeables in those around us. Society presents at best but very crude and mixed materials, and it is wise, as regards our own comfort, to make the best of them. This will very greatly consist in the habitual view we take of our common nature, as an object less of complacency than of benevolence, and in the sedulous cultivation of the kindly affections. After all, the disappointments of the heart are, happily, much less frequent than those of the imagination, for which we have chiefly to thank ourselves. We expect too much; we love too little. Still, the real cares and sorrows of life have a tendency to sour the temper and to poison or counterwork the benevolent feelings. It is a great part of Christian candour, to refrain from judging with severity even the censorious, to tolerate the intolerant, and to bear ourselves charitably towards the uncharitable. In the most unlovely infirmities of our poor nature, there is much that is simply pitiable. Men would be more virtuous, if they were more happy. The secret of happiness is confided to the real Christian; and it is made a part of his duty to be happy; and that happiness of which religion is the source, gives birth in its turn to benevolence. There is an exquisite concatenation in those fruits of the Spirit which, taken in their natural order, are "love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness." In short, the love of God is the only cure for all the morbid or malignant affections of the heart; for "God is love, and he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him."

Art. VI. *Bishop Hall, his Life and Times*: or, *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Sufferings, of the Right Rev. Joseph Hall, D.D. successively Bishop of Exeter and Norwich; with a View of the Times in which he lived, and an Appendix, containing some of his unpublished Writings, his Funeral Sermon, &c.* By the Rev. John Jones, Perpetual Curate of Cradley, Worcestershire. 8vo. pp. 581. Portrait. Price 14s. London. 1828.

BISHOP HALL was born in 1574, and died in 1656. The eighty-two years which intervened between these dates, comprise a period of great importance in the civil and religious history of England. Queen Elizabeth, James the First, Charles the First, the Long Parliament, and the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, are the designations of the successive sovereigns and

forms of government which this period of our national history includes. Liberty struggling against despotism, and despotism resisting liberty, give to those times an interest which few periods of equal duration can claim. Changes were, throughout the whole of those years, passing upon society, from which were to result the greatest benefits which descendants can inherit from their ancestors as the fruit of their labours or sufferings. The seeds of civil and religious freedom were then plentifully and widely scattered upon a soil prepared for their reception and favourable to their growth. It is our felicity to see in their maturity, and to partake of in all their fullness, those productions which they beheld in their early advancement; and we owe to them, at least, so much as to inform ourselves of the circumstances in which they commenced and prosecuted their labours, and of the obligations which their exertions in the cause of political and moral improvement have laid upon us to do them honour. It is then by no means an uncalled for or superfluous service, to remind the present generation of the advantages which they have obtained from those who lived before them. Nor is it less requisite that they should be taught to discriminate from others the real benefactors and ornaments of their kind. Much is to be done in this particular department; and we may entertain the hope, that as 'the light which makes manifest' shall increase in strength and brightness, and shew to men the sources of true greatness and goodness in human society, the rewards and honours of which society is the distributor, will be appropriated with more discernment and justice than has yet marked the disposal of them.

Although Bishop Hall was not one of those intrepid and vigorous spirits who exert their powers against the oppressors of their species, or who work out by patient toil the correction of gross abuses, and who are entitled to occupy the high places of historical recollection, he was so much of a public man as to justify a writer of his life in connecting his biography with the transactions of the times in which he lived. Those times were the times of great men and of great events; and a writer who should have occasion from the task which he has undertaken, to exhibit them in their actings and consequences, could not be considered as selecting a subject deficient either in incidents or in the materials necessary to philosophical deductions or religious comment. Mr. Jones has selected a subject which, in the hands of a competent writer, might have been rendered highly interesting; but his performance, we regret to say, is much less instructive than is becoming a work of such pretensions. The information which it comprises, is limited and par-

tial, drawn from the most common sources, and given to the reader without any evidence of skilful research or judicious combination. The remarks which accompany the facts on which the Author has thought it proper to enlarge, are never of an original or impressive character. We meet with no valuable discussion in these pages; nor do they furnish us with the means of judging fully and correctly on some of the most important particulars which they comprehend. Such reflections as the following may be in perfect harmony with the notions or the prejudices of a considerable class of persons in this country; but, to say nothing of their triteness, they can afford as little of satisfaction to readers instructed in the history of the transactions to which they relate, as of useful admonition to those who are desirous of receiving from history the moral lessons which it teaches.

‘It was now manifest, that the controversy between the king and parliament, which had been hitherto carried on with the pen, must be decided with the sword. Both sides collected as much strength as possible, and the horrible scene of civil war began, and the land was deluged with blood. The writer of this volume refers his courteous readers to Lord Clarendon’s History of the Grand Rebellion, and other historians, for a copious and detailed account of that scene of confusion, of blood shedding, and miseries, which now ensued in consequence of the unhappy differences between the king and parliament. Truly it was a scene as horrible and shocking to humanity, as it was scandalous, cruel, and dishonourable to the English nation. Those times will be an indelible blot on the page of English history, and a disgrace to our country. But the troubles of those times may, however, be viewed as wisely ordered by Providence, as a memorable lesson and warning to posterity, to guard against factious parties in religion and politics. The result of those troubles and confusion brought then upon the church and state, teaches us how delusive and destructive must have been the principles of those patriots and puritans, who were the authors and promoters of those convulsions.’
p. 307.

That Mr. Jones is not a very felicitous writer, will be sufficiently apparent from the preceding extract, which is as much wanting in perspicuity of expression as it is in the evidences of discernment. What we are to consider as ‘the result of those troubles’ from which we are to be instructed, he has not informed us, and it would be vain for us to conjecture. The ‘result’ of the troubles and confusion, must be distinct from the troubles and confusion themselves; and whether the Restoration or the Revolution be regarded as the consequent, Mr. Jones would not, we dare say, find fault with either. The lesson and warning, however, which the wise order of Providence intended to convey to posterity by the troubles of those times,

may possibly be more comprehensive than the Author has represented or dreamed of, and may have other uses than 'to guard against factious parties in religion and politics.' It may be not less necessary that posterity should learn the consequences of governing mankind unwisely and unjustly, and the mischiefs produced by civil and ecclesiastical oppression, in which those times were so fertile. If Mr. Jones has been guided in his judgement of the actors and events of the periods to which he refers, by 'Lord Clarendon's History of the 'Grand Rebellion,' we cannot be surprised that he should describe the persons whom he holds up to the notice of his readers by the emphatic designation of 'the patriots and puritans,' as the authors and promoters of those convulsions. But the abettors of arbitrary power, the slaves of despotism, who would give perpetuity to corruption and bondage, are not the men who can be trusted as authorities to settle our judgements in cases of this nature. If the patriots and puritans who are thus represented as the authors and promoters of discord and misery, had ranged themselves in the support of existing abuses, and sanctioned only such innovations as would have strengthened lawless might to tread on humanity and justice, we should not have heard accusations against them from the quarters where they have been so much assailed and vilified. By some writers, the agents and instruments of cruelty are never rebuked or blamed, when the cause in which they are employed is that of courts and churches. It would not be difficult, we believe, to determine which were most destructive of what every well-wisher to his fellow creatures would be concerned that they should enjoy; the principles of despotic princes and despotic ministers, or the principles of those who possessed the intrepidity to oppose them, and placed their lives in jeopardy to remedy grievances become intolerable. We owe nothing of our civil and religious advantages to the principles or the measures of the former: the others may not improperly be accounted our benefactors. That they were sinless in respect to the troubles which afflicted the country, and which have been so amply remembered against them, will not be maintained; but, if they who give the provocation, and to insult add cruelty of treatment till it can no longer be endured, be the real originators of whatever calamities may ensue,—the authors of the convulsions which divided England in the seventeenth century, must be sought elsewhere than in the persons of the patriots and puritans. Mr. Jones has not discovered a competency of either knowledge or judgement to determine the great questions that are suggested by the events which he relates, and we perceive evidence of his prejudices throughout his book; but

we must do him the justice of reporting, that he does occasionally refer to 'the arbitrary power then in church and 'state,' and speaks in favour of the religious character of the puritans.

Mr. Jones has furnished us with a notice of the Smectymnian controversy; but it is too slight and too partial to afford either instruction or gratification. Our readers may be not less surprised than we ourselves were, on finding, that Milton's treatises are passed by without mention or allusion. Bishop Hall is represented by our Author as having demonstrated the Apostolical institution of Episcopacy. Certainly, the New Testament may satisfy every person, that Episcopacy was a primitive institution in the churches of Christ; and we could demonstrate not less satisfactorily than the good Bishop, that, in the time of Christ and his Apostles, 'the ministers of the church 'were bishops.' But what was the episcopacy of the Apostolic age, and what was a bishop at Philippi, or Ephesus? If Mr. Jones means to intimate, that Bishop Hall has vindicated such an episcopacy as that which is found in the Church of England, he might soon be furnished with demonstrations, that no such episcopacy existed in the primitive times, and that a bishop of a church in the times of the Apostles, was the possessor of an office totally different from that of a bishop in the national church of England; so different as to present one of the most extraordinary and perfect contrasts which can be contemplated. An apostolic bishop, if recalled to life, would, on witnessing the official proceedings of a modern bishop, be lost in astonishment, and entirely unable to comprehend their meaning. The consecration of a bishop would be to him a perplexing novelty; the enthroning of a bishop would be a spectacle at which he would be astonished with a great astonishment; a triennial visitation, with its accompaniment of confirmation, would excite his curious inquiry, to be followed by his sorrowful or his indignant exclamation; and his Lordship's coming with his officials to invest with a character of sanctity a place in some part of the country which he knows nothing of, for the use of persons of whom he is ignorant, whom he has not seen before, and whom he may not again see, but who are prohibited to meet for public worship till this stranger in lawn sleeves has walked over the ground and pronounced it holy,—would be, to an apostolic bishop, a perfect wonder. Truly the policy is bad, which, in their simplicity, the abettors of the English national Church adopt, in using as they do the expression 'Apostolic,' in reference to their church and its secular prelates. If the debasements of the world and the corruptions of popery had not intervened between primitive and modern

usages, such bishops as the Smectymnian Divines, and Milton, their apologist, opposed, had never occupied such offices, or sustained such rank as distinguished them, and elevates their successors to a disparity unreasonable and antisciptural. Episcopacy is one thing: diocesan episcopacy is another, and a very different thing. In an episcopacy which is Scriptural and primitive, the pastor of every church is a bishop, and is competent to, and authorized to discharge every episcopal duty. He is an overseer of the congregation to which he ministers, which is his flock; for bishop has no other meaning in the language of the New Testament, than overseer. It is a relation of constant, and not occasional inspection, that is implied in the word, and denoted by it; the relation of a shepherd to his flock, which does not allow of absence, or of only rare and extraordinary occasions of intercourse. It would be well that, in all ecclesiastical controversies, the parties would weigh the import of the expressions which their differences include, and not permit themselves to confound things totally distinct under a common name. The only proper inquiry in respect to this subject of apostolic episcopacy, is, whether in fact, or in design, there are exhibited in the New Testament any such office and such personages as, in this country, are raised by the royal *congé d'élire* to the high places of rank and power in the church; and every page which in that volume has reference to the question, answers—No. The 'divine right of episcopacy,' however, is, in these times, neither so tenaciously held, nor so resolutely defended as in former days; and other ground is chosen, on which to rest the pretensions of the ministers of the church by many of its adherents; though occasionally we still find an ecclesiastical dignitary, like Bishop Burgess, who will abate nothing of the rank popery doctrines.

It is not as a polemic that Bishop Hall is most advantageously distinguished. His devotional and practical works are replete with genius, learning, and piety; and on these, not on his controversial productions, his claims to our veneration must rest.

- Art. VII. 1. *The Beauties of the British Poets*. With a few Introductory Observations. By the Rev. George Croly. 12mo. pp 368. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1828.
2. *The Poetical Album*; and Register of Modern Fugitive Poetry. Edited by Alaric A. Watts. Small 8vo. pp. 396. Price 12s. London. 1828.
3. *Specimens of the Lyrical, Descriptive, and Narrative Poets of Great Britain, from Chaucer to the present Day*: with a Preliminary Sketch of the History of Early English Poetry, and Biographical and Critical Notices. By John Johnstone, Author of *Specimens of Sacred Poetry*. 24mo. pp. xvi. 560. Price 5s. 6d. Edinburgh. 1828.

WE must say something of these neat and attractive collections, before the annuals pour in upon us in gay and sparkling array, and drive all the British Poets of former times out of the field. It is only at intervals now, that the market is open for our staple poetry. Milton, Thomson, Gray, Goldsmith, Beattie, and Cowper, the birth-day presents, the rewards of merit, and new years' gifts of our youthful days, have suffered, we are credibly informed, a melancholy depreciation in consequence of the sudden appearance of these sparkling novelties, half books, half toys, which monopolize the floating demand. Were this to last, we should deem it our duty to interfere for the protection of our genuine literature. But the fashion will spend itself, like the rage for French wines and other continental luxuries; and the taste of the reading public will revert to the full flavour and strong body of our standard writers.

It is not quite so easy a thing as may at first sight appear, to make a fair and competent selection from the mass of English poetry,—such a selection as shall exhibit the characteristic merits of the individual, and the progress of poetical literature, and at the same time comprise the poems most worthy, intrinsically, of being chosen. A selection of the best poetry in the language, would be very incomplete as a collection of specimens; for many names of some note in the catalogue would, on such a principle, be totally excluded. Many poems are admitted into collections as the best pieces of the particular author, or as curious from their date or some other circumstance, which have little poetical merit or moral interest. In a general collection, a literary drag-net like Chalmers's *Poets*, they may appropriately find a place; but we cannot but think that small selections should consist of beauties, rather than of specimens. Mr. Johnstone, however, has thought differently, and we shall allow him to give his reasons.

' This little volume, like the " *Specimens of Sacred and Serious*

Poetry," has been selected on views somewhat different from those which have guided the editors of the various agreeable compilations, known under the name of *Beauties*, *Elegant Extracts*, &c. &c. Instead of "orient pearls at random strung" among which are sometimes interspersed not a few French paste-beads, recommended solely by fashion, smoothness, and glitter, the design of this volume, so far as compatible with its limits, is to exhibit the development and progress of English poetry, by a selection of specimens of its fairest productions arranged in order; and to form, as it were, an index to our poetical literature out of its own choicest materials.

The occasional cheap reprint of valuable old works, and of selections like the present, is one of the most important features in modern literature. It is that careless scattering of the good seed by the way-side, which must delight the casual traveller with an unexpected flush of blooms and buds, even where the soil has not sufficient depth and vigour to put forth fruit after many days. Let us but imagine for a moment what a mine of wealth and enjoyment, what a golden treasury of exquisite models, of graceful fancies, of fine inventions, of beautiful diction, this one little volume would have formed to such a youth as Robert Burns, in the days when, at home and abroad, in labour and at rest, he pored over his *Old Song-book*,—and we may come to estimate aright the value of compilations of this kind. Such books very generally fall into the hands of the young, with whom poetry is a passion, but whose tastes are still either false or unripe. Instead of pampering the insatiable appetite for novelty, and preferring fleeting fashion to permanent excellence, it is the duty of the selectors for this important class of readers, to endeavour to raise their poetical feelings to a higher standard—even to the highest of all, that formed by the Fathers of English poetry—rather than to gratify their immature tastes either with shewy trash, or works of ephemeral fame but questionable merit. With a very few exceptions, no specimen has been admitted into this compilation, that has not either stood the test of time, or been allowed to possess those enduring qualities which will make the contents of this small volume as valuable centuries hence as at the present hour. Nor is it a bold prophecy to say, it contains more beautiful verse—far more English poetry of the very highest order—than is likely to appear in all the periodical volumes that shall be published in Britain for the next hundred years.

There are many living, or recent writers, from which it would have been agreeable to select much more. The little pieces given, are rather records of their names than specimens of their genius. I make no apology for the length of the extracts given from the very early poets. It is a main object of the compilation to diffuse a more intimate knowledge of their names and of their writings. Into what raptures would thousands of fashionable readers be thrown, could such lyrics as those, here selected from Herrick, Carew, and Lovelace, be presented to them for the first time under the attractive name of Moore. Nor shall I apologize for the copious extracts given from what are called "*The Lake Poets*," while comparatively so little space is afforded to more popular writers. Were it possible,

by some *short-hand* process of printing yet to be discovered, to compress half the pages of Wordsworth into a cheap work, adapted to the daily household use of the people of England, it would gladly have been done, in the warm and sincere conviction, that no poems of nearly equal merit now remain to be freely diffused among them. Nearer home, I hope to be pardoned for not crowding into this narrow tablet such beloved and familiar names as those of Hamiton, Ramsay, Fergusson, and other "Lyric singers of our high-souled land"—since their place is necessarily occupied by yet nobler names—by those of Dunbar, James I., Douglas, Barbour, and Lyndsay—names that ought to be better known among us. pp. iii—v.

We so cordially approve of the design and general views of the Compiler, that we are not disposed to quarrel with him for having in some respects deviated from what we regard as a sounder principle of selection. Still we think, that such cheap reprints would answer a more valuable purpose, if the specimens were confined, even at the expense of their variety, to poetry of the first quality. In a cabinet of minerals or a *hortus siccus*, it is sufficient to stamp value on a specimen, that it is a variety; but in planting a garden or arranging a nosegay, variety is studied only in subordination to the general effect. Now, in a selection of this nature, we do not want dried specimens. Nor do we want *sucklings*, like a few which are indiscreetly admitted into this collection. Butler, Prior, Charles Cotton, Sir Charles Sedley, Rochester, and Swift have slender claims to be represented at all in such a selection. Such 'poems' as The City Shower and An Epitaph, at all events, are vile weeds, and offensive ones too. Fifteen pages assigned to Swift, and not five to Dryden, are an unrighteous measure; and the latter is most inadequately represented by Cymon and Iphigenia, and an objectionable ode from Horace. Dryden was a bad translator, and Horace was the last classic he could have done justice to. The specimens from Gay are not more judicious. Anstey has no business in the volume. Thomas Warton occupies too much room: he was not more of a poet than Langhorne, who is styled a 'pleasing versifier.' Sir William Jones was a great and good man; he could dance elegantly, and trifle in verse; but, as neither accomplishment is essential to his deserved fame, or can add to it, his poems may as well be forgotten. Samuel Bishop was an 'an amiable and 'clever man in orders,' who wrote verses to Mrs. Bishop on her wedding day; but, in the name of common sense, what have such doggrel lines to do among 'specimens of the poets of Great Britain'? Is there an amiable and clever man in orders in the kingdom, who does not, or at least could not write better lines to his wife once a year than these? Of Burns, Mr. Johnstone has given us by far too little; of Shelley, by far

too much. In short, the declaration of the Advertisement, that 'no specimen has been admitted, that has not been allowed to possess these enduring qualities which will make it not less valuable centuries hence,' must be taken—with exceptions.

The most pleasing feature of the selection, is the large proportion of specimens from the earlier poets, by which Mr. Johnstone has shewn both his taste and his reading; and the historical sketch, illustrated by copious extracts from Chaucer and his successors, will not be unacceptable to the real lovers of poetry. On one point, however, Mr. Johnstone is decidedly wrong. Mr. Wordsworth resembles Chaucer about as closely as Cowper resembles Ben Jonson: he does not even understand our old poet, as is evident from his attempt to translate his rich vein of mingled pathos, satire, and humour into the sentimental style of the Lake school. Our Compiler assures us, that Mr. Wordsworth's 'poetical creed approaches much nearer to Chaucer's, than did that of either Dryden or Pope'; and therefore, 'more confidence might be placed in his version, both in the simplicity of the letter and in the integrity and fine humanity of the spirit.' Whether he does not himself understand Chaucer, or does not understand Wordsworth, he could not have fallen into a greater mistake. Wordsworth has not only, so far as we may judge from his poetry, no powers of humour, but no perception of the humorous, no consciousness of the ludicrous. When, therefore, he attempts to be gay and sportive, he is simply ridiculous. To set him to modernize Chaucer, would be as exquisitely absurd as for the Poet-laureate to undertake a translation of La Fontaine.

The Living Poets from whose works specimens are given, are Wordsworth, Campbell, Sir Walter, Southey, Coleridge, Wilson, Moore, Joanna Baillie, Mrs. Hemans, Miss Landon, Crabbe, Croly, W. L. Bowles, Leigh Hunt, James Hogg, Rogers, Montgomery, Moir, Malcolm, Barry Cornwall, Allan Cunningham, Bowring, A. A. Watts, M. J. J., Pringle, Heber, H. Smith, Wolfe, M'Diarmid. Neither chronological order nor literary rank, it will be seen, is observed in the order in which these specimens are given, nor are they in other respects well chosen. A very poor and inadequate specimen is given of a poet to whom a much larger space was due,—the Author of 'The Village' and 'Sir Eustace Grey.' Montgomery has not more justice done to him. Other exceptions might be taken; but we have said enough to shew that the task which Mr. Johnstone has undertaken, is one of more than ordinary delicacy. His volume, with all its deficiencies, comprises a large proportion of beautiful poetry; and we regret that the two or three exceptionable pieces he has admitted, prevents our being

able to recommend these specimens to indiscriminate perusal, as he has evidently bestowed much pains on the compilation.

Among the Miscellaneous Pieces, there is given, under the title of 'Battle Hymn,' without name or signature, a singularly beautiful and spirited ballad, which appears also in Mr. Watts's Poetical Album. It is there stated to have first appeared in Knight's Quarterly Magazine, a defunct periodical work, with the initials, T. M. To whom besides Thomas Moore, this mark may belong, we know not; but, whoever be the Author of the poem, he may be proud to own it, for the English language contains few ballads of so high an order. It is poetry, painting, and music, all at once.

' THE WAR OF THE LEAGUE.

' Now glory to the Lord of Hosts, from whom all glories are!
And glory to our Sovereign Liege, King Henry of Navarre!
Now let there be the merry sound of music and of dance,
Through thy corn-fields green, and sunny vines, O pleasant land of France!

And thou, Rochelle, our own Rochelle, proud city of the waters,
Again let rapture light the eyes of all thy mourning daughters.
As thou wert constant in our ills, be joyous in our joy,
For cold, and stiff, and still are they who wrought thy walls annoy.
Hurrah! hurrah! a single field hath turn'd the chance of war,
Hurrah! hurrah! for Ivry, and Henry of Navarre.

' O! how our hearts were beating, when, at the dawn of day,
We saw the army of the League drawn out in long array;
With all its priest-led citizens, and all its rebel peers,
And Appenzel's stout infantry, and Egmont's Flemish spears.
There rode the brood of false Lorraine, the curses of our land;
And dark Mayenne was in the midst, a truncheon in his hand:
And, as we looked on them, we thought of Seine's impurpled flood,
And good Coligni's hoary hair all dabbled with his blood;
And we cried unto the living God, who rules the fate of war,
To fight for his own holy name, and Henry of Navarre.

' The King is come to marshal us, in all his armour drest,
And he has bound a snow-white plume upon his gallant crest.
He looked upon his people, and a tear was in his eye:
He looked upon the traitors, and his glance was stern and high.
Right graciously he smiled on us, as roll'd from wing to wing,
Down all our line, a deafening shout, "God save our Lord the King!"

"And if my standard-bearer fall, as fall fust well he may,
For never saw I promise yet of such a bloody fray,
Press where ye see my white plume shine, amidst the ranks of war,
And be your Oriflamme to-day the helmet of Navarre."

' Hurrah! the foes are moving. Hark to the mingled din
Of fife, and steed, and trumpet, and drum, and roaring culverin.

The fiery Duke is pricking fast across Saint André's plain,
With all the hireling chivalry of Guelders and Akmayne.
Now by the lips of those we love, fair gentlemen of France,
Charge for the golden lilies now,—upon them with the lance.
A thousand spurs are striking deep, a thousand spears in rest,
A thousand knights are pressing close behind the snow-white crest;
And in they burst, and on they rush'd, while, like a guiding star,
Amidst the thickest carnage blaz'd the helmet of Navarre.

' Now, God be praised, the day is ours! Mayenne hath turned his
rein.

D'Aumale hath cried for quarter. The Flemish Count is slain.
Their ranks are breaking like thin clouds before a Biscay gale;
The field is heaped with bleeding steeds, and flags, and cloven mail.
And then we thought on vengeance, and, all along our van,
"Remember St. Bartholomew," was pass'd from man to man.
But out spake gentle Henry, "No Frenchman is my foe:
Down, down, with every foreigner, but let your brethren go."
Oh! was there ever such a knight, in friendship or in war,
As our Sovereign Lord, King Henry, the soldier of Navarre!

' Ho! maidens of Vienna; ho! matrons of Lucerne;
Weep, weep, and rend your hair for those who never shall return.
Ho! Philip, send, for charity, thy Mexican pistoles,
That Antwerp monks may sing a mass for thy poor spearmen's souls.
Ho! gallant nobles of the League, look that your arms be bright;
Ho! burghers of Saint Genevieve, keep watch and ward to-night.
For our God hath crush'd the tyrant, our God hath rais'd the slave,
And mocked the counsel of the wise, and the valour of the brave.
Then glory to His holy name, from whom all glories are;
And glory to our Sovereign Lord, King Henry of Navarre.'

Mr. Croly, the Author of the spirited critical and historical outline prefixed to the "*Beauties*," is not, it seems, responsible for the compilation itself; a considerable portion of the materials having been collected before the work was submitted to him. In the selection there is little either to commend or to object to. We have two *excerpts* from Chaucer, four from Spenser, and several detached passages from Shakspeare; from Milton, a creditable proportion, including the *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*; from Dryden, *Veni Creator*; followed by extracts or select pieces from Pope, Thomson, Young, Akenside, Collins, Gray, Goldsmith, Burns, and Cowper; together with Bruce's '*Elegy*,' a Hymn by Logan, and an Ode by Sir W. Jones. These occupy about 200 pages, the remaining 160 being devoted to living poets, or those of the present day recently deceased, in the following order: Crabbe, Charlotte Smith(!), Southey, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Scott, Montgomery, Campbell, Rogers, Moore, Byron, Keats, Millman, Wolfe, Mrs. Hemans.—The oddest thing about this selection is, the strange partiality shewn to the immature, though pro-

misgiving productions of poor Keats; but, as this is perhaps assignable to the feelings of private friendship, it may be pardoned. Yet, surely the name of H. K. White was not less worthy of appearing in such a volume. Equally capricious and unjust is the selection which affords room for a mawkish sonnet by Charlotte Smith, and passes over the names of the Author of *Psyche*, and Jane Taylor. The volume, however, as regards its actual contents, is unexceptionable. It is embellished with eleven engravings on wood from spirited designs by Mr. Harvey; and, with the help of Mr. Croly's name and preface, and the recommendations of good typography and neat half-binding, will, we have no doubt, be generally attractive. We were going to rifle it of one of the three poems by Mrs. Hemans; but we find in Mr. Watts's volume a still more beautiful poem by the same accomplished Author, which we cannot resist transcribing. It is, we think, one of her happiest effusions: at all events, few hands but her own could have brought out from the many-chorded shell such deeply solemn, tender, thrilling tones.

‘ THE TREASURES OF THE DEEP.

‘ BY MRS. HEMANS.

- ‘ What hid'st thou in thy treasure-caves and cells?
 Thou hollow-sounding and mysterious Main!
 Pale glistening pearls, and rainbow coloured shells,
 Bright things which gleam unrecked of and in vain.
 Keep, keep thy riches, melancholy sea!
 We ask not such from thee.
- ‘ Yet more, the Depths have more!—What wealth untold,
 Far down, and shining through their stillness, lies!
 Thou hast the starry gems, the burning gold,
 Won from ten thousand royal Argosies.
 Sweep o'er thy spoils, thou wild and wrathful Main!
 Earth claims not these again!
- ‘ Yet more, the Depths have more!—Thy waves have rolled
 Above the cities of a world gone by!
 Sand hath filled up the palaces of old,
 Sea-weed o'ergrown the halls of revelry!
 Dash o'er them, Ocean! in thy scornful play,
 Man yields them to decay!
- ‘ Yet more! the Billows and the Depths have more!
 High hearts and brave are gathered to thy breast!
 They hear not now the booming waters roar,—
 The battle-thunders will not break their rest.
 Keep thy red gold and gems, thou stormy grave —
 Give back the true and brave!

- ' Give back the lost and lovely !— Those for whom
 The place was kept at board and hearth so long ;
 The prayer went up through midnight's breathless gloom.
 And the vain yearning woke 'midst festal song !
 Hold fast thy buried ials, thy towers o'erthrown,
 —But all is not thine own !
 ' To thee the love of woman hath gone down ;
 Dark flow thy tides o'er manhood's noble head,
 O'er youth's bright locks and beauty's flowery crown !
 Yet must thou hear a voice—Restore the Dead !
 Earth shall reclaim her precious things from thee !—
 Restore the Dead, thou Sea ! '

It only remains to notice more particularly the volume from which this and the preceding extract have been taken. The idea of a register of modern fugitive poetry, is not a new one. An annual publication, under the title of *The Poetical Register*, was carried on to the extent, we believe, of seven or eight volumes ; in which, amid a mass of *mediocre* versifying, some contributions of real merit and interest are to be found,—a few, perhaps, which have not found their way to the public through any other medium. For an *occasional* publication of the kind, there is ample room ; and hereafter, the souvenirs and forget-me-nots of the present day, may yield rich gleanings to the collector. The present volume, it seems, was committed to the press in 1824, at which time many of the poems which have since crept into print, were 'almost as good as manuscript.' For the delay of the publication, the Editor is not responsible. A second volume is intended to comprise the best fugitive poetry that has appeared since 1823. Mr. Watts is sufficiently well qualified, on the score of literary taste, for the task which he has undertaken. We must, however, suggest, without mootng the delicate question of literary property, that courtesy and integrity demand that the permission of the writer should not be regarded as altogether superfluous in making such appropriation of his productions. The licence of our poetical selectors and compilers, is sometimes carried a little beyond due bounds.

Art. VIII. *Exposition of the Book of Psalms.* By the Rev. John Morison. 8vo. Part I. pp. 176. Price 4s. London. 1828.

THE ancient dispensations of revealed religion were of a much more spiritual character than they have sometimes been represented as sustaining. Compared with the Christian economy, they were imperfect systems of truth and worship, but they included such means of knowledge as enlighten and purify the mind, and excite and nourish the growth of internal devotion. The patriarchs "walked with God"; an expression

which cannot, with any semblance of propriety, be explained but as denoting the familiarity of their minds with the subjects and exercises of a worship intelligent and spiritual. Judaism had its "meats and drinks, and divers washings, and carnal ordinances"; its "worldly sanctuary," its rites and ceremonies, its altars and its offerings; and its costly pomp may seem to indicate only the religion of an external ritual. But, whatever there might be in the Temple service, and in the festivals and observances of Jewish worshippers, to impress the senses, and to gratify the imagination; there was an influence associated with the religious appointments of the economy, which the heart felt and obeyed. In respect to the means by which Divine knowledge is communicated, the Mosaic records do not enable us to ascertain the several particulars which we might wish to know of the public religious instruction of the people of Israel in the time of their great legislator, and in the subsequent periods previously to the Babylonian captivity. What exercises of devotion and what didactic usages were common in those times, we have no means of accurately determining; but we may presume from the evidence which is available in the inquiry, that the means of moral and spiritual improvement were extensively provided at the date of the institution of the Jewish monarchy. The Book of Psalms affords ample testimony of the existence of a pure and elevated devotion in the ancient Jewish Church. In these sacred compositions, which are of different dates, and by various authors, the references are not few, which relate to worship as mental and social; and the circumstance that these divine songs are still maintaining their pre-eminence as incitements of and aids to devotion, is a very striking proof of their excellence and their adaptation to the use of persons possessing the highest religious advantages.

In the history of literature, the Book of Psalms presents a very remarkable subject of examination, which may be recommended to the careful study of such persons as hesitate to admit the claims of revealed religion. The Jews were not a literary people, neither were they a philosophical nation; yet, in their sacred books the descriptions of the Divine Being, and the manner in which the nature and perfections of God and his government are set forth, are unparalleled by all the writings of the ancient world. Whoever wrote like the Jewish penmen on these subjects? Where shall we find the simple grandeur and lofty majesty of description that may be compared with their representations of the living God? They are peerless in this respect. And they are equally exalted above all competition in the moral sentiments which they have recorded. In the poets and philosophical writers of Greece, sublime descriptions and admirable moral sentiments may be

found, (and these are the sources whence the finest specimens would be drawn,) but they are 'few and far between,' and the most applauded of these are far below the greatness of thought and expression which the Hebrew bards and the Hebrew moralists present to us, not occasionally and in detached passages, but constantly and in continuity. It is scarcely necessary to make a selection for the purposes of comparison. Only let the reader take into his hand the Book of Psalms, and peruse the xviiith, the xixth, the lxviiith, the cxxxixth, and the cxlvth, and he will be so instructed, and so edified, in respect to that Great Being in whom all creatures live and move, of whom, and through whom, and to whom are all things, as no one ever was who heard only the odes and epics of the great masters of ancient song in Greece. This is a very important view of the Book of Psalms, and the extensive consideration of it may be urged upon all persons who feel interested in the means by which men become intelligent in the highest branches of divine knowledge. As the answer which was given to the Jews when they inquired respecting Christ, "How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?" referred them to the Divine origin of the Gospel as the true solution of the remarkable fact which surprised them,—“My doctrine is not mine, but His that sent me”; so, the true reason of the superiority of the Hebrew poetry is to be found in the fact, that the Spirit of the Lord spake by the Psalmists of Israel, and that his word was on their tongue. We have no present recollection of an adequate treatment of this subject by any writer, though it might not be difficult to refer to incidental illustrations of it. There are some branches of the evidences of Revelation which have not by any means been exhausted; and the presumption, from the style of its writers, is one of them.

Publications of one kind or other on the Book of Psalms, are very numerous. Great, however, as is the number of commentaries on this portion of the Bible, we do not think that readers of the Scriptures who wish for intelligent guidance in the use of them, will be disposed to complain of the aids with which they are supplied, as affording a superabundance of desirable assistance. An expository volume on the Book of Psalms, which should be constructed with an understanding of their wants, and executed by a writer competent to the task, could not fail of being acceptable. From the variety of existing works professing to be critical and practical, on this part of the Bible, we know not one which could be selected, as fulfilling the plan which such sensible and pious readers might wish to see accomplished. We have new versions with notes, and old versions with reflections, which are too concise and meagre to yield the requisite instruction and satisfaction. And

of some of the more copious productions, the principle of interpretation which pervades them, is either erroneous or gratuitous, as in the instances of Bishop Horne's Commentary, and the work of Bishop Horsley. In many respects, the former publication can never be too highly valued, or too warmly applauded. The evangelical spirit which breathes in its pages, the fervent piety which animates it, and the exquisite beauty of its composition, are commendations which entitle it to our grateful acceptance. It has ministered to the consolation and the improvement of many Christians, and will relieve and comfort many more. But, as a correct representation of the design and meaning of the sacred poets, it cannot claim our confidence, and has but too largely contributed to introduce or confirm a very indiscriminate and injurious application of a principle of exposition, which, in its appropriate use, is of the greatest importance, but which, when extended beyond its proper limits, becomes a means of perverting from their salutary influence the instructions by which the personal improvement of the reader is to be promoted. In perusing such interpretations as Bishop Horsley's, or such comments as those of Bishop Horne, the individual is directed very remotely and insufficiently to himself, and must fail of receiving the benefit which the judicious use of the lessons before him would confer on a mind rightly exercised in relation to them. By this class of writers, the substitution of mystical and fanciful hypothesis in the place of literal and sober interpretation, has been employed to excess; and we are not mistaken, we believe, in describing it as inconsistent with the designed use of the Scriptures, and having an unfavourable aspect towards the personal religion of those who are misled by it. It may savour of great piety, and unquestionably was, in the case of Horne and some others, in union with a most devout spirit; but the consequences of such a system are not the less to be deprecated; because it has been sanctioned by men of such sanctity of character. The sense of Scripture is never to be trifled with, and all correct and useful application of the contents of the Bible, must be dependent on the genuine meaning of its expressions, and on the direct relation of its representations. We have, in the course of our labours, noticed more than one work which has been replete with these aberrations of criticism; and have now on our table another, on which we shall shortly make our report, the author of which has indulged his imagination in a very unbounded licence with the sacred text. For some remarks on this improper mode of studying and applying the language of the Scriptures, we may refer our readers, *inter alia*, to our review of Bishop Horsley's and Mr. Fry's volumes on the Psalms.

Mr. Morison's exposition is 'intended to overlook nothing essential to a full and critical explication of the Psalter,' but is particularly designed as a work of practical devotion. From the form in which it appears, it would seem to have been previously delivered in the usual course of the Author's public instructions. As we have before us at present only the first part of this Commentary, including the first sixteen psalms, we shall satisfy ourselves with a brief notice of its contents, and on the completion of the work, shall more fully consider the value of the annotations and reflections which it may comprise. We observe in this part, a want of uniformity in the plan. A concluding series of remarks accompanying the exposition of the first Psalm, is headed, 'Improvement,' and the fourth ends with 'Reflections,' but no others are so arranged. The variations may not be of much importance, but the Author's design should have been executed in accordance with a consistent plan. We observe, too, an irregularity in the affixing of the titles to the Psalms. In Psalm VII., the title occurs in the Author's introductory remarks, but does not appear at the head of the composition, its appropriate place.

As the Author's design is to supply a popular Exposition of the Book of Psalms, it was not to be expected that these pages should exhibit either numerous or copious criticisms on the philological difficulties of the text. Some passages on which we could have wished for critical elucidation, are without illustrative notes; and in other instances, the elucidations are less clear than might have been furnished. But the work has very fair claims to our commendation in respect to critical merit. The introductory descriptions prefixed to each Psalm, comprise much valuable information, and the notes include selections of the most pertinent and useful matter on the subjects to which they relate, with occasional additions or corrections by the Author. The doctrine which pervades the Exposition, is uniformly evangelical; and its practical tendencies and effects are forcibly represented and warmly inculcated. As an assistant to devotion, it will be acceptable to every one who is solicitous for the spiritual improvement of his heart, and anxious to be supplied with the means of religious advancement. If it does not fully come up to our ideas and wishes as a Commentary on the Book of Psalms, it is, at least, much in advance of most of its predecessors, and is so ably executed, and so well adapted to the instruction and benefit of those for whose use it has been prepared, that we cordially recommend it to the notice and acceptance of our readers.

We lay before our readers an extract from this Exposition, that they may have the opportunity of learning in what pro-

portion the comment is to the text, and of judging of its value as elucidating the meaning and enlarging the utility of the Psalter. Our specimen is taken without selection.

' Psalm vii. 8. The Lord shall judge the people: judge me, O Lord, according to my righteousness, and according to my integrity that is in me.

' By "the people," we are doubtless to understand, not the inhabitants of the world at large, but the nation of Israel. David here breaks forth in a tone of prophetic announcement concerning that nation. He had prayed on their behalf, and he now declares with confidence that God would judge them *, that is, that he would decide, or give sentence in their controversy. He had a full confidence that, in due time, he would appear on their behalf, that he would not leave his sanctuary desolate, nor allow his chosen flock to remain as sheep without a shepherd.

' "Judge † me, O Lord, according to my righteousness, and according to my integrity that is in me." We are not to suppose that David speaks here of his righteousness and integrity in a universal or absolute sense. Neither conscience nor inclination would have permitted him to act a part so presumptuous. Never, perhaps, did any one entertain a more humbling view of himself than did David. But a conviction of personal unworthiness before God, did not blind his mind to a sense of the unrighteous conduct of Saul and his associates; nor did it prevent him from going to the most High, as the great and infallible judge of human actions, to determine his cause, and to judge him according to the uprightness and integrity of his character in the matters in which he had been slanderously accused. That is certainly an overstrained orthodoxy, which would preclude an accused individual the privilege of appealing to the most High, for the vindication of his integrity against the aspersions of a fellow-worm of the dust, equally fallible and equally imperfect with himself†.

* * The word יָדָן signifies the act of giving sentence in a case of controversy.

† שֹׁפֵט is the word used here, which denotes the proper act of judgement in all cases of appeal, and involves the idea of clear and perfect discernment in the judge.

† It is very remarkable, that such a man as Bishop Horsley should think that the language of this verse could belong to no one but Jesus Christ. If indeed it carried with it a *general* reference, or affirmed any thing on the subject of David's *personal relations to the divine lawgiver*, such an opinion would seem to be well founded; but as the Psalmist is speaking of a matter of unjust accusation preferred against him by a very unworthy and malicious enemy, who was also the enemy of God and his Church; there seems to be no reason whatever for concluding that the language could not apply to him. Surely the apostle Paul might have appealed to God for his entire innocence, when he was charged, by the Athenians, as "a setter forth of strange gods," (Acts xvii. 18.) simply because he preached the doctrine of the resurrection.

It is one of the distinguishing blessings of a servant of God, that there is One in heaven who knows his real character, and who will judge between him and his "enemies, persecutors, and slanderers;" and while he will ever shrink from justifying himself as a sinner, before God, yet will he not scruple to make his appeal from the falsehood, injustice, and cruelty of man, to the truth, justice, and benevolence of his Father in heaven: this seems indeed, to be a part of that liberty wherewith Christ makes all his servants free.

' Verse 9.—O let the wickedness of the wicked come to an end; but establish the just: for the righteous God trieth the hearts and reins.

' The immediate references of this prayer are the iniquity of Saul, the uprightness of David, and the infallible discernment of the eternal Judge. It is a petition addressed, with great earnestness, to Jehovah, beseeching him to cut short the period of Saul's unholy triumph, to establish the just cause of his servant David, and to shew himself thereby to be that "righteous God who trieth the hearts and reins."*

' Nor is it unreasonable to suppose, that the prophetic mind of David winged its flight beyond existing scenes and circumstances, and ventured to anticipate a period, when the dominion of moral evil should come to a comparative end, and when the reign of righteousness, truth, and piety should be universal. The ages that have rolled away, have been sadly darkened by the crimes of men; but a day is fast approaching, when "the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord;" when mount Zion shall shine forth in the beauty of holiness; when, from the rising of the sun even to the going down of the same, Jehovah's name shall be great among the Gentiles; and when in every place incense and a pure offering shall be presented to the name of the Lord our God†. Then shall "the people be all righteous," and the wickedness of the wicked ‡ shall come to a perpetual end.

The style of this Exposition is vigorous, but not always correct. There are some passages, in which the Author appears to us to yield too much to the system of interpretation to which we have already referred, and some of the reasons which he assigns for the application of it, are entirely unsupported.

* Ainsworth thinks, that by "the hearts" may be meant the *thoughts*, and by "the reins" the *affections*. Psal. xxvi. 2. Jer. xi. 20.; xx. 12. Rev. ii. 23. See a very satisfactory account of this criticism in Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon.

† Malachi, i. 11.

‡ The learned Pool translates this prayer, "Let, I pray thee, wickedness consume the wicked." But this rendering is by no means so natural or agreeable as the one in the authorized version. Bishop Horsley renders it, "Surely the wickedness of the impious shall be brought to mind."

ART. IX. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

Mr. S. Tucker is about to publish 'The Christian Reconciler; or the end of the Trinitarian and Unitarian Controversies: being a detection and refutation of the chief sources of popular errors and disputes among professing Christians, in reference to the mode of the Divine existence, and the incarnation of the Logos as the begotten Son of God.'

We understand that The Amulet for the year 1829 will be published early in November, with attractions, both literary and pictorial, greatly exceeding either of its predecessors, and will contain articles from a number of the most distinguished writers of the age, among whom are many who have not heretofore contributed either to this work or to those of a similar character; that its illustrations will be of the highest order of art, both with reference to the productions of the painter and the engraver; and that there will be several other improvements of a novel and important character.

Ackermann's "Forget Me Not," the first of our popular Annuals, will appear as usual at the end of October, and as we are assured, with increased claims to public favour. The new volume is enriched by fourteen engravings from original paintings by Martin, Cooper, Daniell, Chalon, Thomson, Leslie, P. and J. Stephanoff, Prout, Owen, Miss L. Sharpe, Clennell, Corbould, and Witherington. The literary portion possesses extraordinary variety, consisting of more than one hundred contributions by the most distinguished writers.

R. Ackermann has in the Press, and will publish at the same time with the other Annuals, *Le Petit Bijou*, written entirely in French by Mons. D'Emden, embellished with seven fine engravings, from drawings made purposely for the work, and dedicated by permission to her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent.

The volume of the Literary Souvenir which is now preparing for publication, will make its appearance in an improved form, without any addition to the price. The Plates, which are already completed, are of a more important size than heretofore, and have been engraved by eminent artists: The subjects, the collection of which is said to have been formed at a very large expense, are twelve in number, and comprise original Paintings, for the most part of well known celebrity, by C. R. Leslie, R.A.; J. M.

Turner, R.A.; W. Hilton, R.A.; A. E. Chalon, R.A.; H. J. Northcote, R.A.; R. Westall, R.A.; F. Danby, A.; F. P. Stephanoff; E. D. Leahy; R. Frazier; J. Stephanoff, and J. Green. The Literary Department will, as usual, be composed of contributions from the most distinguished writers of the day. The Volume will be bound in rich crimson silk.

The New Year's Gift, and Juvenile Souvenir (an Annual for Children, under the superintendence of Mrs. Alaric Watts), will contain, independently of numerous Wood Cuts, by George Cruikshanks and others, a variety of highly finished Line Engravings on steel. The chief attractions in this department of the work will be—The Children in the Wood, by Miss Dagley, after a sketch by Miss Spilsbury, engraved by J. C. Edwards; the Marriage of the Infant Prince, Richard Duke of York, son of Edward V., to the Lady Anne Mowbray, by J. Northcote, R.A., engraved by F. Engleheart; a Dancing Girl, by J. Wood, engraved by W. Greatbatch; and an English Cottage Door, by W. Hamilton, R.A., engraved by F. Engleheart. The Literary Contents of the Volume have been supplied by a great number of eminent authors—principally those who have been distinguished as writers for the juvenile classes. The work will be bound in a style which will combine elegance with durability.

The Winter's Wreath. — The Annual published last Year, under the title of the "Winter's Wreath", will appear this season with increased claims to public attention. The Proprietor has made uncommon exertions to keep a high place amongst the elegant works of this class; and in the letter-press and illustrations, the Wreath will be excelled by none of its competitors. The Editors are entirely different from those of the preceding Volume, and they have procured the important literary assistance of Mrs. Hemans, Mrs. Opie, Mary Howitt, Mrs. Gilbert, Miss M. R. Mitford, Miss E. Taylor, Miss M. A. Brown, the Roscoes, Montgomery, Bowring, W. Howitt, Hartley Coleridge, J. H. Wiffen, Robert Milhouse, the Author of "May You Like It," The Author of "Selwyn," The Author of the "Recollections of the Peninsula, &c." Delta, of Blackwood's Magazine, J. J. Audubon, the late Dr. Currie, Rev. W. Shepherd, Rev. W. Horner, Rev. J. Parry, J. Merritt, W. M. Tarrt, J. A. Yates, The

Editors, &c. &c. Embellished with twelve highly-finished Line Engravings on Steel, from a selection of rare and curious Pictures never before engraved, the productions of the following Painters: H. Howard, R.A.; J. Northcote, R.A.; W. Havell; Geo. Arnald; Renton; Nicholson (of Edinburgh); F. P. Stephanoff; J. Watson; Severn (of Rome); Vandyke; Wright (of Derby); Garnier; Burns. &c.; and engraved by the most eminent Artists.

Another Volume, in Quarto, of Dr. Lingard's History of England, beginning with the Commonwealth, will be published in November.

The Rev. Samuel Hinds, Vice Principal of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, is about to publish the History of the Rise and Early Progress of Christianity, comprising an Enquiry into its true Character and Design.

The Rev. J. B. S. Carwithen, of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, Author of the Bampton Lectures for 1809, is about to publish the History of the Church of England to the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. The first Two Volumes will appear in November, and bring down the Work to the Restoration of the Church and Monarchy in 1660.

The Rev. C. Benson, Master of the Temple, is about to reprint his "Chronology of our Saviour's Life."

The Rev. Dr. Hamilton of Strathblane, has in the Press "A Defence of the Scripture Doctrine respecting the Second Advent of Christ, from the erroneous representations of Modern Millenarians."

A New Edition of Mr. Mitford's History of Greece, in 8 Vols. 8vo. is now in the Press, and will be published in a few days; with many Additions and Corrections by the Author, and some Corrections and Additions chiefly chronological by the Editor. A short Account of the Author, and of his pursuits in Life, by his brother, Lord Redesdale, with an Apology for some parts of his Work, which have been objects of censure, will be prefixed.

In the Press, and to be published at the close of the present Year, in 2 Vols. 8vo. Essays on the Principles of Morality, and on the Private and Political Rights and Obligations of Mankind: by the late Jonathan Dymond, Author of "An Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity, &c." The general object of the Work is, first, to ascertain and to establish the authority of the true Standard of Right and Wrong, and then to bring various private and political questions to that standard as a test: to offer to the Public a work of Moral and Political Philosophy, founded primarily on the Morality of the Gospel.

In a few days will appear, Great Britain Illustrated: a Series of Views comprising all the Cities, principal Towns, Public Buildings, Docks, and remarkable Edifices in the United Kingdom, from Drawings made expressly for the Work, by W. Westall, A.R.A., and engraved by E. Finden. With Descriptions by Thos. Moule, Author of the Bibliotheca Heraldica, &c. &c. This Work will appear Monthly. Each Number will contain Four Views, for One Shilling, or India Paper Two Shillings. In the first will be Views in Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham and Durham.

In the Press, A Universal Prayer; Death; A Vision of Heaven, and a Vision of Hell. By Robert Montgomery, Author of "the Omnipresence of the Deity."

In the Press, Objections to the Doctrine of Israel's future Restoration to Palestine, National Preeminence, &c. 1 vol. 12mo.

In the Press, the Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. J. Cockin, late of Halifax. By his Son, the Rev. John Cockin.

In the Press, the Family Monitor, or a Help to Domestic Happiness. By the Rev. John Angell James. 12mo.

In the Press, a New Edition of Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland; with an Original Memoir of the Author, and Notes. By the Rev. Robert Burns, D.D. 4 vols. 8vo.

ART. X. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of the Duke of Rovigo, (Savary,) Minister of Police under Napoleon. Written by himself. Vol. 1, 2, and 3, 8vo, English, 16s, French, 14s per vol. (to be completed in 4 vol.)

Memoirs and Correspondence of the late Dr. Samuel Parr, with Biographical Notices and Anecdotes of many of his Friends, Pupils, and Contemporaries. By the Rev. William Field. The Second and concluding Volume. 8vo, with Portrait, 14s.

Memoirs of the Life of John Ledyard, the African Traveller. From his Journals and Correspondence. Now first published, in 1 vol. post 8vo. 10s. 6d.

The Memoirs of the Life, Character and Writings of the Rev. Matthew Henry. By J. B. Williams, Esq. F.S.A., with Portrait. 8vo. 8s.

EDUCATION.

The History of Little Jack, in French and English, with a Two-fold Key, on the Hamiltonian System. By Philip Orkney Skene. 12mo. 4s. 6d.

HISTORY.

An Historical Romance, chiefly illustrative of public events and domestic manners of the Fifteenth Century, entitled, The Last of the Plantagenets; is in the Press and will shortly be published.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Alliance of Education and Civil Government, with Strictures on the University of London. By Thomas William Lancaster, M.A., Vicar of Banbury; and formerly Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. 4to. 6s.

Notions of the Americans. Picked up by a Travelling Bachelor. 2 vols. 8vo, 1l. 8s.

The Debates in both Houses of Parliament, relative to the Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, as reported in "The Times" Newspaper, with a Preface by the Rev. John Burder, A.M., of Stroud, Gloucestershire; to which are added, a List of the Majority and Minority in both Houses, and a Copy of the New Act. 8vo. 4s. or in boards 4s. 6d.

PHILOLOGY.

Researches into the Origin and Affinity of the Principal Languages of Asia and Europe. By Lieut.-Col. Vans Kennedy, of the Bombay Military Establishment. 4to. with Plates. 2l. 12s. 6d.

POETRY.

The Last of the Greeks; or, the Fall of Constantinople. A Tragedy. By Lord Morpeth. 8s. 6d.

THEOLOGY.

A Volume of Sermons. By the Rev. Charles B. Tayler, M.A. 5s.

A Compendious View of the Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion; being the Substance of Lectures read in the University and King's College, Aberdeen. By Alexander and Gilbert Gerard, D.D., late Professors of Divinity, and Chaplains in

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THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR NOVEMBER 1828.

Art. I. *Narrative of a second Expedition to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1825, 1826, and 1827, by John Franklin, Captain R.N., F.R.S., &c., and Commander of the Expedition. Including an Account of the Progress of a Detachment to the Eastward, by John Richardson, M.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., &c., Surgeon and Naturalist to the Expedition. Plates and Maps. 4to. pp. xxiv. 920. clvii. Price 4l. 4s. London, 1828.*

THIS is, in all respects, an exceedingly valuable publication.

The narrative is clear and interesting; the decorations are highly illustrative, and their execution is unexceptionable; the charts are on a large scale, and leave nothing to be desired with respect to distinctness, correctness, and correspondence to the written details of which they are the analysis and exemplification. We have adverted to these points, in the first instance, because we have, of late, had much reason to complain of the very unsatisfactory and ill-judged manner in which works of this kind have been sent forth to the public. Inexpressive drawings, *contract* engravings, and miniature or mangled maps, have raised our critical choler above that salutary medium to which the *tutissimus ibis* is attached, and have drawn from us, if not the full exposition of disgraceful failure, such intimations at least, as might put our readers on their guard. How much of the present improvement is assignable to the publication 'by *authority*', we are unable to say; but, whatever the cause may be, we are grateful for the result.

We sincerely hope that this (on the whole) successful expedition will close the series of skilful and gallant efforts that have been made to decide the long agitated question concerning the North-west passage. As an object of scientific curiosity, it is, to all reasonable intents and purposes, solved. There is, undeniably, a communication between sea and sea, clear of all

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obstructions but those of climate, and they are fatal to regular mercantile enterprise. A long range of the line of coast has been made the subject of nautical survey; and the deficient portions on the two extremities, may well be left, without hazarding brave men's lives in the attempt, unprofitable, even if effectual, to complete the hydrography of an inaccessible shore. The Fur Companies have been gradually descending the Mackenzie river; and either traders or missionaries will, possibly at no very distant period, supply all the information that may yet be wanting.

It affords, indeed, a marvellous illustration of the activity of science, to compare the maps of even thirty or forty years ago, with the aspect of these tracts in the charts of the present day. Previously to the bold and ably conducted enterprises of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the only intimations of the real state of the northern regions, had been derived from the imperfect explorations of Hearne; but the descent of the 'Great River' to its mouth, with the subsequent investigations of Mackenzie, entitle him to distinguished honour as an accurate, intrepid, and indefatigable discoverer. A great deal has been said, at different times, about his negligence in omitting to ascertain, by tasting, whether he had reached the sea or not. It is due to his memory, to insert the full and liberal vindication that is given by Captain Franklin.

'Our enterprising precursor, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, has been blamed for asserting that he had reached the sea, without having ascertained that the water was salt. He, in fact, clearly states, that he never did reach the salt water. The danger to which his canoe was exposed in venturing two or three miles beyond Whale Island, (which lies to the eastward of our route,) at a time when the sea was covered with ice to the north, is a sufficient reason for his turning back; and we can abundantly testify that those frail vessels are totally unfitted to contend against such winds and seas as we experienced in advancing beyond the volume of fresh water poured out by the Mackenzie. It is probable, therefore, that even had the sea been free from ice at the time of his visit, he could not have gone far enough to prove its saltness, though the boundless horizon, the occurrence of a tide, and the sight of porpoises and whales, naturally induced him to say that he had arrived at the ocean. The survey of the Mackenzie made on this expedition, differs very little in its outline from that of its discoverer, whose general correctness we had often occasion to admire. We had indeed to alter the latitude and longitude of some of its points, which he most probably laid down from magnetic bearings only; and it is proper to remark, that, in comparing our magnetic bearings with his, throughout the whole course of the river, they were found to be about fifteen degrees more easterly; which may, therefore, be considered as the amount of increase in variation since 1789. In justice to the memory of Mac-

Kenzie, I hope the custom of calling this the Great River, which is in general use among the traders and voyagers, will be discontinued, and that the name of its eminent discoverer may be universally adopted.'

It will not be necessary for us to recapitulate the particulars of the former expedition, in which so much had been effected by Captain Franklin and his companion, under circumstances of extreme privation and suffering. The erroneous calculations and the guilty negligence which had inflicted such protracted misery on our gallant countrymen, were, in this instance, avoided and provided against; and the arrangements were made with a skill and foresight that appear to have anticipated every casualty. Boats, of commodious construction, were completed in this country, and sent out, with stores and men, by the annual Hudson's Bay ship, in June 1824, while the officers, by taking their route through New York and Canada, were enabled to delay their departure until February 1825. The northern party advanced from York Factory into the interior, twelve hundred miles, before, they were joined by the officers, who had journeyed more than twice that distance to the point of junction, in latitude $56^{\circ} 10' N.$, longitude $108^{\circ} 55' W.$, near the head of the waters which flow from the westward into Hudson's Bay. The meeting was gratifying to all parties; and by none were the officers more warmly greeted than—to adopt Captain Franklin's language—by their 'excellent friend and former interpreter, Augustus the Esquimaux, and Ooligbuck, whom he had brought from Churchill as his companion.' After much labour and many difficulties, especially during the conveyance of the boats and baggage across the Methye portage—a beautiful scene, admirably rendered by Edward Finden, from a rich drawing by Lieutenant Back—the party reached Fort Chipewyan, on lake Athabasca. The next grand stage was Fort Resolution, on the Great Slave Lake; and here, says Captain Franklin,

'We rejoiced to find.....our worthy old Copper-Indian friends, Keskarrak and Humpy, the brother of Akaitcho, who had been waiting two months for the express purpose of seeing us. These excellent men shewed that their gratification equalled ours, by repeatedly seizing our hands and pressing them against their hearts, and exclaiming, "How much we regret that we cannot tell what we feel for you here!" Akaitcho had left the fort about two months on a hunting excursion, hoping to return with plenty of provision for our use, by the middle of August, which was as early as he thought we should arrive. Keskarrak confirmed the melancholy report we had heard in the more southern districts, that most of the hunters who had been in our service at Fort Enterprise, had been treacherously murdered, with many others of the tribe, by the Dog-

ribs, with which nation, we also learned, the Copper-Indians had been at war, since the year of our departure from them, till the last spring. The peace had been effected through the mediation of Messrs. Dease and M'Vicar; and we were gratified to find that Akaitcho and his tribe had been principally induced to make this reconciliation, by a desire that no impediment might be placed in the way of our present expedition. "We have too much esteem," said Akaitcho, "for our father, and for the service in which he is about to be again engaged, to impede its success by our wars, and therefore they shall cease." And on being asked by Mr. Dease, whether he and some of his young men would go to hunt for the party at our winter quarters, he replied: "Our hearts will be with them, but we will not go to those parts where the bones of our murdered brethren lie, for fear our bad passions should be aroused at the sight of their graves, and that we should be tempted to renew the war by the recollection of the manner of their death. Let the Dog-ribs who live in the neighbourhood of Bear Lake furnish them with meat, though they are our enemies." Such sentiments would do honour to any state of civilization.

Bear Lake had been fixed upon as the grand starting-point, and arrangements had been made for spending the winter on its shores, that the expedition might be ready to move at the earliest period of the following season. With the view, however, of providing, as far as possible, against all contingencies, Captain Franklin determined on making a personal examination of the outlets of the Mackenzie, that he might obtain, by actual observation, or from the reports of the natives, the means of ascertaining the direction of the sea-coast, and the general state of the navigation. In the mean time, the main body was to turn off for Bear Lake, and to prepare the winter residence of the whole party. On the 10th of August, Captain Franklin reached Fort Good Hope, in latitude $67^{\circ} 28' 21''$ N., and longitude $130^{\circ} 51' 38''$ E., 'the lowest of the Company's establishments.' Different parties of Indians were encountered, and the demeanour of all was friendly; but when the Indian territory was passed, and the region of the Esquimaux entered on, the banks seemed deserted. The approach to the sea is interestingly described. The water which, from the expansion of the river into several channels, had for some miles been very shallow, gradually deepened, and assumed a greener hue, yet, even when the land to the east had disappeared, still retaining its freshness. The crew, though drenched with spray, and even by the waves which sometimes broke over the bows of the boat, pulled cheerfully and perseveringly against a contrary wind, until five hours' hard labour had fairly exhausted their strength. As a last resource, the sails were set with a double reef, and the little vessel went gayly over the

surge, until a shift of the wind enabled the crew to fetch into smoother water under the lee of an island. The stream was still fresh, but 'a line of strong ripple' appeared before them; they pulled across it, and the taste was brackish. Three miles further on, they had 'the indescribable pleasure of finding the 'water decidedly salt.' They landed on an island, and from its highest point looked forth upon the broad ocean, free from ice, and without obstruction to its navigation. Seals and white whales were sporting on the surface; and our gallant countrymen indulged in the brightest anticipations of complete success.

The return was not marked by any event requiring citation. The ascent of the river was occasionally laborious, and their arrival at Fort Good Hope happily contradicted a report that the whole party had been murdered by the Esquimaux. On Monday, September 5, 1825, the members of the expedition were, for the first time, all assembled at their winter quarters, Fort Franklin, on the Great Bear Lake, latitude $65^{\circ} 11' 56''$ N., longitude $123^{\circ} 12' 44''$ W. The arrangements for comfort and occupation seem to have been excellent; the occasional festivals were well managed; and in the regular prosecution of profitable employment, with intervening dances and games at snapdragon, aided by a little anxiety now and then on the score of food, the season of snow and storms passed pleasantly away.

The plan for more active operations, separated the party into three divisions. The first and strongest, under Captain Franklin, in the two largest boats, was to take the coast westward of the mouths of the Mackenzie, and, if possible, to effect a junction with Captain Beechey at the Icy Cape. The second, also with two boats, under Dr. Richardson, undertook the examination of the eastward shore as far as the Copper-mine River, by a partial ascent of which it was to effect its return to Bear Lake. A detachment was left at Fort Franklin, for the purpose of keeping all complete. On the 20th of June, 1826, the boats started from the landing place. On July 3d, they reached the point where the channel divides, and

'By six in the morning of the 4th, the boats were all laden and ready for departure. It was impossible not to be struck with the difference between our present complete state of equipment, and that on which we had embarked on our former disastrous voyage. Instead of a frail bark canoe and a scanty supply of food, we were now about to commence the sea voyage in excellent boats, stored with three months' provision. At Dr. Richardson's desire, the western party embarked first. He and his companions saluted us with three hearty cheers, which were warmly returned; and as we were passing

round the point that was to hide them from our view, we perceived them also embarking.

It was not until the boats had reached the estuary of the river, that the Esquimaux were seen; and this first interview afforded but a rough specimen of their behaviour to strangers. On gaining sight of the vessels, the natives, in considerable numbers, came off in their *kaiyacks*, and for some time, the intercourse was of the most friendly kind; but, unfortunately, an Esquimaux who had been saved by our sailors from suffocation in the mud, had an opportunity of observing the treasures that had been concealed by various coverings from the surrounding savages. He soon communicated the intelligence to his countrymen; and after some preliminary essays in petty pilfering, they concerted a general plan of assault,—dragged the boats on shore, and commenced a fierce struggle with the crews. Captain Franklin was held down by three of the strongest, and all effectual resistance seemed utterly hopeless.

A numerous party then drawing their knives, and stripping themselves to the waist, ran to the *Reliance*, and having first hauled her up as far as they could, began a regular pillage, handing the articles to the women, who, ranged in a row behind, quickly conveyed them out of sight. Lieutenant Back and his crew, strenuously, but good-humouredly, resisted the attack, and rescued many things from their grasp; but they were overpowered by numbers, and had even some difficulty in preserving their arms. One fellow had the audacity to snatch Vivier's knife from his breast, and to cut the buttons from his coat; whilst three stout Esquimaux surrounded Lieutenant Back with uplifted daggers, and were incessant in their demands for whatever attracted their attention, especially for the anchor buttons which he wore on his waistcoat. In this juncture, a young chief coming to his assistance, drove the assailants away. In their retreat, they carried off a writing desk and cloak, which the chief rescued, and then seating himself on Lieutenant Back's knee, he endeavoured to persuade his countrymen to desist, by vociferating "*teyma teyma*", and was, indeed, very active in saving whatever he could from their depredations. The *Lion* had hitherto been beset by smaller numbers, and her crew, by firmly keeping their seats on the cover spread over the cargo, and by beating the natives off with the butt-ends of their muskets, had been able to prevent any article of importance from being carried away. But, as soon as I perceived that the work of plunder was going on so actively in the *Reliance*, I went with Augustus to assist in repressing the tumult; and our bold and active little interpreter rushed among the crowd on shore, and harangued them on their treacherous conduct till he was actually hoarse. In a short time, however, I was summoned back by Duncan, who called out to me, that the Esquimaux had now commenced in earnest to plunder the *Lion*; and, on my return, I found the sides of the boat lined with

men as thick as they could stand, brandishing their knives in the most furious manner, and attempting to seize every thing that was moveable; whilst another party was ranged on the outside, ready to bear off the stolen goods. The *Lion's* crew still kept their seats; but, as it was impossible for so small a number to keep off such a formidable and determined body, several articles were carried off. Our principal object was to prevent the loss of the arms, oars, or masts, or anything on which the continuance of the voyage, or our personal safety, depended. Many attempts were made to purloin the box containing the astronomical instruments; and Duncan, after thrice rescuing it from their hands, made it fast to his leg with a cord, determined that they should drag him away also if they took it.

The perfect coolness and self-possession of the sailors, during this severe struggle, were not less remarkable than the apparent apathy of the Esquimaux under the blows that were dealt them with the stock of the musket. At length, however, they grew angry, and boarded the boats with the intention of disarming the men. In the very midst of these efforts, while they were struggling with Captain Franklin for his gun, and while a more effectual use of the knife was threatened, the assailants took to their heels, seeking hiding-places in every direction; and when Captain F. looked round in astonishment for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of this sudden panic, he discovered that Lieutenant Back, having got the *Reliance* afloat, had ordered his men to level their muskets. With the effects of this weapon, the Esquimaux have become acquainted through their wars with the Indians; and in the present instance, our countrymen found the benefit of that experience. The *Lion*, shortly after, floated; and when the Esquimaux took to their *kaiyacks* in pursuit, a threat to shoot the first man who came within shot, induced them to desist. Captain Franklin would not, of course, have hesitated a moment to order his men to fire at an early period, but, in the first place, from his fear of injuring the innocent with the guilty, and secondly, that, while the boats were aground, the disparity of numbers would have enabled the savages, at close quarters, to exterminate the whole party. The loss of articles was not, on the whole, serious, and some were afterwards restored, in a brief fit of repentance, immediately followed by another attempt to intercept the boats; and it was subsequently ascertained, that the last was made under the impulse of a determined purpose not to leave one of their crews alive. We cannot dismiss this subject without expressing our wonder at the three 'claptrap' plates which are given in connexion with this occurrence. They illustrate nothing; they exhibit nothing like scenery; presenting a mere collection of little, insignificant, ill drawn figures, in various attitudes of action and repose.

The details of the voyage along the coast of the Polar Sea, exhibit a succession of most trying circumstances of difficulty and danger. Ice, shoals, fogs harassed the navigators incessantly, and necessitated a severity of exertion and endurance, that was sustained with unbroken fortitude. A long detention at Foggy Island was fatal to the further prosecution of the expedition; and after urging a laborious course a few miles further, to latitude $70^{\circ} 24' N.$, and longitude $149^{\circ} 37' W.$, Captain Franklin determined on returning. In the mean time, the barge of the Blossom had pushed on from Icy Cape to latitude $71^{\circ} 23' 39'' N.$, and longitude $156^{\circ} 21' W.$, leaving a distance unexplored of about one hundred and sixty miles. The boats' heads were turned homeward August 18th.

Dangers beset the party on its return. In a violent storm on the 26th, the boats were in most imminent peril, and were saved only by running on shore at all hazards. Providentially, when there was little expectation but that they must be inevitably staved, they took the ground at a favourable point. Three days after this escape, they were rescued by the warning of some friendly Esquimaux, from the treacherous intentions of a strong body of Mountain Indians. The story of this deliverance is not uninteresting.

‘ Seven men of that tribe had been to Herschel Island, to trade with the Esquimaux, who shewed them the different articles they had received from us, and informed them of our being still on the coast, and that our return by this route was not improbable. This intelligence they set off at once to communicate to the rest of their tribe, who, supposing that we should ruin their trade with the Esquimaux, resolved on coming down in a body to destroy us; and that they might travel with expedition, their wives and families were left behind them. They came to the sea-coast by the Mountain Indian River, opposite Herschel Island, and finding that we had not returned, but supposing it possible that we might pass them there, as they had no canoes to intercept us, they determined on travelling to the mouth of the Mackenzie, where they could conveniently subsist by fishing and hunting until our arrival. They had been informed of the manner in which we had been robbed by the Esquimaux at that place, and they formed a similar plan of operations. When our crews were wading and launching the boats over the flats in Shoal Water Bay, a few of them were to have offered their assistance, which they imagined would be readily accepted, as we should probably take them for Indians of the Loucheux tribe, with whom we were acquainted. While pretending to aid us, they were to have watched an opportunity of staving the boats, so as to prevent them from floating in the deeper channel, which runs close to the land near Pillage Point. The rest of the party, on a signal being given, were then to rush forth from their concealment, and join in the assault. They were, in pursuance of this plan, travelling towards the Mackenzie, when they disco-

vered our tents; and it appeared, that the two young men who brought us the intelligence, had been sent, as an act of gratitude, by an old Esquimaux to whom we had given a knife and some other things on the preceding day. After hearing the plans of the Indians, he called the young men aside, and said to them: "These white people have been kind to us, and they are few in number, why should we suffer them to be killed? you are active young men, run and tell them to depart instantly." The messengers suggested, that we had guns, and could defend ourselves. "True," said he, "against a small force, but not against so large a body of Indians as this, who are likewise armed with guns, and who will crawl under cover of the drift timber, so as to surround them before they are aware; run, therefore, and tell them not to lose a moment in getting away, and to be careful to avoid the flats at the mouth of the river by entering the western channel."

On the 21st of September, the boats reached Fort Franklin, after an absence of three months, and a voyage of two thousand and forty-eight miles; six hundred and ten of which were through regions until then unknown but to the native savages.

The voyage of Dr. Richardson and his party had, in the mean time, been successfully performed; and, although not without casualty, with less difficulty and hazard than fell to the share of the western expedition. An attempt, by the Esquimaux, to pillage was repelled in the same way; but the assault, though similar in most of its circumstances, was neither so fierce nor so persevering. A storm of great severity endangered their safety, and the ice was not only embarrassing, but frequently menaced them with destruction. All, however, was overcome; they reached the Copper-mine River, ascended to the proper point, abandoned their boats and superfluous stores, and crossing the Copper Mountains, reached Bear Lake on the 18th of August, and Fort Franklin on the 28th. Dr. Richardson, without waiting for the chance of Captain F.'s return by the Mackenzie, went on to Slave Lake with the view of extending his geological researches.

After making every arrangement for the comfort of the men, and spending a considerable part of the winter with them, Captain Franklin set off on a sledge journey to Fort Chipewyan, which he reached on the 12th of April, 1827. On May 31st, he took canoe for Cumberland House, where, on the 18th of June, he met Dr. Richardson after a separation of eleven months. During the absence of the expedition to the northward, Mr. Drummond, the assistant botanist, had been very actively employed in the interior, under circumstances of great privation. In September and October 1827, the whole party in two divisions reached England, with the loss of one individual from consumption, and another by drowning.

It is exceedingly satisfactory to find, from the statements before us, that measures have been taken for the melioration, as far as practicable, of the moral and social habits of the Indians, and that they have not been without good effect. A singular history occurs towards the close of the narrative, which may be worth extracting as an illustration of native character.

'I mentioned in my former Narrative, that the northern Indians had cherished a belief for some years, that a great change was about to take place in the natural order of things, and that, among other advantages arising from it, their own condition of life was to be materially bettered. This story, I was now informed by Mr. Stewart, originated with a woman, whose history appears to me deserving of a short notice. While living at the N. W. Company's Post, on the Columbia River, as the wife of one of the Canadian servants, she formed a sudden resolution of becoming a warrior; and throwing aside her female dress, she clothed herself in a suitable manner. Having procured a gun, a bow and arrows, and a horse, she sallied forth to join a party of her countrymen then going to war; and, in her first essay, displayed so much courage as to attract general regard, which was so much heightened by her subsequent feats of bravery, that many young men put themselves under her command. Their example was soon generally followed, and, at length, she became the principal leader of the tribe, under the designation of the "Manlike Woman." Being young and of a delicate frame, her followers attributed her exploits to the possession of supernatural power, and, therefore, received whatever she said with implicit faith. To maintain her influence during peace, the lady thought proper to invent the above-mentioned prediction, which was quickly spread through the whole northern district. At a later period of her life, our heroine undertook to convey a packet of importance from the Company's Post on the Columbia to that in New Caledonia, through a tract of country which had not, at that time, been passed by the traders, and which was known to be infested by several hostile tribes. She chose for her companion another woman, whom she passed off as her wife. They were attacked by a party of Indians, and though the Manlike Woman received a wound in the breast, she accomplished her object, and returned to the Columbia with answers to the letters. When last seen by the traders, she had collected volunteers for another war excursion, in which she received a mortal wound. The faith of the Indians was shaken by her death, and soon afterwards, the whole of the story she had invented fell into discredit.'

The Dog-rib Indians are of the Chipewyan race, and their traditions are evidently from the same source. Captain Franklin has given a specimen or two of their legends; remarkable, amid strange and bewildering absurdity, as ascribing labour and mortality to the eating of forbidden fruit, and as containing a palpable reference to the Deluge, the preservation of a

single family with 'all manner of birds and beasts,' and the sending forth of animals to ascertain the state of the waters.

'For a long time, Chapewee's descendants were united as one family; but at length, some young men being accidentally killed in a game, a quarrel ensued, and a general dispersion of mankind took place. One Indian fixed his residence on the borders of the lake, taking with him a dog big with young. The pups in due time were littered, and the Indian, when he went out to fish, carefully tied them up to prevent their straying. Several times as he approached his tent, he heard a noise of children talking and playing; but on entering it, he only perceived the pups tied up as usual. His curiosity being excited by the noises he had heard, he determined to watch; and one day, pretending to go out and fish according to custom, he concealed himself in a convenient place. In a short time, he again heard voices, and rushing suddenly into the tent, beheld some beautiful children sporting and laughing, with the dog-skins lying by their side. He threw the skins into the fire, and the children retaining their proper forms, grew up, and were the ancestors of the Dog-rib nation.'

This is simply absurd; but, to our feelings, there is something inexpressibly affecting in the following statement:

'On Mr. Dease questioning some of the elderly men as to their knowledge of a Supreme Being, they replied—"We believe that there is a Great Spirit, who created every thing, both us and the world for our use. We suppose that he dwells in the lands from whence the white people come, that he is kind to the inhabitants of those lands, and that there are people there who never die: the winds that blow from that quarter (south) are always warm. He does not know of the wretched state of our island, nor the pitiful condition in which we are." To the question, Whom do your medicine men address when they conjure? they answered—"We do not think that they speak to the Master of Life, for, if they did, we should fare better than we do, and should not die. He does not inhabit our lands."'

Captain Franklin gives it as his opinion, founded on the discoveries actually made, as well as on the coincident statements of the northern Indians, that the coast trends eastward from Cape Turnagain towards Repulse Bay; and he recommends a renewal of the attempt made by Captain Lyon, but frustrated by the tempestuous weather that disabled the Griper. Admitting the obvious advantages connected with the commencement of the voyage on the Atlantic side, he suggests counteracting considerations of great weight, and appears to wish for nothing better than opportunity of making the experiment.

A valuable Appendix is subjoined, containing—Topographical and Geological Notices—Meteorological Tables—Observations on Solar Radiation—On the Velocity of Sound—Tables

of Latitude, Longitude, and Variations—The daily Variation of the Horizontal Needle—On the Aurora Borealis. The observations of Captain Franklin on the Aurora, led him to conclusions at variance with those of Captains Parry and Foster, who could not find that it influenced the movements of the needle.

A scientific Supplement is in course of preparation, under the superintendence of Dr. Richardson and Professor Hooker.

Art. II. *The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man.*
By Dugald Stewart, Esq., F.R.SS. Lond. and Edin., &c. 2 vols.
8vo. 1828.

[Concluded from page 233.]

WE must pass over the sixth and seventh chapters, which treat of 'Moral Obligation, and of certain principles 'which co-operate with our Moral Powers in their influence 'on the conduct'; and proceed to the third book, in which Mr. Stewart treats of the various branches of our duty. His arrangement is founded on the different objects to which they relate, viz., God—our fellow creatures—and ourselves. He observes that, 'as our duties to God must be inferred from the 'relations in which we stand to him as the author and governor 'of the universe, an examination of the principles of natural religion forms a necessary introduction to this section.' (p. 328.) We are willing to admit the necessity of the introduction, but we do marvel at its disproportionate size. The great subject introduced—the various branches of our duty to God—is crowded into ten or twelve short pages, while the prefatory matter is expanded into three hundred. Doubtless, this preliminary inquiry is a very important one, and, on that account, its prolixity may be in some measure excused. It embraces the proof of the existence of the Deity—of his Moral attributes,—and of a Future state.

'In proof of the existence of the Deity', says Mr. Stewart, 'two modes of reasoning have been employed, which are commonly distinguished by the titles of the arguments *à priori*, and *à posteriori*; the former founded on certain metaphysical propositions which are assumed as axioms; the latter appealing to that systematic order, and those combinations of means to ends, which are everywhere conspicuous in nature.' p. 333.

We agree generally in the opinion expressed by our Author, that the argument *à posteriori* is both more level to the comprehension of ordinary men, and more satisfactory to the philosopher himself. It contains, Mr. Stewart states, two steps.

'Every thing which begins to exist, must have a cause'; and, 'a combination of means conspiring to a particular end, implies intelligence.' In unfolding the argument, Mr. Stewart enters of course upon a discussion concerning the nature of causation, &c. We were prepared to expect, that a considerable degree of obscurity would hang over our Author's statements on this point. He rejects all the assistance which Dr. Brown's speculations might have afforded him, and writes, indeed, as if no such book as "An Inquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect", were in existence. We greatly regret this on more accounts than one. It is not our wish to be understood as expressing an opinion, that Dr. Brown has dispelled all the darkness in which this difficult subject had been involved; but we do think that he has succeeded in clearing away much of that obscurity in which Mr. Stewart remains from an apparent determination not to avail himself of his aid. The subject is so important, and there are so few who, if they think at all upon it, think correctly, that we shall present to the reader our own views, in connexion with those of Mr. Stewart, in reference to it.

The phenomena of the universe occur in a certain settled order. To an event which regularly and immediately precedes another event, we give the name of cause; to that which as uniformly succeeds another, we apply the term effect. Into our idea of a cause and an effect, there enters nothing more, than the conception of the one as the immediate and invariable antecedent, and of the other as the immediate and invariable consequent; and the conception of this relation between the cause and the effect, is all that enters into our notion of power. Now the notion of power is a necessary conception of the mind, which has been so constituted by its Creator, that we can never witness the occurrence and operation of a cause, without an irresistible belief that, in all subsequent periods of time, events, similar to those which are at that moment presented to our view, will certainly result from its influence; nor can we observe an effect, (*i. e.* a change in the state of any mind, or in the appearance or motion of any body,) without feeling an irresistible conviction that it must have had a cause; in other words, must be a *consequent*; for that is all that is meant by the term. And as the universe, if not eternal, must have had a beginning, (*i. e.* must have undergone a change from not being to being,) we cannot think of its creation without the irresistible belief of the existence of God, of whose sublime volition it is the astonishing consequent.

Our notions, then, of causation, power, &c., are not radically different, when the great Cause of all things, and when secondary

causes, as they have been called, are the objects of our thoughts; for, whether we think of fire as the cause of the liquefaction of ice, or of the Divine volition as the cause of the existence of innumerable worlds, there enters nothing into our notion of cause, in either case, but the conception of immediate and invariable antecedence—that such a volition, on the part of God, is instantly followed by the existence of a world, and that the application of fire to ice is instantly followed by the liquefaction of the latter substance. We can form no conception of power, even in reference to God himself, but of his volition as the direct and invariable antecedent of certain events; and in this respect, we surely may attribute power to created and subordinate agents.

Mr. Stewart, however, thinks differently. He maintains, that, into our conception of a cause, there enters more than the notion of constant and invariable antecedence. He contends, with Dr. Price, that ‘for one thing to be the *cause* of another, it must *produce* it by its efficiency and operation’ (as if this latter phrase conveyed any other conception, than that it immediately and invariably *precedes* it); and, on these statements, he builds his distinction between what he calls efficient and physical causes. The conjunctions only of events which occur in the material world, are, he says, perceived. We do not *see* that one *produces* another. In short, Mr. Stewart allows, that, in the department of natural science, there not only *may* be no power, causation, &c., on his system, but that there actually *is* none. ‘The only instance’ he says, ‘in which we have any immediate knowledge of an efficient cause, is in the consciousness we have of our own voluntary actions.’ (p. 356.) Physical causes have no efficiency, he tells us; they are mere antecedents, *i. e.* they are not causes at all,—they are not such in our conceptions even—for, into our notion of a cause, there enters, he argues, more than the conception even of immediate and invariable antecedence. The phenomena of nature are produced by mind, and God is the only agent in the material universe.

‘But, perhaps, it may be thought by some, that this very conclusion is a sufficient refutation of the supposition from which it is inferred; for, how is it possible to conceive, that all the events which are constantly taking place in the universe, are the immediate effects of the Divine agency? For my own part,’ proceeds Mr. Stewart, ‘I have no scruple to admit this conclusion in all its extent; for I cannot perceive any absurdity that it involves; and I am happy to find that it is agreeable to the sentiments of some of our best and soundest philosophers. “All things”, says Dr. Clarke, “that are done in the world, are done either immediately by God himself, or by created in-

telligent beings. Matter being evidently not capable of any laws or powers whatsoever, any more than it is capable of intelligence, excepting only this *one* negative power, that every part of it will always, and *necessarily*, continue in that state, whether of rest or motion, wherein it at present is. So that all those things which we commonly say are the effects of the natural powers of matter and laws of motion, of gravitation, attraction, or the like, are indeed (if we will speak strictly and properly) the effects of God's acting upon matter *continually and every moment*, either immediately by himself, or mediately by some created intelligent being. Consequently, there is *no* such thing as what we commonly call the course of nature, or the power of nature. The course of nature, truly and properly speaking, is nothing else but the will of God producing certain effects in a continued, regular, constant, and uniform manner; which course or manner of acting, being in every moment perfectly arbitrary, is as easy to be altered at any time as to be preserved." pp. 362—5.

We have no hesitation in confessing, that this was once our own opinion; but the arguments of Dr. Brown have fully convinced us that we were mistaken. By Mr. Stewart, it is due to him to state, the sentiments expressed in the foregoing quotation were thought to be more friendly to the doctrines of natural religion, than what he calls the common inaccurate conceptions entertained concerning the relation of cause and effect; we have no doubt, indeed, that they were adopted by him partly on that account. He appears, in common with Dr. Reid, to have thought himself especially set for the defence of the great principles of morality 'and religious belief', (though his own belief was at variance with that of the great body of his pious countrymen,) against the sceptical philosophers; and we confess we rather regret that he should have done so. It drew him aside, in some measure, from the great business of the intellectual philosopher. It led him 'to consider the mind in its applications to natural religion, rather than as in itself presenting phenomena, the examination and arrangement of which constitute 'the most comprehensive of all the sciences.' * It affected his statements in reference to the nature and laws of mind; and led probably to the adoption of principles and modes of philosophising, with the view of repelling the attacks of those sceptics, the unsoundness of which is becoming more apparent every day. So far is Mr. Stewart's doctrine concerning physical causes from being favourable to religious belief, that it goes, as we shall proceed to shew, to the subversion of much of the evidence we possess in support of the doctrine of the Divine existence.

Contrivance supposes a contriver;—the adaptation of means

* Vide Welch's *Memoirs of Dr. Brown*, pp. 300—10.

to ends, the existence of intelligence and skill. Now, in the universe, there is all but an infinite number of such cases of adaptation; there must, accordingly, have been a contriving mind from which they emanated, *i. e.* there must be a God. But, according to Mr. Stewart's philosophy, there are, in truth, no *means* in the material universe; nothing is effected *by means*, and, consequently, there can be no development of wisdom in the adaptation of means to ends. God does not, on Mr. Stewart's system, enlighten us *by means* of the sun, nor warm us *by means* of the fire. He does it without either, by a direct exertion of his power. Physical causes, he states, are antecedents merely. They do not *produce* the changes called effects. They *precede* them, merely because the power of God has bound the cause and the effect together in that order of priority and posteriority. But as there is no *adaptation* in the cause to stand in that relation, as it has *no power to produce* the effect, and actually does *not produce it*,—since it is God that gives us the sensations of vision and of heat, and not the sun and the fire,—there can manifestly be no more wisdom displayed in the production of these sensations immediately upon the appearance of the light and the fire, than if they had uniformly followed the beating of a drum, or the crowing of a cock! If physical causes have no efficiency,—if matter cannot act, cannot affect us, it cannot become known to us; it has no relation to us; all its relations are to God alone. A physical cause can serve no purpose whatever, unless it be supposed, as Dr. Brown remarks, to be a kind of remembrancer to God when he should put forth his power to produce a change in the material world, or to excite a particular feeling in our minds. As if he could need, or would give existence to any such remembrancer! 'What is that idle mass of matter which cannot affect us, or be known to us, or to any other created being, more than if it were not? If the Deity produces in every case, by his own immediate operation, all those feelings which we term sensations or perceptions, he does not first create a multitude of inert and cumbrous worlds, invisible, and incapable of affecting anything whatever, that he may know when to operate, in the same manner as he would have operated, though they did not exist. This strange process may indeed have some resemblance to the ignorance and feebleness of human power; but it is not the awful simplicity of that Omnipotence

* Whose word leaps forth at once to its effects;

Who calls for things that are not,—and they come.*

* Vide Brown on Cause and Effect, 3d Edition, pp. 124, 5.

Besides, as the same Writer observes with great acuteness, if matter cannot affect us, not possessing even derived efficiency,—
 ‘ if it have no *direct agency*, how is it to act even as a remem-
 ‘ brancer (in reference to God)? If it be so wholly destitute
 ‘ of power, as to be incapable of producing any change like
 ‘ sensation or perception in our minds, why are we to suppose
 ‘ it capable of producing feelings of this sort in a far mightier
 ‘ Spirit? If it be not perceived at all, it is, with respect to
 ‘ every other being, as if it did not exist: and if it can occa-
 ‘ sion, in any mind, a feeling that otherwise would not have
 ‘ arisen, so as to be to it a remembrancer, it cannot have that
 ‘ powerlessness relatively to mind, which is ascribed to it; and
 ‘ may, therefore, on the same principle, be the immediate cause
 ‘ of sensation in us, without the intervening agency of any other
 ‘ Being.’*

Mr. Stewart's mistakes on this subject seem all of them to have arisen from his conceptions of matter as essentially inert, capable only of being acted upon; and from his mistaken, or rather, perhaps, indefinite and mysterious notions in reference to the *nature* of action in the case either of matter or of mind. It is a fixed principle with him, that matter cannot *act*—that it cannot, in the phraseology of Dr. Price, *produce* a change, either in mind or on another portion of matter. Hence his doctrine, that there are no *causes*, properly so called, in the physical world; though, in a spirit of courtesy scarcely consistent with the spirit of philosophy, he consents that they shall retain the name. We believe, that, previously to the publication of Dr. Brown's works, this principle, in reference to matter, was almost universally held. We trust that it will speedily be as generally abandoned. We hesitate not to affirm, that it is at utter variance with all experience. A magnet is made to approach a needle; the latter moves towards it. Now, what ever sense we attach to the term action here, does not the magnet *act* upon the needle? To reply in the negative, on the ground that the magnet, being matter, is essentially inert, is to take for granted the very point in debate; and to take it for granted too, in opposition to evidence that appeals to the senses: for the supposition that the effect is produced by mind, is a mere unsupported assumption. To argue, as Mr. S. has done, that, unless we affirm the inertness of matter, we must admit that it is capable of sensation and thought, is unfair. The only philosophical argument in support of the immateriality of the mind; is, that the property of sensation, &c., is incompatible with certain known properties of matter, and, therefore, cannot co-exist

* Vide Brown on Cause and Effect, 3d Edition, pp. 540, 1.
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with them. But with what property of matter, except such as have been gratuitously given to it for the express purpose of supporting its essential inertness, is the power of acting incompatible? What evidence have we that mind can act, which does not exist with respect to matter? The evidence of consciousness, Mr S. seems to think. 'We are conscious,' he says, 'in effect at least, that mind acts upon matter.' We answer, that we are conscious of no such thing. We are conscious of a volition, or desire, or whatever it be called, that a certain limb should move in a certain manner; but we are not conscious of the motion of the limb, which is without the mind, any more than we are conscious of the motion of the sun in the heavens; nor are we conscious of the connexion between the volition and the motion. We are not conscious that the volition *produces* the motion, if by this we are to understand more than that it is its immediate and invariable antecedent; nor, indeed, are we conscious that it *produces* it in any sense. We know, indeed, from experience, that the motion is the immediate and invariable consequent of the volition; we believe that it will be so in all time to come. And this is the amount of what we know. It constitutes all that we ever can know. Nothing more enters into our notion of causation, power, &c., when the cause is a volition, and the effect a bodily motion, than when both cause and effect are physical events or changes. The volition arises; the muscular action immediately ensues. The boiling water is poured upon the ice, and the ice instantly dissolves. In both cases, the inseparable connexion of the events, or their immediate and invariable priority and subsequence to each other, exhausts the whole of our knowledge*. So utterly unfounded is the distinction which Mr. S. insinuates in the statement, that 'the only instance in which we have any immediate knowledge of an efficient cause, is in the consciousness we have of our own voluntary actions.' This statement is liable to great exception on another account; for a voluntary action, e. g., a muscular motion, is not, on Mr. Stewart's own principles, a subject of consciousness at all. We cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of introducing the following quotation from Dr. Brown, as it not only confirms the statements we have made, but tends to throw light upon another point which we propose to touch upon immediately.

'It has been usual for philosophers, by a very false distinction, to which their imperfect analysis has led, to term matter *inert*, as if capable only of *continuing* changes, and

* Nor do we know anything more of the connexion between the Divine volition and its results.

to distinguish mind as alone active, and capable of *beginning* changes. But the assumption of this quality is founded on the difference to which I have alluded, of the continued visibility of the train of changes in matter, while there is only a partial and indirect exhibition to our senses, of the train that is continued in mind. If the train could in both cases become visible to us, we should find, that no created mind is capable of beginning spontaneously a series of changes, more than any mass of created matter. All is only a continuance of changes, and often of mutual changes. If, without the intervention of matter, thought arise after thought, and passion after passion; as often, without the intervention of mind, does the motion of a few small particles of matter produce in other masses a long series of elemental motions. If mind often act upon matter, as often does matter act upon mind; and though matter cannot begin a change of itself, when all the preceding circumstances have continued the same, as little, when all the preceding circumstances continue the same, is such a change possible in mind. It does not perceive, without the occurrence of an object to be perceived, nor will, without the suggestion of some object of desire. The truth is, that certain changes of mind invariably precede certain other changes of mind, and certain changes of matter certain other changes of matter; and also, that certain changes of mind invariably precede certain changes of matter, and certain changes of matter invariably precede certain changes of mind. To say that mind *produces motion* in matter, while matter cannot produce motion in mind, is but an abuse of language: for motion, as an object of our perception, must be a state of some material thing. It might, in like manner, be said, that matter only is active, and that mind is inert, because it cannot produce, in itself, or in other minds, that painful *sensation* of heat, which is immediately produced by the contact of a burning mass; or that many of the most powerful chemical solvents are inert, while another solvent alone is active, because from the use of that one solvent alone a particular product can be derived. Though matter cannot produce motion in mind, it can produce sensation in it; and though mind cannot produce sensation in matter, it can produce in it motion.* That is to say, matter acts, or is the cause of changes, as well as mind.

We believe then, in opposition to Mr. S., that there is real, though derived efficiency in physical causes; and that physical changes are not effected directly by Divine energy. The latter

* Cause and Effect, pp. 93—6.

sentiment, in addition to the objections already urged, is manifestly encumbered with the difficulty, that it destroys the distinction between ordinary and miraculous events, and thus affects the argument in support of Divine Revelation. But on this point we must not enlarge.

If our reader can lose sight of the contradiction, that an argument in support of the Divine existence, should be built upon the manifest adaptation of means to ends in the material universe, AFTER a train of reasoning designed, as we have seen, to shew, that NO MEANS are employed in the production of these ends,—that all the changes which it exhibits are the direct result of Divine power; he will be greatly pleased with the exposition of that argument. Mr. Stewart shews, by a luminous train of reasoning, the foundation on which we rest ‘our inference of design from its effects.’ He admits, with Mr. Hume, that it is not built upon reasoning or experience. *Not upon the former*, because, as he argues, the belief of the existence of a designing cause ‘has prevailed in all ages and nations; among the unlearned, as well as among the learned,’ the former of whom were not likely to gain it by a process of reasoning.

‘Indeed,’ adds Mr. S., ‘without a capacity of inferring design from its effects, it would be impossible for us to conduct ourselves in the common affairs of life; a consideration which of itself renders it probable to those who are acquainted with the general analogy of our constitution, that it is not entrusted to the slow and uncertain exercise of our reasoning powers, but that it arises from some intuitive perception of the mind.’ Vol. II. p. 15.

Not upon the latter,

‘because experience can only inform us of what is, and not what must be’ ‘of a connexion between a sign and the thing signified, in those cases in which both of these have been separate and distinct objects of our perceptions; but, in the instance before us, the thing signified is not an immediate object of sense, nor indeed of consciousness.’ p. 18.

‘In what manner then,’ it may be asked, ‘shall we explain the origin of our conviction; that the universe is the work of a designing cause, if it be granted, that this conviction is neither founded on reasoning, nor on experience?’ On this question, Mr. Stewart remarks as follows:

‘From the observations already made in the prosecution of this argument, I flatter myself it sufficiently appears, that, if there be such a thing as an intuitive perception or judgement of the mind, the inferences we make of design from its effects, are entitled to the appellation. A capacity of forming such inferences is plainly an es-

essential part of our constitution; and to dispute their certainty in the common affairs of life, by urging sceptical subtleties in opposition to them, would expose a man to the charge of insanity, as infallibly as if he were to dispute the certainty of a mathematical axiom,

pp. 18, 19.

Having exhibited the proof of the existence of God, and presented us with some admirable remarks on His unity, His power and wisdom, Mr. S. proceeds to a consideration of His moral attributes; under which phraseology he includes His goodness and His justice; or, in other words, he produces the evidences of benevolent design in the universe, and of a moral government exercised over man by means of rewards and punishments. In support of the Divine goodness, Mr. Stewart dwells more upon the *a priori* argument than is commonly done, and takes ground which none who acknowledge the scriptural doctrine of the fall, will be very forward to occupy. 'We must lay it down', he says, 'as a fundamental principle, that our ideas of the moral attributes of God must be derived from our own moral perceptions. It is only by attending to these, that we can form a conception of what His attributes are.' (p. 109.) The argument of Mr. Stewart is substantially, though not expressed in the very words we employ,—that there is an immutable difference between right and wrong—some things are to our moral perceptions right—God must be what appears to us to be right—goodness appears to us to be right; therefore God is good. Now if man had remained in a state of moral purity—if no cloud had been thrown over his perceptions by the introduction of sin, we might have permitted the argument to pass unchallenged; though even then it would have been, as it appears to us, the more obvious and decisive course, to examine His works, provided we enjoyed no superior revelation of His character, in order to attain satisfaction on the point whether goodness constitutes one of His moral attributes. But man is a depraved being: His moral perceptions are affected by the fall. He puts evil for good, and good for evil; and, accordingly, the method recommended by Mr. Stewart, of making our moral perceptions the rule of the views we entertain of the Divine character, has led to all the gross and grovelling conceptions of His nature which have invariably prevailed where Divine revelation has been unknown.

Not embracing the scriptural doctrine, that this world is a revolted province in Jehovah's empire, and that all the multiplied evils which exist in it are the fruit of sin, and so do not militate against the supposition of the Divine goodness, Mr. Stewart seems unable to rest, in support of it, upon the argu-

ment *à posteriori* which has been urged with so much force by Paley and others: indeed, he fairly gives it up. If he cannot prove that God is good, by the light which is derived from our moral perceptions, he confesses that he cannot prove it at all.

'The foregoing reasonings rest entirely on our own moral perceptions, without any reference to facts collected from without; and I apprehend,' he proceeds, 'that it is only after establishing *à priori* this presumption for the Divine goodness, that we can proceed to examine the fact with safety. It is true indeed, that, independently of this presumption, the disorders we see would not demonstrate ill intention in the Author of the universe; as it would be still possible, that the apparent disorders in that small part of it which falls under our observation, might contribute to the happiness and perfection of the whole system. But the contrary supposition would be equally possible, that there is nothing absolutely good in the universe, and that the communication of suffering is the ultimate end of the laws by which it is governed.' pp. 114, 15.

We think this a dangerous statement, and one which is totally uncalled for by the facts of the case. There is doubtless much suffering in the world; should it prevent our confidence in the Creator's benevolence? We answer, no; for, not to avail ourselves of the consideration urged above, that man is a sinner, we maintain, with Paley, that pain is never the object of contrivance: that object is invariably good. And it is surely the end which is aimed at, that exhibits the character of the designer as benevolent, or the contrary. 'Teeth are contrived to eat, not to ache; their aching now and then is incidental to the contrivance, perhaps inseparable from it; or even, if you will, let it be called a defect in the contrivance; but it is not the object of it'; it does not accordingly disprove the benevolence of the Creator; while the entire fact of the case imperatively forbids the supposition, that 'the communication of suffering is the ultimate end of the laws by which the universe is governed.' Considering the whole of what Mr. Stewart has written in support of the goodness and of the moral government of God, we deeply regret that he has not availed himself of the discoveries of Revelation. Though treating on the doctrines of Natural Religion, why avail himself of no light but that which reason affords? Why use a taper, when the sun of Revelation has arisen? We are certainly not without our apprehensions that Mr. Stewart, in common with too many writers of that class, did not sufficiently appreciate the information to be derived from the latter source.

It would gratify us much, to be able to quote liberally from the chapter which treats of a Future State. We should be disposed, indeed, to make certain exceptions to a part of the

metaphysics of the first section, in which our Author considers the argument for a future state, derivable from the nature of the mind; but of the second section, where he unfolds the evidences in support of the same doctrine, arising from the human constitution and from the circumstances in which man is placed, and which is less metaphysical, we have pleasure in expressing a very high degree of approbation. Mr. Stewart is at home here; and though the discussions are not all that might be wished, in consequence of his defective theological views, and his entire want of reference to that volume which, by a few words, removes all doubt from the subject, yet, the high tone of moral sentiment and feeling by which they are pervaded, renders them refreshing and gratifying in no ordinary degree.

After this preliminary view of the principles of natural religion, Mr. Stewart proceeds to a distinct statement of the duties we owe to God, and to each other. The account he gives of the former is, as we have said, very meagre and unsatisfactory; but in the sections which are devoted to the consideration of relative duties, and of those which we owe to ourselves, Mr. S. appears to great advantage. We regret much that the length to which our remarks have extended, and the desire we feel to make a few observations upon the philosophical Arminianism of our Author, prevent our doing more than assuring the reader that he may expect to derive from this part of the work a high mental treat.

We pass on then to the appendix, in which Mr. Stewart avows, in opposition to the religious creed of his country, his belief in 'the liberty of the will', as that phrase is used by writers of the Arminian and Pelagian school. Did our limits permit, we should be glad to go into an extended examination of his arguments; but we can now do no more than present them to our readers, in connexion with a very few comments. Mr. Stewart considers the will as that power of the mind by which we determine in any given case and circumstances; volition, as the act of this power. He agrees with Locke in thinking, that the question in reference to liberty and necessity, is not whether the will, but whether the man, is free; 'inasmuch as liberty, which is but a power, belongs only to *agents*, and cannot be an attribute or modification of the will, which is also but a power.' He tells us, 'that, instead of speaking of the influence of motives on the *will*, it would be much more correct to speak of the influence of motives on *the agent*.' In defining the liberty, of which he affirms all men are possessed, he is not satisfied with the statement of Locke, that 'the idea of liberty is the idea of a power in any

'agent to do or to forbear any particular action, according to the determination of the mind, whereby either of them is preferred to the other'; he denies, that it consists only in a power to act as we will; and calls it 'a freedom of choice between good and evil—a power over the determinations of the will.' (p. 484). Mr. Stewart doubtless thought this phraseology perfectly intelligible and precise; we are persuaded, however, that it is indefinite. The will is *power*, according to the philosophy of this Writer; so that the language he employs is equivalent to the assertion, that man has a power over the determinations of his power. The question, to be put intelligibly, must be as follows: Have we reason to think, that the volition of any mind in any given circumstances (understanding the word circumstances as comprehending the moral state of the mind, as well as external inducements) might be the reverse of what it is? It is essential to the support of Mr. Stewart's system, to reply to this question in the affirmative; and this we understand him to do. In contending for his own view of liberty, he appeals to the evidence of consciousness; maintaining, that the doctrine of free will (as previously explained) is 'consistent with the common feelings and belief of mankind'—that 'it is supported by the most irresistible of all evidence, that of *our own consciousness*';—an evidence so complete that it authorizes him to cut the knot produced by 'the intricate puzzles of Jonathan Edwards', and which he fairly confesses himself unable to unloose. Now we must avow, that we have not the evidence in support of this free will, to which Mr. Stewart appeals. We have no consciousness of possessing a power to direct volition, whatever volition may be, towards any point, or all points of the compass, at the same moment; a power which is necessarily implied in the statements of Mr. Stewart. We feel that we are free agents; *i. e.* that what we do, we do voluntarily, and that we have the power to do what we will; but consciousness of freedom more than this, we have none. We believe that those who imagine that they are conscious of more, are deluding themselves;—that the consciousness for which Mr. Stewart contends, is, on his own principles, impossible. Consciousness, taking Mr. Stewart for our guide, (and we believe him to be correct here,) does not inform us of the existence of the mind, nor of its powers; but of its various thoughts, feelings, determinations, &c. It does not inform us that we have a power called (by our Author) the will; but merely apprises us of the *actings* of that power. We are conscious, in short, of our volitions; but, of their cause or origin, consciousness, on Mr. Stewart's own principles, can give no more information than it affords with respect to the

cause of our sensations. This power over the determinations of the will, of which Mr. Stewart speaks, is not an act, affection, or state of mind; it is, in fact, a new power. There is not only the power called will, but there is a power to guide this power. Now whether we have such a power, is certainly a fair subject of debate; but we are confident that Mr. Stewart relinquished the guidance of his own philosophy, when he appealed to consciousness in support of its existence.

The freedom for which our Author contends, is at utter variance with the certain influence of motives upon the mind. If that which appears, on any account, most desirable, certainly produces volition, then, say all our philosophical Pelagians, we are not free agents. The *volition* must be *voluntary*—we must *choose* to will, or we lose our freedom. Now if this be the case, it follows, as a necessary consequence, according to the argument of President Edwards, that this *choice* to will must be a free choice—that we must *choose* to *choose* to will, or the same result will happen; so that we are driven to the supposition of an infinite series of wills, which is absurd. Mr. Stewart deemed it necessary, however, to adhere to his doctrine of freedom, even after this *reductio ad absurdum*, or to give up his faith in the responsibility of man. He opposes, therefore, as he was constrained to do, the doctrine, that motives have a necessary, we should rather say a certain, influence in producing volition; and his statements on this point will need to be examined. We shall give the substance of them before we proceed to offer any remarks of our own. He admits, in opposition to Dr. Reid, that ‘for every action there must be ‘some motive’, and that ‘the merit of the action depends upon ‘the motive.’ He appears also to admit, that motives influence and determine the will; but this admission does not, he thinks, overturn the notion of its self-determining power, because the question is, ‘What is the nature of the influence which they ‘exert?’ If the motive be the *cause* of the volition, (understanding the word motive in the sense of President Edwards,) the notion of liberty is, he says, overturned. This he accordingly denies. He seems indeed at a loss to conceive what is the relation between the action and the volition; (pp. 478-9, Note;) but at length, he represents it as the *occasion* of the mind’s acting, or the *reason* for acting, (p. 495)—the *final cause*, to secure which the mind puts forth its powers. He is sure, at all events, that it is not the proper cause. And then, as the arising of a volition implies a change in the state of the mind, to avoid directly impugning the axioms, that every change requires a cause, (though he expressly declares that it should be confined in its application ‘to inanimate matter’; so that there

may be a change in the state of the mind *without a cause*!). he tells us, that, in the case of the determinations of a voluntary agent, '*he is himself the author of them*', and that '*nothing could have led philosophers to look out for any other causes of them, but an apprehended analogy between volition in a mind, and motion in a body.*' (p. 477.)

On these statements we observe, First, that Mr. Stewart's admissions overturn his system. 'For every volition, there must be', he admits, 'some motive.' Now, as innumerable cases occur, in which there is no motive but to one particular volition, how is it possible that, in any of these cases, actual volition can be different from what it is? It is essential, as we have seen, to the support of Mr. Stewart's system, to maintain, that, in all cases, the determinations of the mind might be the reverse of what they are. When the motives then are all adapted to influence our decision, Mr. Stewart is manifestly reduced to the dilemma of supposing, either that the volition cannot be otherwise than it is, or, if it be otherwise, that there may be volition without a motive.

Secondly, by denying that the motive is the cause of the volition, and by affirming that the voluntary agent, or the mind itself, is its cause, Mr. Stewart must be understood to maintain, either that volition in any given circumstances cannot be otherwise than it is,—or that the same cause, in the same circumstances, may produce not only different, but directly opposite results. To maintain the latter, is to oppose an intuitive truth. That different effects cannot flow from the operation of the same cause, when the circumstances remain the same, and, that every effect must have a cause, are assertions which rest on the same basis; they are self-evident truths. Yet, Mr. Stewart's sentiments oppose the former. Inducements are not, he says, the causes of volition; they merely present, he states, the *occasions* of volition; the *mind* is the cause. And when that cause is in the same state, and the motives which are presented to it are precisely the same, the effect may be different; (for, if this be not maintained, the Pelagian notion of liberty is overturned;) *i. e.* the same cause may be productive of different effects. Now, if a volition sustain the relation of an effect to any thing, and if that thing be the mind, how does the doctrine of Mr. Stewart differ from the statement, that the sun may freeze and boil water of the same temperature, at the same time?

Thirdly, we would ask, whether any precise idea can be attached to the assertion, that the mind is the cause of its volitions? At the present advanced stage of mental science, it will scarcely be contended, that a volition (whether we regard volition as desire, or as something different from it) is any thing

different from the mind itself. We take it for granted, that all who are capable of forming any opinion upon the subject, will admit at once, that a volition, like a thought or a sensation, is nothing else than the mind in a particular state. Now we can understand what is meant by one state of mind being the cause of another state; (a perception being the cause of an emotion, for instance;) but what are we to understand by the mind itself being the cause of one of its own states? If there were any meaning in the expression, (which we distinctly deny to be the case, on any theory of causation,) why might we not say, by parity of reasoning, that the mind is the cause of all its states—the cause of its love, fear, joy, &c.; that a particular state of the brain, for instance, is not the cause of sensation, but that the mind, being possessed of active power, causes the sensation? If there be any broad line of difference here, let it be pointed out. And the difficulty of conceiving what is meant by the statement, that the mind is the cause of its volitions, is multiplied a thousand-fold, by the consideration to which we have just referred; that, according to the Pelagian notion of liberty, the mind, *i. e.* the cause, may, in the same circumstances, produce different volitions; a notion, we confess, which appears to us as gross an absurdity, as would be the assertion, that a certain perception of the mind may produce either a sensation, an emotion, or a broken leg.

Fourthly, we would ask those who embrace Mr. Stewart's notions, what reasons they have for denying that motives stand in the relation of causes to the volitions of the mind, which would not go to prove that there is no cause in the universe,—the Divine Being excepted, if, indeed, an exception can be allowed even here? That one event is the cause of another, we have no knowledge but what is derived from experience. We see one event uniformly preceding, another uniformly following: the former, we say, is the cause of the latter. The boiling water is applied to the ice, the ice dissolves; the water in the state described is, we say, the cause of the liquefaction. A conception of danger arises in the mind; it is instantly followed by the emotion of fear; the conception we immediately conclude to be the cause of the emotion. Now how is it with regard to volition? An object presents itself to our view; there immediately arises in the mind the conception of important benefits which we should derive from its possession; and this conception is immediately succeeded by a determination, or a volition, to use those means which may bring us to the enjoyment of it. This conception of good is the motive; it is immediately followed by the volition; experience proves that the junction is not an accidental one; and, therefore, on the same

ground on which we conclude that any one event is the cause of another event, are we not entitled, yea required, to conclude that the motive is the cause of the volition? How could Mr. Stewart know that volition is the cause of muscular motion? Not by consciousness, but by experience in the manner already described. He observes, that the motion follows the volition; he believes that, *ceteris paribus*, it will always follow it; that is, he regards the volition as its cause, for nothing further than this enters into our conceptions of a cause. In like manner, the volition, in the case to which we now refer, follows the conception of good; we believe, that it will and must follow the conception of the greatest amount of good; in other words, we regard, or ought to regard, the motive or the conception as the cause of the volition. To say that the mind, and not the motive, is the cause of the volition, is to utter words which appear to us to have no meaning. Had Mr. Stewart merely denied efficient power to motives, as he has done to physical causes, and contended, on that account, that the state of mind which we call volition cannot be produced by them, but must result directly from the exertion of Divine energy, he might indeed have entangled himself in difficulties, but he would have been at least intelligible. But to argue that, not God, but the mind is the cause of the volition, on the ground that the mind is essentially active, is much the same as to contend, that the mind is the cause of loving, fearing, thinking, &c.; in which states it is certainly as active (whatever be the meaning which is attached to the expression) as in determining. That the mind has the power to determine, in the same sense in which it has the power to love, and that every volition is the volition of the intelligent agent himself, so that, in whatever he does, he acts voluntarily, (and cannot, therefore, be confounded with any mere physical agent,) is unquestionable. And we suspect that no other idea can be attached to the statement of Mr. Stewart, that the mind is the cause of its volitions. A power over the determinations of the mind, is a power to determine. If any one should think that he can extract any meaning from this phraseology, we make him perfectly welcome to the benefit.

Fifthly; if there be no virtue in actions, except in those cases where motives have not a certain influence in producing good volitions, how shall we ascribe holiness to the blessed God himself? He is not what He is by volition, but by necessity of nature. He cannot lie—cannot look upon sin. Is His character less deserving of approbation on that account? We have been accustomed to think, in the case of any moral agent, that the immovable direction of his volitions towards rectitude

constitutes the highest moral excellence; but the possibility of failure would appear to form the very essence of Pelagian virtue. To affirm that any thing more than *voluntary* agency in the doing of good or of evil, is necessary to justify us in regarding the agents with approbation, or the contrary, is, in effect, to affirm, that the character of God has no claim to our adoration; and that we ought not to do what we are compelled by our physical constitution to do. God has so formed the mind, that we can no more avoid blaming an intelligent agent doing voluntarily what he knows to be wrong, than we can avoid seeing when the eyes are open. It is the voluntariness of moral actions, when the agent is conscious of what he is about, that awakens the approving or condemning emotion; we are, accordingly, entitled to *infer*, that it is the quality which *ought* to excite it. And if we insist upon any thing more to justify the emotion,—if we maintain that it must be a *voluntary voluntariness*,—we shall find ourselves entangled in interminable difficulties.

Our space will not permit us to enlarge, and, therefore, we ask, finally, how it can be said, consistently with Mr. Stewart's principles, that it is God 'who worketh in us to *will* and to do of His good pleasure.' How can good volitions, on the principles of Pelagianism, be ascribed to God? He is in no sense the cause of them. The mind of the moral agent is the cause. If, indeed, the good volition proceed from the influence of inducements, the only instruments of moral government, acting upon a morally good state of mind, produced by Divine agency,—which is the opinion, we presume, of most Calvinists,—then it may, or rather, it must be ascribed to God. But, if the motive does not stand in the relation of cause to the volition,—if it does not produce it,—if the mind is the cause,—the mind uninfluenced by the motive, (for, if the mind were influenced by the motive, the motive would be the cause of the volition,)—then God has nothing at all to do with the business; and the sinner may take the credit to himself of possessing self-originated virtue. And further, if the mind may be the cause of a volition, in direct opposition to motive, (which, it ought never to be forgotten in this discussion, must be the case, or the Pelagian notion of liberty is overthrown,) then all human actions must be contingent *in themselves*, and can be no more foreseen by Omniscience, than by us; a position which our Author, though with his usual hesitancy, seems to take, in connexion with his brother philosopher, Dr. Adam Clarke, in a common warfare against the principles, as we imagine, of sound philosophy, and certainly against those of scripture.

Since no one can deny, that *some* evil actions have been foreseen, it can avail the Arminian little, (as Mr. Watson himself confesses,) to maintain that infinite *knowledge* may possibly not know others.

Art. III. *The Works of the English and Scottish Reformers.*
 Edited by Thomas Russell, A.M. Vol. II. 8vo. pp. x. 595.
 Price 10s. 6d. London, 1828.

IT is a beneficial turn which the public taste and those who minister to it have taken, within the last twenty years; to give corrected and critical editions of our old national authors. The splendid example of Mr. Johnes, in reprinting the almost inaccessible English Chronicles, has been followed in the infinitely more important domain of Christian Theology. Within our memory, the idea of new and uniform editions of Hall, Reynolds, Jeremy Taylor, Hopkins, Baxter, Owen, and others, who have possessed a similar hold on our minds, would have been deemed absolutely chimerical: we have seen it, however, surprisingly realised. But, valuable as these voluminous republications are, for the greatest purposes of religious edification, we feel the attraction of a higher interest in the works of the men who burst the dungeons of papacy, and let the light of heaven break upon their countrymen. They were the first and freshest, and may be justly reckoned among the most powerful, of English theological writers. They hold a place in our national literature, analogous to that which Homer and Orpheus, Solon and Pythagoras, possessed in the patriotic feelings of the ancient Greeks. They rose, in the might of gigantic mind; they seized with sagacity, and still more with lofty integrity, the occasions which were furnished by the change-portending agitations of society; they directed men to the prime fountains of heavenly knowledge; and they wielded our language in all the roughness of its native vigour, an instrument of conveying and exciting thought, energetic and commanding in the highest degree.

The part which they bore in the PROTESTANT REFORMATION, the greatest of events since the apostolic age; their knowledge of passing events, and often piercing insight into them; their heroism in the love of truth, and their struggles against error; the reasonings by which they repelled the sophistry of their powerful adversaries; their triumphs in the field of argument, when they fell in the strife of power; and the amazing consequences which have been produced by their characters and

efforts;—these, and many associated considerations, have given them an imperishable claim upon the love and reverence of all succeeding time.

Some have insinuated that, in their capacity of Christians and divines, they are to be esteemed, rather than followed; and that they merit our thanks, but are no objects of our imitation; that they but battered down some of the walls of error and superstition, leaving the deep foundations scarcely assailed. We reply, that these common opinions are, to a considerable extent, erroneous. Some of the Reformers, and we may in particular mention Melancthon, Bucer, and Calvin, shewed a most wonderful grasp of the true principles of bible-interpretation. A comparison of them with hosts of commentators, during almost the whole of the two centuries that ensued, shews that men had retrograded, rather than advanced, in the sound methods of illustrating the phraseology and educing the sense of the sacred writings. On this account alone, if there were no other, we should rejoice in the increasing attention to their writings. It is a gratifying coincidence, that, while the work begun in the volume on our table has been preparing in England, a liberal firm of booksellers, Messrs. Hemmerde and Schwetschke, of Halle, have issued proposals for a perfect edition of all the writings, including many yet unpublished articles, of the German, French, and Swiss Reformers, to be edited by Dr. Bretschneider; and Schulthess of Zurich has done the same, for erecting the noblest monument to the memory of Zuinglius, in a complete publication of his works.

The character of a *Biblical divine* is, in a remarkably high degree, due to our early patriot, reformer, and martyr, WILLIAM TYNDALE, the first translator into English of the New Testament, and some portions of the Old, *from their originals*: for Wycliffe's great achievement, his English Bible, was made from the Latin Vulgate. The volume in our hands, (for the *first*, we perceive, is to be published last, and is to contain a Life of Tyndale,) supplies ample proof of this. It is truly a book of delightful reading, whether we read for the gratification of curiosity, or for liberal amusement, or for the better purpose of religious edification. The Author's strong sense, his *naïveté*, his fine coruscations of genius, his strokes of wit, his uncompromising vehemence against unscriptural doctrines and ungodly deeds, stand here in the most unaffected harmony with evangelical faith, sublime piety, and ardent benevolence to all men. But the grand characteristic lies in his ever inculcated reverence for the divine word, and in his admirable principles of scriptural study and interpretation. We here find the fundamental rules of *Bible Exegesis*, clearly laid down and illustrated in a

manner extremely satisfactory and impressive. These inestimable lessons were thus given in the infancy of the Reformation. Had they been duly retained, the ensuing generations would not have witnessed those accommodations, allegorizings, detachment of sentences or members of sentences from their connexion, and tortured applications 'to the point in hand'; as it was quaintly called, which have disgraced many teachers of religion, and deeply injured its sacred cause. Such valuable passages often shew themselves, but especially in the "*Prologues—before the Five Books of Moses,—shewing the Use of the Scripture.*" As, to the majority of readers, Tyndale's works must have all the freshness of the newest publication, we shall need no apology for justifying our opinion by some extracts.

' — I submit this book, and all other that I have either made or translated, or shall in time to come (if it be God's will that I shall further labour in his harvest,) unto all them that submit themselves unto the word of God, to be corrected of them: yea, and moreover to be disallowed and also burnt, if it seem worthy; when they have examined with the Hebrew, so that they first put forth of their own translating another that is more correct.' p. 5.

' Of the ceremonies, sacrifices, and tabernacle, with all his glory and pomp, understand that they were not permitted only, but also commanded of God, to lead the people in the shadows of Moses and night of the Old Testament, until the light of Christ and day of the New Testament were come. As children are led in the phantasies of youth, until the discretion of man's age be come upon them. And all was done to keep them from idolatry. The tabernacle was ordained to the intent they might have a place appointed them to do their sacrifices openly in the sight of the people, and namely, [i. e. principally] of the priests which waited thereon; that it might be seen that they did all things according to God's word, and not after the idolatry of their own imagination.' p. 20.

' — Such ceremonies were unto them as an A, B, C, to learn to spell and read; and as a nurse, to feed them with milk and pap, and to speak unto them after their own capacity; and to lisp the words unto them, according as the babes and children of that age might sound them again. For all that were before Christ were in the infancy and childhood of the world, and saw that sun which we see openly but through a cloud, and had but feeble and weak imaginations of Christ, as children have of men's deeds; a few prophets except, which yet described him unto other in sacrifices and ceremonies, likenesses, riddles, proverbs, and dark and strange speakings, until the full age were come that God would shew him openly unto the whole world, and deliver them from their shadows and cloud-light, and the heathen out of their dead sleep of stark blind ignorance. And as the shadow vanisheth away at the coming of the light, even so do the ceremonies and sacrifices at the coming of Christ; and are henceforth no more necessary than a token, left in remembrance of a bargain, is necessary when the bargain is fulfilled.

And moreover, though all sacrifices and ceremonies can be no ground or foundation to build upon; that is, though we can prove nought with them, yet, when we have once found out Christ and his mysteries, then we may borrow figures, that is to say, allegories, similitudes, or examples, to open Christ and the secrets of God hid in Christ, even unto the quick, and to declare them more lively and sensibly with them than with all the words of the world. For similitudes have more virtue and power with them than bare words, and lead a man's wits farther into the pith, and marrow, and spiritual understanding of the thing, than all the words that can be imagined. And though also that all the ceremonies and sacrifices have, as it were, a star-light of Christ; yet some there be that have, as it were, the light of the broad day, a little before the sun-rising, and express him and the circumstances and virtue of his death, so plainly as if we should play his passion on a scaffold, or in a stage-play, openly before the eyes of the people: as the scape-goat, the brazen serpent, the ox burnt without the host, the passover-lamb, &c.' p. 28.

'Farthermore; because that few know the use of the Old Testament, and the most part think it nothing necessary but to make allegories, which they feign every man after his own brain, at wild adventure, without any certain rule.—We had need to take heed every where that we be not beguiled with false allegories, whether they be drawn out of the New Testament or the Old, either out of any other story or of the creatures of the world, but namely [principally] in this book [Leviticus]. Here a man had need to put on all his spectacles, and to arm himself against invisible spirits.

'First; Allegories prove nothing: and by allegories understand examples or similitudes borrowed of strange matters and of another thing than thou entrest of. As, though circumcision be a figure of baptism, yet thou canst not prove baptism by circumcision: for this argument were very feeble, the Israelites were circumcised, therefore we must be baptized.

'But the very use of allegories is to declare and open a text, that it may be the better perceived and understood. As, when I have a clear text of Christ and the apostles that I must be baptized, then I may borrow an example of circumcision, to express the nature, power, and fruit or effect, of baptism.—Paul (1 Cor. x.) maketh the sea and the cloud a figure of baptism; by which, and a thousand more, I might declare it, but not prove it. Paul also, in the said place, maketh the rock out of which Moses brought water unto the children of Israel, a figure or example of Christ; not to prove Christ; (for that were impossible,) but to describe Christ only: even as Christ himself (John iii.) borroweth a similitude or figure of the brazen serpent, to lead Nicodemus from his earthly imagination into the spiritual understanding of Christ's saying: "As Moses lifted up a serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up, that none that believe in him perish, but have everlasting life." By which similitude, the virtue of Christ's death is better described than thou couldst declare it with a thousand words. For, as those murmurers against God, as soon as they repented, were healed of their deadly wounds, through looking on the brazen serpent only, without medi-

cine or any other help; yea, and without any other reason but that God hath said it should be so, and not to murmur again, but to leave their murmuring: even so, all that repent and believe in Christ are saved from everlasting death, of pure grace, without and before their good works, and not to sin but to fight against sin, and henceforth to sin no more.

'Even so, with the ceremonies of this book, thou canst prove nothing; save describe and declare only the putting away of our sins through the death of Christ.

'Finally; beware of allegories; for there is not a more handsome or apt thing to beguile withal than an allegory, nor a more subtle and pestilent thing in the world to persuade a false matter than an allegory. And contrariwise; there is not a better, vehementer, or mightier thing to make a man understood withal, than an allegory. For allegories make a man quick-witted, and print wisdom in him, and maketh it to abide; where bare words go in as one ear and out at the other.'—p. 32—35.

'Thou shalt understand, therefore, that the Scripture hath but one sense, which is the Literal Sense. And that literal sense is the root and ground of all, and the anchor that never faileth; whereunto if thou cleave, thou canst never err, or go out of the way. And, if thou leave the literal sense, thou canst not but go out of the way. Neverthelater, the Scripture useth proverbs, similitudes, riddles, or allegories, as all other speeches do: but that which the proverb, similitude, riddle, or allegory signifieth, is even the literal sense which thou must seek out diligently. As in the English, we borrow words, and sentences of one thing, and apply them unto another, and give them new significations. We say; *Let the sea rise as high as he will, yet God hath appointed how far he shall go*: meaning that the tyrants shall not do what they would, but that only which God hath appointed them to do. *Look ere thou leap*: whose literal sense is, do nothing suddenly or without avisement. *Cut not the bough that thou standest upon*: whose literal sense is, Oppress not the commons; and is borrowed of hewers. When a thing speedeth not well, we borrow speech and say, *The bishop hath blessed it*; because that nothing speedeth well that they meddle withal. If the porridge be burnt to, or the meat over roasted, we say, *The bishop hath put his foot in the pot*, or *The bishop hath played the cook*; because the bishops burn whom they list and whomsoever displeaseth them. *He is a pontifical fellow*; that is, proud and stately. *He is popish*; that is superstitious, and faithless.—Thus borrow we, and feign new speech, in every tongue. All fables, prophecies, [meaning such as are conveyed in symbolical terms,] and riddles, are allegories:—and the interpretations of them are the literal sense.

'So, in like manner, the scripture borroweth words and sentences, of all manner of things, and maketh proverbs and similitudes or allegories. As Christ saith (Luke iv.), *Physician, heal thyself*: whose interpretation is, Do that at home which thou doest in strange places. So, when I say, *Christ is a lamb*; I mean not a lamb that beareth wool, but a meek and patient lamb, which is beaten for other men's faults. *Christ is a vine*; not that beareth grapes, but out of whose

root the branches that believe suck the spirit of life, and mercy, and grace, and power, to be the sons of God, and to do his will. The similitudes of the gospel are allegories, borrowed of worldly matters, to express spiritual things. The Apocalypse or Revelations of John are allegories, whose literal sense is hard to find in many places.

Beyond all this; when we have found out the literal sense of the scripture, by the process of the text, or by a like text of another place, then go we, and as the scripture borroweth similitudes of worldly things, even so we again borrow similitudes or allegories of the scripture, and apply them to our purposes: which allegories are no sense of scripture, but free things beside the scripture, and altogether in the liberty of the spirit: which allegories I may not make at all the wild adventures, but must keep me within the compass of the faith, and ever apply mine allegory to Christ and unto the faith. Take an ensample. Thou hast the story of Peter; how he smote off Malchus's ear, and how Christ healed it again. There hast thou, in the plain text, great learning, great fruit, and great edifying; which I pass over, because of tediousness. Then come I, when I preach of the law and the gospel, and borrow this ensample, to express the nature of the law and the gospel, and to paint it unto thee before thine eyes.—This allegory proveth nothing; neither can do. For it is not the scripture, but an ensample or a similitude borrowed of the scripture, to declare a text, or a conclusion of the scripture more expressly, and to root it and grave it in the heart. For a similitude or an ensample doth print a thing much deeper in the wits of a man, than doth a plain speaking; and leaving behind him, as it were, a sting to prick him forward and to awake him withal. Moreover, if I could not prove with an open text that which the allegory doth express, then were the allegory a thing to be jested at, and of no greater value than a tale of Robin Hood.—And, because that allegories prove nothing, therefore are they to be used soberly and seldom, and only where the text offereth thee an allegory.

—And likewise do we borrow likenesses or allegories of the scripture, as of Pharaoh and Herod, and of the Scribes and Pharisees, to express our miserable captivity and persecution under Antichrist the Pope.

The greatest cause of which captivity, and the decay of the faith, and this blindness wherein we now are, sprang first of allegories. For Origen and the doctors of his time, drew all the scripture into allegories. Whose ensample they that came after followed so long, till they at last forgot the order and process of the text, supposing that the scripture served but to feign allegories upon. Insomuch that twenty doctors expound one text twenty ways, as children make descant upon plain song. Then came our sophisters, with their analogical and tropological sense, and with an antitheme of half an inch, out of which some of them draw a thread of nine days long. Yea, thou shalt find enough that will preach Christ, and prove whatsoever point of the faith that thou wilt, as well out of a fable of Ovid or any other poet, as out of St. John's Gospel or Paul's Epistles. Yea; they are come unto such blindness, that they not only say, the literal sense profiteth not, but also that it is hurtful and noisome, and killeth

the soul. Which damnable doctrine they prove [i. e. attempt to establish] by a text of Paul (2 Cor. iii.), where he saith, 'The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.' Lo! say they, the literal sense killeth, and the spiritual sense giveth life. We must, therefore, say they, seek out some tropological sense.

'Here learn what sophistry is, and how blind they are; that thou mayest abhor them and spue them out of thy stomach for ever. Paul, by the letter, meaneth Moses's law, which the process of the text following declareth more bright than the sun. But it is not their guise to look on the order of any text: but, as they find it in their doctors, so allege they it, and so understand it.' pp. 339—344. *Obedience of a Christian Man.*

This admirable man proceeds to an exact and judicious interpretation of the whole passage; a passage, which it would have been well if none, since the day of his monkish contemporaries, had in like manner misused.

Amidst the abundance of pages rich in wisdom and piety, and which might set out a feast of citations, we must restrain ourselves within straiter limits than we find easy.

'We are likewise bound to look in the Scripture, whether our fathers have done right or wrong; and ought to believe nothing without a reason of the Scripture and authority of God's word. And of this manner defend thyself against all manner of wickedness of our spirits, armed always with God's word, and with a strong and a steadfast faith thereunto. Without God's word, do nothing; and to his word add nothing; neither pull any thing therefrom; as Moses everywhere teacheth thee. Serve God in the spirit, and thy neighbour with all outward service. Serve God as he hath appointed thee, and not with thy good intent and good zeal. Remember, Saul was cast away of God for ever, for his good intent. God requireth obedience unto his word, and abhorreth all good intents and good zeals which are without God's word.—And remember that Christ is the end of all things. He only is our resting place, and he is our peace. For, as there is no salvation in any other name, so is there no peace in any other name. Thou shalt never have rest in thy soul, neither shall the worm of conscience ever cease to gnaw thine heart, till thou come at Christ; till thou hear the glad tidings, how that God, for his sake, hath forgiven thee all freely. If thou trust in thy works, there is no rest. Thou shalt think, I have not done enough: have I done it with so great a love as I should do? was I so glad in doing, as I would be to receive help at my need? I have left this or that undone: and such like. If thou trust in confession, then shalt thou think, Have I told all? have I told all the circumstances? did I repent enough? had I as great sorrow in my repentance for my sins, as I had pleasure in doing them? Likewise in our holy pardons and pilgrimages, gettest thou no rest. For thou seest that the very gods themselves which sell their pardon so good, so cheap, or somewhiles give them freely for glory sake, trust not therein

themselves. They build colleges and make perpetuities, to be prayed for for ever; and laide the lips of their beadmen or chaplains with so many masses and dirges and so long service, that I have known some that have bid the devil take their founders' souls, for very impatience and weariness of so painful labour.

As pertaining to good deeds, therefore, do the best thou canst, and desire God to give strength to do better daily; but in Christ put thy trust, and in the pardon and promises that God hath made thee for his sake; and on that rock build thine house and there dwell. For there only shalt thou be sure from all storms and tempests, and from all wily assaults of our wicked spirits, which study with all falsehood to undermine us. And the God of all mercy give thee grace to do so, unto whom be glory for ever. Amen. p. 364. *Obedience, &c.*

One hundred pages of this volume are taken up with a very curious treatise, entitled "*The Practice of Prelates.*" It exhibits a fine specimen of the high and noble conscientiousness of Tyndale. Though he was well aware, that the party which opposed the divorce of Queen Catharine was the most deeply engaged in the interests of the papacy, and though it is scarcely credible that his sagacity did not perceive, in the promotion of that measure, a probable means of advancing the reformation of religion; yet, as he believed the project of a divorce to be wrong in itself, (upon grounds which to us appear insufficient,) he opposed it in the most resolute and uncompromising manner. This vigorous treatise sets out with a deduction from our Lord's words in John xviii. 36., that 'the Officers in Christ's kingdom may have no temporal dominion'; that Prelates are appointed to preach Christ, may not leave God's word and minister temporal offices, but ought to teach the lay people the right way, and let them alone with all temporal business.' He argues that, 'because Peter did exceed the other apostles in fervent service toward his brethren, therefore is he called, not in the Scripture, but in the use of speaking, the chiefest of the apostles; and not that he had any dominion over them:—but, that Peter had any authority and rule over his brethren and fellow-apostles, is false and contrary to the Scripture.' He maintains that 'the apostles, following and obeying the rule, doctrine, and commandment of our Saviour Jesus Christ their Master, ordained in his kingdom and congregation Two Officers; one called, after the Greek work, *Bishop*, in English an *Overseer*: which same I was called *Priest*, [a vernacular abbreviation of *Presbyter*,] after the Greek, *Elder* in English, because of his age, discretion, and sadness [*i. q.* gravity]; for he was, as high as could be, always an elderly man,'

And this Overseer did put his hands under the plough of God's

word, and fed Christ's flock, and tended them only, without looking unto any other business in the world. Another officer they chose, and called him *Deacon*, after the Greek, a *Minister* in English, to minister the alms of the people unto the poor and needy.—The love of God being yet hot in the hearts of men, the rich, that had the substance of this world's goods, brought of their abundance great plenty unto the sustentation of the poor, and delivered it unto the hands of the deacons.

The titles of some of the subsequent Sections, will give an idea of the stream of topics.—‘*By what means the Prelates fell from Christ.*’—‘*How the Bishop of Rome became greater than other, and called himself Pope.*’—‘*By what means the Pope invaded the Empire.*’—This contains a sketch of Ecclesiastical events in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. We take two or three sentences.

‘Then came Pope Zacharias the first, in whose time Hildericus was King of France; a man that governed his realm, as it oft chanceth, by a deputy (as persons [*i. q.* parsons] preach), one Pepin, a lord of his own and his sworn subject. This Pepin sent an holy bishop to Pope Zacharias, that he should help to make him King of France, and he would be his defender in Italy; and the manner of scaled horses is, the one to claw the other. And Zacharias answered, that he was more worthy to be king that ruled the realm and took the labours, than an idle shadow, that went up and down and did nought. And so upon that the lords of France, by the persuasions of the prelates, consented unto Pepin; and thrust down their right king, unto whom they were sworn, and made a monk of him.

‘After Pepin, reigned his son, the great Charles, whom we call Charlemaigne; which knew no other god but the pope, nor any other way to heaven than to do the pope pleasure. For the pope served him for two purposes; one, to dispense with him for whatsoever mischief he did; another, to be established in the empire by his help, for without his favour he wist it would not be; so great a god was our holy father become already in those days.

‘This Charles was a great conqueror, that is to say, a great tyrant; and overcame many nations with the sword. And, as the Turk compelleth us unto his faith, so he compelled them with violence unto the faith of Christ; say the stories. But, alas! Christ's faith, whereunto the Holy Ghost only draweth men's hearts, through preaching the word of truth and holy living according thereto, he knew not: but unto the pope he subdued them, and unto this superstitious idolatry, which we use clean contrary unto the Scripture.’ pp. 406—416.

‘*A proper similitude to describe our Holy Father.*—And to see how our holy father came up, mark the ensample of an Ivy Tree. First, it springeth out of the earth; and then a while creepeth along by the ground till it findeth a great tree; then it joincth itself beneath slow unto the body of the tree, and creepeth up a

little and a little, fair and softly. And at the beginning, while it is yet thin and small that the burthen is not perceived, it seemeth glorious to garnish the tree in the winter, and to bear off the tempests of the weather. But, in the mean season, it thrusteth roots into the bark of the tree to hold fast withal, and ceaseth not to climb up, till it be at the top and above all. And then it sendeth his branches along, by the branches of the tree, and over-groweth all, and waxeth great, heavy, and thick; and sucketh the moisture so sore out of the tree and its branches, that it choaketh and stiflenth them. And then the foul stinking ivy waxeth mighty in the stump of the tree; and becometh a seat and a nest for all unclean birds, and for blind owls which hawk in the dark and dare not come at the light.

‘ Even so, the Bishop of Rome, now called Pope, at the beginning crope along upon the earth, and every man trod upon him in this world. But, as soon as there came a Christian Emperor, he joined himself unto his feet and kissed them, and crope up a little, with begging now this privilege, now that; now this city, now that; to find poor people withal and the necessary ministers of God’s word. And he entialed the Emperor, with choosing the pope and other bishops; and promoted in the spirituality, not whom virtue and learning, but whom the favour of great men commendeth, to flatter, to get friends and defenders withal.—The Ivy Tree, the Pope, hath under his roots, throughout Christendom in every village, holes for foxes; and nests for unclean birds, in all his branches; and promiseteth unto his disciples all the promotions of the world.’

pp. 416—419.

‘ *How the Pope corrupteth the Scripture, and why.—How they prove all their General Councils.—An Example of Practice out of our own Chronicles.*’ Under this head, the Author lays to the charge of the popes and their clerical instruments, the Norman conquest, the calamities of England and Ireland in the reigns of John and Richard II., and the sanguinary rivalry of the two houses of York and Lancaster.

‘ *By what craft, the Pope keepeth the Emperor down.*’—‘ *The Practice of our time.*’ His description of the character and proceedings of Cardinal WOLSEY, is extremely curious, and coincides with the results of the late accurate researches made by Mr. Turner and Mr. Soames into the history of that extraordinary man.

‘ When the King’s grace came first to the right of the crown and unto the governance of the realm, young and unexpert, Thomas Wolsey, a man of lust and courage and bodily strength to do and to suffer great things and to endure in all manner of voluptuousness; expert and exercised in the course of the world, as he which had heard, read, and seen much policy, and had done many things himself, and had been of the secret counsel of weighty matters; as subtle as Sinon, that betrayed Troy; utterly appointed to semblance and dis-

semble, to have one thing in the heart and another in the mouth; being thereto as eloquent, as subtle, and able to persuade what he lusted to them that were unexpert; so desirous and greedy of honour that he cared not but for the next and most compendious way thereto, whether godly or ungodly; this wily wolf, I say, and raging sea and shipwreck of all England, though he shewed himself pleasant and calm at the first (as whores do unto their lovers), came unto the King's grace and waited upon him; and was no man so obsequious and serviceable, and in all games and sports the first and next at hand; and as a captain to courage other, and a gay finder out of new pastimes to obtain favour withal. Now the King's grace followed him, as he before followed him. And then what he said, that was wisdom; what he praised, that was honourable only. Moreover; in the mean time he spied out the natures and dispositions of the King's play-fellows, and of all that were great. And whom he spied meet for his purpose, him he flattered and him he made faithful in great promises, and to him he swore and of him he took an oath again, that the one should help the other. And ever as he grew in promotions and dignity, so gathered he unto him of the most subtle witted, and of them that were drunk in the desire of honour, most like unto himself. And, after they were sworn, he promoted them, and with great promises made them in falsehood faithful, and of them ever presented unto the King's grace and put them into his service, saying, This is a man meet for your grace. And by these spies, if ought were done or spoken in the court against the Cardinal, of that he had word within an hour or two. And then came the Cardinal to court, with all his magic, to persuade to the contrary. If any in the court had spoken against the Cardinal, and the same not great in the King's favour, the Cardinal bade him walk, a villain, and thrust him out of the court headlong. If he were in conceit with the King's grace, then he flattered and persuaded and corrupted some with gifts, and sent some ambassadors, and some he made captain at Calais, Ames, Guives, Jersey, and Guernsey; or sent them to Ireland and into the north: and so occupied them, till the King had forgotten them and other were in their rooms, or till he had sped what he intended.

And in like manner played with the ladies and gentlewomen. Whosoever of them was great, with her was he familiar and to her gave he gifts. Yea; and where Sir Thomas of Canterbury was wont to come after, Thomas Cardinal went oft before preventing his prince, and perverted the order of the holy man. If any were subtle-witted and meet for his purpose, her made he sworn to betray the Queen likewise, and to tell him what she said or did. I know one that departed the court, for no other cause than that she would no longer betray her mistress.' pp. 452—454.

The Cause of all that we have suffered these twenty years. Then Pope Julius wrote unto his dear son, Thomas Wolsey, that he would be as good, as loving, and as helping to holy church, as any Thomas ever was; seeing he was as able. Then the new Thomas, as glorious as the old, took the matter in hand, and persuaded the King's grace. And then the King's grace took a dispensation for his oath, &c. &c.

Then, quoth Thomas Wolsey, Oh and like your grace! What an honour should it be unto your grace, if the Emperor were your soldier! So great honour never chanced any king christened. It should be spoken of while the world stood. The glory and honour shall hide and darken the cost, that it shall never be seen, though it should cost half your realm! *Dixit, et factum est.* It was even so. And then a parliament; and then pay; and then upon the French dogs, with clean remission of all his sins that slew one of them; or, if he be slain, (for the pardons have no strength to save in this life, but in the life to come only,) then to heaven straight, without feeling of the pains of purgatory.—As soon as the Pope had that he desired in Italy, then peace immediately: and Frenchmen were Christian men, and pity, yea and great sin also, were it to shed their blood; and the French King was the Most Christian King again. And thus was peace concluded, and our Englishmen, or rather sheep, came home against winter and left their fleeces behind them. Wherefore no small number of them, while they sought them better raiment at home, were hanged for their labour.' p. 454.

'Why the King's Sister was turned unto France.—The Cause of the Journey to Calais.—How the Emperor came through England.—Why the Queen must be divorced.'

'If the Cardinal could, by such means, have made us French, the Queen had been queen yet; yea, though she had not been his wife. But, when there was found not other way, he inspired the King that the Queen was not his wife, by the Bishop of Lincoln his confessor, (as the saying was,) by whom he hath breathed many things into his grace, and by whom he hath heard his confession, and by whom and like hypocrites he hath long betrayed him, to have married him unto the King's sister of France.—All the chancellors of England (say men) which be all lawyers, and other doctors, mumpsimus of divinity, were called up suddenly to dispute the matter.—When the Queen was warned, she desired learned counsel, to defend her quarrel: and it was granted her; and she chose: but alas! what choice is there among the fox's whelps? All that be shaven, be sworn together; and all that be promoted by them must play the Judases with them.—After that, my lord Cardinal, with More his sworn secretary, and the Bishop of London,' [Tonstall,] 'that still Satan, the imaginer of all mischief, went to France, to juggle secretly; and carried with him more than he brought home again.

'The Lord Jesus be our shield! What a fierce wrath of God is this upon us! That a misshapen monster should spring out of a dunghill into such a height, that, the dread of God and man laid apart, he should be so malapert, not only to defy utterly the majesty of so mighty an Emperor,—but should also set so little by the whole realm of England, which hath bestowed so great cost and shed so much blood, to exalt and maintain such proud, churlish, and unthankful hypocrites, that he should not care to destroy it utterly for the satisfying his villainous lusts!' pp. 463—465.

'Of the Divorcement.' This great topic is discussed at large by considerations drawn from natural right, Scripture, and a

regard to consequences; deducing the conclusion which we have before mentioned. It is worthy of observation, that a very principal portion of this argument was omitted in the edition of 1578, no doubt from the fear of offending Queen Elizabeth. 'By what Means the Divorcement should cost the Realm.—The Putting down of the Cardinal.—What the cause of all this Mischief is.'

We have yielded to the attractions of these entertaining and interesting pages, so as to have left ourselves too little space for attention to Mr. Russell's NOTES. They are a valuable addition to the venerable Treatises, illustrating some of the topics discussed, explaining incidental allusions, which often involve much curious and important matter, and supplying philological and antiquarian elucidations of terms which are at the same time both obsolete and of difficult determination. *Socheners*, *sochenars*, or *souchenars*, he has decisively ascertained to be the Swiss troops, who in that age, and to a much later period, were let out or sold by their respective governments, to fight in any cause and for any potentate that was willing and able to hire them. It would have been a just and worthy addition to this note, to have remarked that, before 1518, the humble, holy, and noble-minded ZUINGLIUS put forth his utmost efforts of argument, persuasion, and remonstrance, to induce the Swiss Republics to abolish that covetous, cruel, and unprincipled system. He was so far successful, that the Government of Zurich rejected an application for a body of troops, from Francis I. But this conduct of the Swiss Reformer brought upon him an additional load of odium and malignity from powerful persons, especially in the Popish Cantons. Another and still longer note investigates the meaning of the term *Limitour* or *Limiter*, and illustrates the office of that monastic collector very satisfactorily, and with much entertaining black-letter learning. In page 572, we find '*Rutter*; a horse-soldier, a trooper.' This is correct, but does not go to the full extent. We believe that the word was used, precisely as the French *chevalier*, to signify a knight, in the proper feudal sense: and the passage in Tyndale seems to require its being taken in this more ancient, proper, and dignified acceptation.

Among the numerous subjects of these Notes, our attention is drawn by one which is extended into almost a Dissertation, on the *Philosophy of Aristotle*. Though we think that Mr. Russell is too severe in his censure of the great Stagirite, that he has scarcely allowed what equity requires in judging of the moral system of a heathen, and that he has not sufficiently discriminated between the genuine doctrines of 'the scribe of nature, who dipped his pen in mind,' and the corruptions of his

writings and opinions made by the Arabian and Popish logicians of the middle ages; we still coincide with much of his animated vituperation. Of the thirteen pages which he has occupied with the character and effects of the Aristotelian Metaphysics and Ethics, we can select only one paragraph.

'I confess that, with all my respect for the candour, the judgment, and the discrimination of the historian,' [Mr. Sharon Turner,] 'I cannot concur with his eulogium [eulogy] on the Aristotelian philosophy; which, so far from being "united with Christianity," appears to me to have usurped her throne, broken her sceptre, and nearly banished her from the understandings and the hearts of mankind: until the Reformers, taking to themselves the whole armour of God, were instrumental in restoring her authority and giving vitality to her institutes. Awakened themselves, by the scriptures, to light and liberty, they roused mankind from the slumber of ages. The sound of their voice was the breaking down of this Gentile wall of partition, which separated man from his Redeemer, as the apostolic preaching had been of the Jewish, which stood between him and his Creator.' [This antithesis appears to us to require much explanation and modifying.] 'It is true that his *Treatise on Morals* is one of the most successful efforts of unassisted reason, to teach mankind that the practice of virtue is the surest road to happiness. But the self-dependence and self-sufficiency which pervade the system, are essentially at variance with the spirit of the gospel, and incompatible with the graces which constitute and adorn the Christian character. In his *Metaphysics*, he wanders into a region of unhallowed speculations, dark, wild, forlorn. The universe is eternal. The Supreme Being dwells in its highest habitation. Immoveable himself, he imparts motion to all things. In proportion as objects are near to his seat, are they benefited by his energy. Hence, the earth and its inhabitants, being at the greatest distance, enjoy the least of his influence. This connexion is unquestionably so far mechanical as, in reference to the human race, to exclude every idea of inspection, moral government, paternity, communication of good, or infliction of evil. And, in conformity with this gloomy scene, the Deity is so wholly employed in the contemplation of his own intellect, as to prevent any attention or regard to any thing beyond himself. Thus does "the interpreter of nature" frustrate the beneficent design of all her works, resist her unwearied proclamations that the Lord is near to every one of us, check the rising desire to seek him, and paralyse the hand that is stretched out to feel after him, if haply he may be found.' pp. 521, 522.

"The style of printing is very handsome, but we trust that the subsequent volumes will exhibit a higher degree of typographical accuracy.

Art. IV. *Recensio Synoptica Annotationis Sacrae*; being a Critical Digest and Synoptical Arrangement of the most important Annotations on the New Testament; Exegetical, Philological, and Doctrinal. By the Rev. S. T. Bloomfield, M.A., of Sidney College, Cambridge, Vicar of Bisbrooke in Rutland, and resident Curate of Tugby, Leicestershire. 5 Vols. 8vo. pp. 3728. Price 4*l*. London, 1827.

THE former part of this work, in three volumes, comprising the Author's collections and original remarks on the Gospels, was reviewed by us in our xxviiith volume (April 1827). The part now before us includes a body of criticisms on the remaining books of the New Testament, with the exception of the Apocalypse; and completes the undertaking.

So large and so learned a Digest of Biblical Annotations as the present, has not before come under our notice. For industrious research and persevering labour, Mr. Bloomfield is entitled to put forward very substantial claims. To examine and compare the very numerous publications which have been brought together for the construction of the volumes before us, would seem to be a formidable task, which only the most determined resolution and patience could make a practicable one. And to select from such a mass of materials those which might be most useful, would be to any mind a very perplexing exercise. Such difficulties, however, as could be surmounted by competent learning and unwearied toil, Mr. Bloomfield has overcome. He is an accomplished scholar, well versed in the grammatical niceties of the Greek language, and accustomed to the critical application of its laws. In respect to his philological qualifications, we might have been better satisfied, had the proofs of familiar acquaintance with the Hebrew of the Old Testament and its cognate dialects, been more abundant in these pages. But even in that case, the work would possess but few advantages that it does not comprise. Defects in learning will not be alleged against the Author of the "*Recensio Synoptica*," by those who are best qualified to do him justice. The soundness of his theological principles and the correctness of his judgement are, however, still higher considerations than the extent of his erudition; especially in respect to the part of his work which comes under our present notice, inasmuch as the portions of the New Testament which it comprises, are those which exhibit the Christian doctrines most in their details and full development. The declaration of the Author, that the doctrines of the Established Church, as they are embodied in her articles and liturgy, and her discipline as contained in her canons, are confirmed by his researches, how sa-

tisfactory soever to himself the result of his examinations may be, affords to his readers no pledge of their truth or consistency; because the same allegation is made by persons holding opinions not only irreconcilable with, but in opposition to each other. In one part of his work, the Author refers to the great theologians of our own country, commencing with our venerable Reformers, as maintaining correctly the doctrines of the Bible; and cites, as in accordance with them, 'the ornaments of the Church in our own age, namely, Archbishop Magee, Bishops Tomline, Van-mildert, Marsh, Burgess, Howley, Blomfield, Mant, and many others.' As he has ranked them with the Reformers generally, his readers may select for themselves; and names will occur to them, which are connected with tenets and principles that can never be made to harmonize with the doctrines inculcated by these modern masters in Israel. The Apostolic writings are, as symbols of faith, very differently represented by different classes of Church of England exponents, so that the supposed establishment of truth may be the confirmation of error; and in this predicament Mr. Bloomfield and his learned coadjutors would be found, in the judgment of the Reformers.

In our notice of the former part of the *Synoptica*, we had occasion to remark on the erroneous theological views which it unfolded; and, as might, from the nature of the subjects discussed in the present part, be expected, we find the Author's obliquities of interpretation multiplying upon us as we accompany him in his course. The names which he has set forth in the preceding sentence, will be sufficient to indicate to our readers the school to which Mr. Bloomfield belongs. On Baptismal regeneration, on the doctrine of justification, and the accompanying tenets as asserted by this class of theologians, he is, with them, in opposition to the evangelical expositors of his own communion. His discussions on these topics are never, indeed, extended, and therefore do not long detain the reader of his notes; but his opinions are always delivered with the precision which prevents our mistaking them.

It is not, then, as a trustworthy guide in the doctrinal interpretation of the New Testament, that we can applaud the work before us. But in other respects, it is well entitled to high, though not unqualified praise. Its prolixity must be regarded as a serious fault in a publication in which a primary *desideratum* is the exclusion of unimportant matter, and the condensation of the materials which are valuable. Mr. Bloomfield's classical quotations are exceedingly numerous, but they are frequently of but little utility. In the instances in which his extracts illustrate the sentiment of the writer, or assist us in ex-

plaining the meaning of words, or in unfolding the intricacies of construction, we are sensible of the obligation; and Mr. B. has copiously administered to our help in these respects. But if he had more cautiously watched over the admission of his classical citations, his work would not have sustained injury by a more scrupulous selection of passages. Too much labour also has been devoted to the accumulation of remarks on portions of the New Testament, the design and meaning of which could scarcely be mistaken. We notice these faults, and we might enumerate others in the volumes before us, not invidiously, but our reputation for competency and fairness might be questioned, were we to omit to advert to them. Still, the enterprising spirit evinced by the Author in undertaking a work of this magnitude and difficulty, his wearisome toils in its preparation, and the advantages which, with all its defects, it affords to the philological and critical student of the New Testament, will restrain us from the ungrateful task of minutely exhibiting them. In proceeding to notice some of the passages which have appeared to us to require correction, we must be guided less by their importance, or their claim to be regarded as favourable specimens of the general execution of the work, than by the dimensions of the notes and the convenience of copying them. In the hands of common readers, this work can be but of little service. It is a work only for well instructed persons, who wish to be furnished with the means of minutely appreciating the diction of the original books of the New Testament, and of understanding its difficulties as they admit of being explained by the application of a learned critical apparatus. And the learned readers of the New Testament are but few, to whom this entire work will not prove acceptable and useful.

The order of deacons, is said, at vol. iv. p. 198, to have been a permanent and spiritual office. The office evidently was not spiritual, because it was instituted for the purpose of providing persons to superintend the distribution of the temporal supplies furnished by the Christian community at Jerusalem for the relief of the necessitous. Nor is the account given in the viith of Acts the relation of the institution of a permanent office, though the office afterwards became a permanent one. The seven are not designated as deacons by the Evangelist. But that the transaction was the joint act of the Apostles and the whole church, is quite clear from the narrative. Instead, therefore, of thinking it 'strange', that Doddridge should have ventured so to explain it, we should have been surprised if he or any other fair commentator had explained it otherwise; and we think it strange that Mr. Bloomfield should imagine that such an interpretation could never have

been thought of by any but such as were resolved to find their own opinions in the New Testament. Had the people then, as, in the Church of England, is the case with respect to deacons, and priests, and bishops, nothing to do with the instituting of the seven to office? They were chosen by the people, and the right and business of the people to choose them, was admitted and acted upon by the Apostles. "Look ye out from among yourselves seven men." The Apostles themselves did not select the individuals, or fill the office with persons of their own nomination. The transaction was therefore 'the joint act of themselves and the whole church,' as Doddridge has described it.

Acts vii. 4. From Gen. xi. 26, 32. xii. 4, it appears, that Terah at the age of seventy years was the father of Abraham, and that Abraham migrated into the land of Canaan when seventy-five years old, which would make the age of Terah at the time one hundred and forty-five years. But the age of Terah is said to have been two hundred and five years at his death. (Gen. xi. 32.); and in Stephen's speech (Acts vii. 4.) he is said to have died before the migration of Abraham. To remove this difficulty, various methods have been proposed by the Commentators. Of these, Mr. Bloomfield has, we think, adopted the very worst, namely, that which represents Stephen as following the tradition of the Jews, that Abraham, after the death of his father, which they understand as moral and allegorical, migrated into Canaan.

"For the Jews, in order to clear Abraham from the charge of neglecting his father in his old age, maintained, that the death of Terah Moses has related *by anticipation*, because, from being a worshipper of God, he now became an idolater (see Joshua xxiv. 2. Judith 5, 6, 7.), and thus since all sinners are, as the Apostle says, dead while they live, Terah might be *accounted dead* on the migration of Abraham into Canaan."

The terms used can refer only to natural decense.

* Verse 18. "ὁὖν ἤδιν τὸν Ἰσραήλ. Many commentators render, *knew not*. But that the new king should not know Joseph and his actions, is very improbable, in a country where historical events were carefully recorded by the priests; nay, the very appearance of the Israelites would effectually perpetuate the memory of Joseph. Kuinoel explains the words thus: "Cared not for, had no regard to Joseph or his merits"; (and indeed we have a similar idiom in our own language, namely, *neither know nor care*;) for examples of which signification he refers to 1 Thes. iv. 4. v. 12. and to Abresch. on Æschylus. I prefer, however, with others, to render ἤδιν, "was ill-disposed towards:" a sense found in Matt. xxv. 18, and many places of the New Testament. He was (in fact) *ill-disposed* towards the Israelites,

whose rapid increase of population made them appear formidable to the king; and hence he could not be *otherwise* disposed towards Joseph, who had been the means of introducing them into Egypt."

Vol. IV. p. 226.

This is not only a very unnecessary annotation, but is so erroneous as to induce suspicion that some mistake has been committed by the Author in its construction. No such meaning as 'ill-disposed' can be assigned to the Greek verb; and certainly, it is not the meaning in Matt. xxv. 13. It is evident from Exodus i. 8. that the sense of the passage is properly given by Kuinoel, in conformity with the general run of expositors.

'Romans, chap. i. 1. Παῦλος. What were the Apostle's motives for changing his Jewish name, Saul, to the Roman *Paul*, Commentators are not agreed. The most probable opinion is, that as it was usual for Jews living much among Greeks or Romans, to change, or slightly alter their former names, so the Apostle, on being especially appointed to the work of converting the Gentiles, thought it prudent to promote his acceptableness among them by making this slight alteration in his name. I have in my Commentary on the Acts (xiii. 9.), conjectured, that the period at which this took place, was when Saul (together with Barnabas) was solemnly separated by the Apostles for the work of converting the heathen.' Vol. V. p. 297.

In this last sentence, Mr. Bloomfield has erroneously represented the transaction to which he refers. Paul was not set apart for the mission described in Acts xiii. by the Apostles, but by the prophets and teachers of the Church at Antioch; and he was appointed to the office by the extraordinary call of the Holy Spirit. It is not probable, that he took the name by which he was afterward so well known, on the occasion assigned in the above paragraph, which was the opinion of Chrysostom, inasmuch as he is called Saul subsequently to it, and on his arrival at Paphos (Acts xiii. 7.). As no reason is assigned in the history for the change of name, the attempt to discover one must be mere conjecture. The fact is clear, that the name Saul uniformly appears previously to the Apostle's intercourse with the Roman pro-consul, Sergius Paulus, and that of Paul invariably afterwards*.

* That Saul was a Jewish name, and Paulus a Roman one, is certain. The one is interpreted to mean *petitus*, *desideratus*; the other *pusillus*; but the latter etymology is very questionable. We are almost inclined to think them originally the same names, with a permutation of the initial letter, similar to that by which, in some languages, Paulus becomes Taulos, and John, Ivan, Jan, Giovanne, and Han.

Verse 4. κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης.—‘ Perhaps the *least* difficulty is involved in the interpretation of Chrysost., Theophyl., Theodoret, and Eecumenius, maintained by Luther, and recently established and illustrated by Rosenm., in a Dissert. in the Comment. Theolog. (by Velthusen, Kuin., and Ruperti), in which he lays down the following sense: “Who was declared in the strongest and clearest manner to be the Son of God, by the Holy Spirit in his miraculous operations after his resurrection from the dead.” And this is also adopted by Schoettgen and Seiler.’

This is an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, the sense of which is exceedingly doubtful. The interpretation above given cannot offend on account of the doctrine which it involves; but it may be questioned, whether the passage contains any reference to the Holy Spirit, which is never designated in this manner. The expression is evidently related to the terms which occur in the preceding verse, descriptive of our Lord's natural descent, and would seem, therefore, to refer to his Divine nature. Christ was the son of David, and was proved to be so by his appearance in flesh, κατὰ σάρκα; he was also proved to be the Son of God, κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης, according to ‘his holy spiritual nature’, as Macknight has rendered the text, and which was probably the sense intended by the Translators of the public version, which reads “spirit of holiness.”

In the fifth chapter of this Epistle, there occurs an accumulation of epithets descriptive of the state from which Christians obtain deliverance through the mediation of the Saviour. The import and application of these terms are of great moment.

‘ It has been warmly debated, whether by the terms ἀσθενῶν, ἀσιβῶν, and those farther on, ἁμαρτωλῶν and ἰχθρῶν, are to be understood the *Gentiles* only, or *all nations*, both Jews and Gentiles. Locke and Taylor, (and indeed almost all Commentators since their time,) maintain the *former* position; the earlier, and some recent ones, the *latter*. It is certainly a question of no easy determination. Mr. Locke has here tasked his full powers; and indeed his reasonings are at least very specious, if not convincing. It is impossible for me here to enter at large into the arguments for and against his hypothesis, but I will only observe, that it seems safer to take (as is done by Macknight and others) the middle course, and suppose that the Apostle has reference primarily to the Gentiles, not meaning, however, to exclude the Jews. Doddridge maintains that he means all mankind, of course including the Gentiles. Nothing, he adds, is plainer in the New Testament, than that the Gospel supposes every human creature to whom it is addressed to be in a state of guilt and condemnation, and incapable of being accepted with God any otherwise than through the grace and mercy which it proclaims. But this Mr. Locke by no means denied. And the terms themselves suggest so much more readily the idea of Gentiles than Jews, that any one must see, and almost all Commentators seem tacitly to acknowledge

it. This middle, and, as it seems, only safe course, is, among others, pursued by Wets. and Slade, which last Commentator truly observes, that the Christians in general saw and acknowledged their former weakness, impiety, sinfulness, and state of enmity against God: the Jews, though equally corrupt and alienated as the Gentiles, still boasted of their strength and perfection, and of the peculiar favour of Heaven.' Vol. V. p. 504.

Medio tutissimus ibis, was a good direction to the aspiring charioteer, but it is not always a safe one to an Annotator; and Mr. Bloomfield has been misled by it. There is, indeed, no such thing here as a middle course; for, if the Apostle has reference only to the Gentiles, the Jews are necessarily excluded, and Mr. Bloomfield does not think of applying the expressions to the Jews. It is, then, of Jews and Gentiles alike that the descriptive epithets are used.

Chap. viii. 33. Many recent Expositors place a note of interrogation to the several clauses of this verse, and read: "Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? Shall God who accounteth righteous? Who is he that condemneth? Will Christ that died?" With Mr. Bloomfield, we prefer the common punctuation and interpretation, and accord with him in thinking that they have more of Apostolical gravity, and are not less emphatical than the interrogative reading.

Chap. ix. 3. We must express our dissatisfaction with the comments collected on this passage, and most of all with the interpretation approved by Mr. Bloomfield. Every expositor, indeed, has felt the difficulties of elucidating the meaning intended to be conveyed by the terms used in this place; and the variety of opinions which have been hazarded, is so great, that a collector of annotations may be somewhat embarrassed in his selection of a probable interpretation. It is easy enough to ascertain the general sense of the expressions, or rather the spirit of the Writer at the time of his penning them; but nothing can be less satisfactory than such a mode of explaining the words. This, however, is the only kind of assistance which Mr. Bloomfield's notes supply. He rejects, very properly, Waterland's rendering, adopted by Doddridge, 'after the manner of Christ'; and sets aside, as a mere shift to get over the difficulty, the interpretation propounded by Jerome, and sanctioned by many writers, 'I could wish to be devoted to all the evils of this life, however severe, nay, even death and extermination, for my brethren.' The expression ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, signifies, he remarks, 'to be an outcast from Christ, to be excluded from the benefits of his religion'; and he then concludes by saying: 'The Apostle merely means to say, that he is ready to make any sacrifices that may be lawful and just, in order to

'accomplish their deliverance.' But would the Apostle express his readiness to make such sacrifices, by employing a formula of speech opposed to the terms of such a resolution, and utterly inconsistent with his design? To be excluded from the benefits of Christ's religion, could not be in the contemplation of the Apostle in making the avowal, whatever else it may include. It could not be either lawful or just for him to give utterance to such a sentiment. No Christian, in any case, can, by any possibility, express a wish to be accursed and consequently excluded from the benefits of salvation. Every interpretation of the passage, therefore, which involves such an assumption, is absolutely inadmissible. The verbal criticisms which appear in Mr. Bloomfield's notes, are of very loose texture, and can be considered only as desperate remedies. The imperfect is said to be taken for the optative, and then, the qualifying expressions, 'if it were possible and permitted me, 'if I had my choice', are to be understood. But, as it was not possible, and could not be permitted to the Apostle, to choose such an alternative as is thus supposed, the criticism, even if it were sound, could have here no place. We are certainly not so well prepared to support with parallel authorities as we could wish to be, the explanation of this much debated passage, which we have on more than one occasion mentioned in our work; but we are disposed to consider it as the most eligible; and it has the merit of being in perfect agreement with the design of the Apostle and with his spirit. Mr. Bloomfield has omitted to notice it.

Chap. xi. 22. *ἵνα ἰσχυρίσῃ τῇ κηρυσσάμῃ.* In the interpretation of this and the following clause, says Mr. Bloomfield; 'the Calvinists are put to great straits, are reduced to miserable shifts, and compelled to resort to sophistical and metaphysical distinctions... Omitting these', he goes on to say, 'I shall now turn to what I conceive is the sound interpretation. Beza, Vorstius, and Grotius render, &c.' We should not have imagined that this passage could have been so perplexing to Calvinists; but, as Mr. Bloomfield has given us the authority of Beza for the interpretation of the words which he considers as the sound one, we must be allowed to claim his support in favour of the unexceptionable proceedings of the Calvinistic Commentators in dealing with the text.

On the words *ἑαυτοῦς κηρύσσομεν*, 2 Corinth. iv. 5., Mr. Bloomfield objects to the current understanding of the phrase, and very unnecessarily proposes the following reading:

— Rosenm. paraphrases them thus: "We have not in view our own glory and private interest, in preaching the doctrine of the Gospel." And so Calvin and Est.: "non nostro vel quæstui vel

utilitati servimus." But this sense cannot, I think, be established. I conceive that the *principal* view in which the expression is to be understood, is this. *Κηρύσσω* may signify to act not merely as a *herald*, but also as an *ambassador*. And so *κηρύξ* is used in 1 Tim. ii. 7: *ἰγὼ κηρύξ καὶ ἀπόστολος*, and 2 Tim. i. 11. 2 Pet. ii. 5. The sense, therefore, seems to me to be this: "We do not act in this business as *principals*, nor dispatch as if it were a business of our own: we merely act as *ambassadors* and *procurators* on the part of another, namely, Jesus Christ." This interpretation has (I find) been pre-occupied by Grot. The interpretations first mentioned may, indeed, have place, but only as secondary to this; since the inference (which is *popular*) might very well be: "and therefore we can have no interests of our own to serve, and it cannot be our fault if men will not hearken to our representations." Doddr. paraphrases: "we do not make ourselves the end of our preaching." But that does not seem to be the sense directly had in view; though it may be included.

This is altogether a refinement. We are surprised that the learned Author should propose *ambassador* as a sense of *κηρύξ*. The word has no such import; and nothing can be more unfortunate than the references in the preceding extract, in support of such a meaning. 'We discharge an embassy from Christ', is an expression which occurs in the New Testament; in relation to the Apostles; but the expression is very different in that instance, and is the appropriate term to denote the employment of an ambassador. It is not very philological to conclude, that a word which denotes proclaiming as a herald, can signify to act as ambassadors. 'To preach Christ,' is a phrase which is more than once used in the New Testament, and is sufficiently explained, we should suppose, in the sense of declaring the truths which relate to Christ as Saviour and Lord. 'Our primary object is the exaltation of Christ, which all our public labours as ministers are designed to promote.' We shall just remark here on the impropriety of ordinary Christian instructors calling themselves ambassadors of Christ; an appellation which belonged only to the Apostles, who received their authority directly from Christ, and were appointed by him as his representatives in the world.

Galatians, ii. 19. *ἰγὼ γὰρ διὰ νόμου νόμῳ ἀπέθανον, ἵνα Θεῷ ἔσται.* 'Here we have a somewhat enigmatical sentence, which certain ancient and early modern commentators very injudiciously torture. By *νόμῳ* is evidently meant (as all are agreed) the law of Moses: but on the sense of *νόμου* there is a difference of opinion. Some ancient and modern commentators think it denotes the New Covenant; which interpretation may be defended; but I prefer to understand it (with many modern commentators) of the *Christian religion*. So Rosenm. and Borger, who refer for examples of this use to Rom. viii. 2, com-

pared with iii. 27, vi. 11, vii. 4. It is strange that he should have omitted vi. 2, "fulfil the law of Christ." By being dead to a law, is plainly meant, no longer observing it. Rosenm. very well renders thus: "by one law (or doctrine) I am dead to another," i. e. the Christian doctrine has occasioned me to cast aside the Mosaic religion. *ἵνα Θεῷ ζήσω*. Here the Apostle indicates the *intent* with which he had rejected the law. The consequence, or result of it (he says) was, that he "lived unto God;" which signifies, *lived to the honour of God*, and this by the observance of His religion. So ver. 20. *ζῆν ἐν πίστει τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ*. Now the Jews lived *not* unto God in this sense, but unto themselves, by persisting in the observance of a law by which they gratified themselves, rather than pleased God; a law, too, which far less promoted the glory of God. Here Borger aptly compares Dionys. Hal. L. 3, 17, *ἀλλ' εὐσεβὲς μὲν, ἔφη, πρῶγμα ποιεῖτε, ὡ παῖδες, τῇ πατρὶ ζῶντες, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀντι τῆς ἡμῶν γνώμης διαφραττόμενοι.*

In whatever way this enigmatical sentence may have been tortured by the commentators to whom Mr. Bloomfield refers, he has not proved himself to be an Œdipus by the solution which he has furnished. Law, put absolutely, *never* signifies the *Christian religion*. The references of Rosenmuller and Borger are of no avail in support of the meaning adduced. No one denies, that "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus," "the law of Christ," and similar combinations, denote the new dispensation of grace. In such passages, the sense cannot be mistaken; but it is, in all of them, defined by the accompanying qualifying words, and is not contained in the qualified term itself. We perceive not any perplexity of meaning in the passage: *νόμου* and *νόμος* are to be referred to the same object, and the use of the same terms in the reasonings of the Apostle in the iiiid and viiith chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, supplies the principle of interpretation in the present example. "By the law (*διὰ νόμου*) is the knowledge of sin." Chap. iii. 20. "I had not known sin but by the law, (*διὰ νόμου*) chap. vii. 7. We must then conclude with Doddridge, after Calvin, that the sense intended by the 'enigmatical sentence' before us, is this: 'Through the law, as the means of my becoming acquainted with my sinful state, I am now dead to the law, having abandoned all my hopes of being justified by it.' Mr. Bloomfield renders Ephes. iii. 6, *διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, 'through the instrumentality of the Gospel.'

1 Timothy, iv. 10, *ὅς ἐστι σωτὴς πάντων ἀνθρώπων*. 'This is well explained by Theophyl., "would have all men be saved;" and by Benson, "is disposed to be the Saviour," &c.'

As these expressions are immediately followed by the words *μαλιστα πιστῶν*, 'especially of believers,' they would seem to

require another sense than either of the preceding interpretations. Schleusner explains, '*qui est auctor felicitatis omnium hominum, maxime vero Christianorum.*' And so Doddridge, 'Preserver of all men by his providence.' This sense seems best to accord with the connection.

Titus, iii. 8. *πρὸς ὃ λόγος*. 'A frequent formula introductory of some important truth. Διαβιβ. has the deponent sense *affirm*; as in 1 Tim. i. 7. Heinr. would subaud *ταῖς ἀκούσας*; *οἱ*. The construction is: *ἵνα ὁ πεπιστωμένος τῷ Θεῷ φρονησὼν πρόστασθαι καλῶν ἔργων*; where *ὁ πεπιστ.* is a periphrasis for *ὁ πιστός*, *Christians*. By *καλὰ ἔργα* some, as Grot. and Le Clerc, would understand, their honest callings and trades. And this were indeed a precept not unworthy of the Apostle, and of which he furnishes the example: yet, as being engrafted on a passage in which the benefits of redemption are enlarged on, it seems not sufficiently elevated. Preferable is the interpretation of the ancient commentators and some moderns, *works of benevolence*. But even that seems too limited a sense. The common interpretation by which it is extended to *good works of every kind*, is far more natural, and worthy of the Apostle; and is supported by what follows: for, in the pursuit of curious *speculations* and scholastic subtilties, unconnected with the main articles of our faith, and the common rules of human duty, practice is too often neglected.'

The common interpretation is evidently the proper one. Mr. Bloomfield's note, however, gives the reader no assistance in respect to the most important explication of the passage, dependent on the construction of the particle *ἵνα*, which we think has been neglected by some commentators, and misinterpreted by others. Macknight renders, 'I command thee strongly to affirm that they who have believed in God should take care to promote good works.' Doddridge has given another sense of the words, which we approve as the correct one. 'I will that thou affirm constantly the distinguishing principles of the Gospel, that so (*ἵνα*, to the end that) they who have believed in God may be careful to maintain good works.' The principles were to be inculcated as the means of producing good works. Of the religion of Christ, no better account can be given, than that it consists of principles of truth sanctifying the heart and life of man: and the exhibition and inculcation of these principles form the business of Christian teachers.

Verse 10. *Ἀπειρήν ἄνθρωπος μετὰ μίας καὶ δευτέρας νοθεύσεις παρανοῶ.* 'By the association of ideas, the mention of *frivolous questions* and *curious subtilties*, led to that of the *heresies* and *schisms* which they tend to generate. On this word *απειρ.*, as well as *σχίσμα*, there has been much, though perhaps needless, discussion. It may be sufficient to observe, that, though a *vox media*, yet, in the ecclesiastical sense, *απειρ.* signifies *one who takes up any doctrine or doctrines in*

opposition to the fundamental truths of the Christian religion; and that a *schism* is a separation from the rest of Christians, on account of these *αἰρέσεις*. It would be easy to say much more on the subject; but this is not the place to treat on it. It must be borne in mind, that the Apostle here especially adverts to *Judaizers*.

But Mr. Bloomfield's business was with the Scriptural use of the terms, for a correct account of which the reader will consult the preceding note in vain. On several occasions, we have observed with pleasure the intimations which the Author gives of the difference between modern and primitive usages, and the cautions which he suggests against confounding the one with the other; but the remark and caution are sometimes withheld in cases in which they are most especially necessary. The ecclesiastical language of the subsequent times is widely different from the primitive usage.

* Heb. xiii. 7. *Μνημονεύετε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν.* The Apostle exhorts them to imitate the example of their spiritual pastors, and those who have furthered their Christian instruction. The *ἡγουμ.* will denote Christian teachers of every kind, both Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. See Luke xxii. 26. Acts xv. 22. *Οἱ ἀναθεωροῦντες—πίστιν,* "Surveying, attentively considering the end and result of whose conduct, imitate their faith." The *ανα* is intensive; for the term (as Theoph. observes) contains a metaphor taken from *painting*, in which the pupils steadily survey the archetype of their master. *Ἀναστροφῆς, manner of life, conduct.* See Theophyl. *πολιτείας.* Compare I Tim. iv. 12. James iii. 12. 1 Pet. iv. 15. and 18. So Job iv. 19. *ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ.* And so not unfrequently in the classical writers. *Τίλος* denotes the *result*, namely, the being liberated from the evils of this world, and received to the fruition of the joys of another and a better. In the next words *μιμήθε τῇ πίστι*, the Apostle adverts to that principle which would enable them to show such examples of constancy and of virtue. See Theophyl. viii. 8. *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς—αἰῶνας.* I agree with Mr. Slade, that these words are to be referred both to the preceding and the following verses, and to be understood of the *nature* and *object* of their faith, as well as of the *doctrines* of their religion. This is supported by the expositions of the ancient Commentators. See Theoph. It is observed by Rosenm. that the formula *χθις καὶ σήμερον* answers to the Hebrew *מחר ויום זה* at Exod. v. 14. *ut olim, ita et nunc.* Compare Gen. xxi. 2. and Sir. xxxviii. 14.

There is incorrectness in these notes, and the information they profess to furnish, is far from satisfactory. Deacons are quite out of the question in a case which is limited to spiritual pastors; and the distinction which Mr. Bloomfield supposes between Bishops and Presbyters, was quite unknown to the writer of the Epistles. The reference is evidently to deceased pastors. James, the brother of John, had already suffered a

violent death, and others who had been the instructors and spiritual guides of the Hebrew Christians, had ceased from their labours. The word used in relation to these teachers, is not *τίλος*, but *ἐκβασις*, which is more determinate, and denotes the going out of life, their departure by death. The eighth verse, though probably suggested by the antecedent sentiment, is evidently an independent proposition.

We should certainly have imagined that, of the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, the evidences afforded by the writings of its inspired teachers must be, in number as well as in value, sufficient; and we would rather see a position supported by a few decisive proofs, than attempted to be sustained by many weak presumptions. We should therefore, perhaps, not be able to accord with Mr. Bloomfield in every instance in which he might be disposed to censure the forbearance of some theological writers, in not pressing into their service passages which many would rashly urge in proof of some particular doctrine; but at the same time we think, as he does, that when Commentators admit certain doctrines in a general way, and yet can scarcely ever find them in any specific passage, their profession is, to say the least, very equivocal. He refers (vol. VIII. p. 10.) to the case of Macknight, 'who, though he always continued 'in the profession of Calvinism, yet hardly any where espouses 'those peculiar interpretations on which Calvinism is founded.' We admit the truth of this statement, and give up Macknight to Mr. Bloomfield's censure. But is he not aware that the creed to which, in the articles of his own Church, he has subscribed, is essentially Calvinistic in the article of predestination? Now of Mr. Bloomfield we must say, not that he hardly anywhere espouses those peculiar interpretations on which Calvinism is founded, but that he opposes those interpretations on all occasions which afford him the opportunity. On other points indeed, his true churchmanship is not to be questioned. Baptismal Regeneration is the doctrine avowed and inculcated by his church; and we find Mr. B. asserting, that the rite of baptism, duly administered, constitutes the justification of man with God. But to return from this digression; we think that Mr. Bloomfield is not a little unfortunate in the example with which he has connected his remarks and his regret, that so many supports of our faith are abandoned with an inconsiderateness that contemplates our stores as inexhaustible. He applauds the courage of the Bishop of Salisbury for making such a stand against the whole phalanx of verbal critics, in maintaining the genuineness of 1 John v. 7. 'as has made even the 'most decided and able supporters of the new opinion pause, 'and others sing their *palinodia*,' and he presents his humble

mite of praise for the efforts of the venerable prelate. But of what value these efforts are in the estimation of even Mr. Bloomfield, his readers may learn from his own recorded acknowledgments. We really expected, after reading the passage referred to (vol. VIII. pp. 10, 11.), and finding the repetition of the same sentiments at p. 776, that Mr. B. was prepared to defend, as an undoubted portion of the autograph of the Apostle, the controverted passage; but, to our surprise, the conclusion which we find the learned Annotator adopting, is, that 'it appears *probable*' that the passage is genuine! And then follows the opinion, as part of the critical creed to which Mr. B. is ready to subscribe, that the passage, if genuine, will not decidedly prove the doctrine of the Trinity; and moreover, that by far too much anxiety about the determination of the critical question as to its authenticity, has been felt and expressed by the Orthodox in general. Now, delightful and consoling as it may be to the wearied mind of the laborious critic to be applauded by a brother, *laudatus a laudato viro*, the Bishop of Salisbury will not, we imagine, very cordially thank Mr. Bloomfield for this compliment to his prowess, accompanied with such a drawback as leaves the value of his labours very questionable.

Art. V. *The Naval Battles of Great Britain, from the Accession of the illustrious House of Hanover to the Throne, to the Battle of Navarin*; reviewed by Charles Ekins, Rear Admiral, C.B. C.W.N. Quarto. Second Edition. Price 2*l.* 2*s.* pp. 385. London. 1828.

THIS volume, as will be seen by reference to the title-page, does not profess to give a complete naval history of Great Britain; a work that is yet wanting to our literature, and that would, if ably executed, bring to its author both reputation and profit. Such an enterprise, however, to be efficiently performed, would demand both professional skill and extensive research: it is impossible either to comprehend, or to describe with clearness, the complication of naval manœuvres, without a fair portion of the first; while the second is absolutely necessary in the unravelling of many an intertwined series of political, personal, and tactical difficulties. In the absence of more comprehensive investigations, we must be grateful for contributions on a limited scale; and we have much gratification in recommending the publication on our table, as containing many valuable elucidations of a most important and embarrassing subject. Not that Admiral Ekins has altogether escaped or

mastered the obvious difficulty that must accompany every attempt to make a technical investigation generally intelligible. There is a rather troublesome vagueness in some of his descriptions and reasonings; while his peculiar method of communicating the results of his inquiries among his professional friends, gives an air of confusion to the entire arrangement, that is by no means pleasant in a cursory perusal. A little effort of attention will, however, enable the reader to overcome these lets and hindrances, and he will find the effort well repaid by the advantages derived from a studious and consecutive examination of the details and discussions contained in the present memoir.

The celebrated Essay on Naval Tactics, by Clerk of Eldin, is not only one of the most simple and interesting books in existence, but may be taken as a most extraordinary combination of profound discussion, with clear and satisfactory inference and exposition. The most superficial examiner may follow out his reasonings, and apply them to his diagrams and demonstrations; nor can there be any reasonable doubt but that we are indebted to his skilful statements and definitions for the decisive character which has attended our naval victories since Rodney's brilliant achievement in April 1782. Concerning the specific manœuvre which led to the triumphant issue of that contest, it does, however, seem exceedingly doubtful, whether the gallant admiral himself originated the system of 'cutting the enemy's line;' whether he derived it from the communications of Mr. Clerk, whether it was any thing more than the revival of an old and forgotten practice, or whether it was not, after all, the bold and spontaneous suggestion of the captain of the fleet, Sir Charles Douglas. That Clerk invented and worked out the scheme by an able and patient induction, there can be no question; but it does not seem clear that it was so far adopted by Rodney as to have suggested its use on the 12th of April. If the following statement be correct, the credit of its practical introduction is due neither to the admiral nor to the theorist.

Of the character and talents of Sir Charles Douglas, then captain of the fleet, the service at large cannot be ignorant; yet it may not be generally known, that to him, by passing through the enemy's line, are we indebted for the fortunate result of that day. Lord Rodney had at first opposed it, by directing the helm to be put to *star-board*, when Sir C. Douglas had ordered it to be put "*a-port*;" and the master, seeing the inconvenience likely to arise from this difference of opinion, caused the helm to be kept *a-mid-ships*; and, soon after, Sir C. Douglas urging it a second time, the Chief said, "Then do it as you please." The fault was in not doing more afterwards.

'Sir Charles Douglas was the first man who proposed and fitted locks to the cannon of his majesty's ships.'

A curious instance of Rodney's coolness in fight, is given by Admiral Ekins.

'In the middle of the battle, being very thirsty, he directed one of his little attendants to mix him some lemonade; the boy observing a lime and a knife, black from former use, upon a table in the after-cabin, immediately proceeded to comply, and having made it, but being without a spoon, stirred it with the knife. "Child," said Lord Rodney, "that may do very well for a midshipman's berth, but not for an admiral; drink it yourself, and go and call my steward to me."

The present volume seems to have been intended as a kind of corrective supplement to Mr. Clerk's Essay, on a larger scale, and with details more completely nautical. That intelligent writer, though he had taken great pains to make himself master of his subject, was no seaman; and it is, of course, highly probable, that occasional errors may have found their way into a work of which the accuracy so much depends on practical knowledge. In this view, and in conjunction with the 'Essay,' the commentary of Admiral Ekins will be found of great utility: we shall not, however, deal with it in the way of analysis, since it has been some time before the public eye, though the present edition exhibits many improvements. A few additional observations, with an illustrative extract or two, will suffice to show the general character of the work.

The memorable battle in which Sir Edward Hawke, notwithstanding tempestuous weather and the perils of an unknown and intricate navigation, drove the French fleet partly on shore and partly into the river Vilaine, is marked as one of our 'best managed naval exploits.' It was in this engagement, that a fearful illustration of the consequences of bad seamanship occurred, as related in the late Admiral Paton's *Structure on Naval Discipline*. 'In the action with Mons. Comsins, in 1759, the *Thesée* and *Superbe*, of seventy-four guns each, were sunk, entirely by a want of dexterity in hauling in the guns, and letting down the parts of the lower deck; by which, not only the ships, but about 1500 men, perished in a few minutes. I was myself an eye-witness of this disaster, which has, in many accounts of the action, been erroneously attributed to the fire of the British fleet, but was evidently the effect of a squall of wind; which, but for the dexterity and alertness of our seamen, must also have been fatal to some of Admiral Hawke's ships. In this instance, the consequence of

‘a deficiency of seamanship was the complete destruction of two capital ships.’ It is as singular a proof of the want of discipline in other quarters, that the Board of Admiralty, when Sir Edward Hawke was a captain near the top of the list, would have passed him over, or in cant phrase *yellowed* him, in a promotion of flag-officers, but for the interference of Boscawen.

On the general subject of navy discipline, we are glad to see that the severe lessons of the last American war, are not likely to be forgotten. It is here admitted, that when that contest began, our fleet was in a wretched state in this respect; and the following statement is given, on the authority of an ‘officer of acknowledged ability and enterprise,’ to shew how much may be done in a short time by skill and attention on the part of a commander.

‘To shew how much may be made of any set of men; a crew consisting of 145, made up principally of foreigners, seven pressed men, three of whom were Americans, being the only good men in the ship, were in six months rendered every thing that could be wished for in a gallant ship’s company. The same men who, six weeks after the ship was commissioned, declined to volunteer the cutting out of a gun-boat, in six months behaved in the most gallant manner; and those who had before refused to come forward, were seen to insist upon returning under a heavy fire, to a vessel they had left burning, because they had forgotten to haul down the French flag; and they *did* go back, and *hoisted a blue jacket over the enemy’s colours!* Upon leaving England, we had only two men in the ship who had ever steered with a wheel; and I am satisfied that a brig well manned would have taken us. In the Archipelago, we fell in with an American ship (before the war with that power) one night, and in going alongside of her, a gun went off by accident; the broadside followed: we were so close, I concluded we must have cut her to pieces; what was my surprise when I found not a rope-yarn had been touched! We had been manned at this time about a month, and this affair was the first thing that opened my eyes to the necessity of paying the greatest attention to the guns; and I hope I have never lost sight of it since.

‘Such had been the education and experience of this strange mixture of people, that, by the constant exertions and example of their captain and officers, at the end of fourteen months, upon the appointment of another captain, he declared “he had never seen anything like them at the guns.”’

Some interesting, and to us novel, particulars occur respecting the Battle of the Nile. We had always supposed that the plan for doubling the French line, by passing within side, had been Nelson’s own devising, and that it contributed to the vic-

tory by taking the enemy on their unprepared side. It is here expressly affirmed, that the entire credit of this manœuvre is due to Sir Thomas Foley.

A considerable number of diagrams add to the interest and clearness of the statements. An Appendix contains suggestions for moving ships in a calm, and for supplying boarding parties with light defensive armour.

Art. VI. *A Brief History of the Life and Labours of the Rev. T. Charles, A.B., late of Bala, Merionethshire.* By the Rev. Edward Morgan, M.A., Vicar of Syston and Ratcliffe on the Wreke, &c. 12mo. pp. 394. Price 6s. London, 1828.

IN our last Number, we had occasion to advert to the claims of the Irish and their proscribed language. The present volume has served to remind us, how very nearly similar, not long ago, was the case of the Welsh. It is not a hundred years, since the first attempt was made to erect schools, on an extensive scale, for the instruction of the natives of the principality in their vernacular tongue. Before that time, the whole country is stated to have been in a most deplorable state as to the means of religious knowledge. The Rev. Griffith Jones, a clergyman of the Establishment, about the year 1730, by his personal exertions, instituted no fewer than 206 schools, in which the mysteries of the battledore were unfolded, although the want of elementary books rendered the instruction very defective. A pious lady bequeathed 10,000*l.*, the interest of which was to be applied to the perpetuation of these schools; but her executrix, a niece, disputed the validity of the bequest, in consequence of which it was thrown into Chancery, where the matter rested for *thirty years*. A decree was at length obtained in favour of the charity; but in the mean time, Mr. Jones's schools had been destroyed, a generation had passed away, and the country had gradually relapsed into the same state in which Mr. Jones had found it. To Mr. Charles, North Wales is indebted for the plan of circulating schools, which prepared the way for the Sunday schools and adult schools subsequently established. He began, in the year 1785, with one itinerant teacher and reader. As his funds increased, they were multiplied to twenty. Some of the first teachers, Mr. Charles was obliged to instruct himself. All the income derived from his chapel, he devoted to their support, being himself maintained entirely by the industry of his wife.

'I pay every teacher,' he says, in a letter to a friend, '£12 per annum. They continue half a year or three quarters in a place; and

then they are removed to another. Three quarters of a year are found fully sufficient to teach our children to read their Bibles well in the Welsh language. I visit the schools myself and catechise them publicly. I have the unspeakable satisfaction to see the general aspect of the country most amazingly changed.' p. 234.

In 1789, the Sunday schools began to be systematically instituted. They were first set on foot by Mr. Charles, and soon spread over the whole country. 'The interest he took in these 'schools,' says his Biographer, 'was very great.

'He had a peculiar talent for examining and catechising the children. He possessed, in a high degree, that tenderness and sympathy for them, which appeared so eminent in Our Saviour. His familiarity took away every restraint, and his condescension and kindness engaged their tenderest feelings. He seemed never to enjoy himself so much as when he was surrounded with children. Affection generates affection. They loved him as he loved them. The schools being the very delight of his heart, and being means, in his view, of doing immense good, he was incessant in his endeavours to promote their establishment. His endeavours were crowned with amazing success. What soon became peculiar in these schools, was the attendance of adults. Grown up people attended as scholars. The children having been taught not only to read, but to understand in a measure the doctrines of the gospel, those grown into maturity felt ashamed of their ignorance. Many parents came and submitted to be taught.' p. 237.

At the outset, Mr. Charles had to encounter a strong and almost universal prejudice against teaching the children to read Welsh *first*; from the mistaken assumption, that they could not learn English so well afterwards, and that, if they could read English, they would soon of themselves learn to read Welsh. These idle and groundless conceits have been, in Wales, completely put down by the unanswerable argument of experience. The following considerations in support of the expediency of beginning with teaching young children to read the language they generally speak and best understand,—if to impart religious knowledge be our primary object,—are so forcible in themselves, and so applicable to all similar cases, that they deserve peculiarly to be brought under the attention of the Christian public.

"1. The time necessary to teach them to read the bible in their vernacular language is so short, not exceeding six months in general, that it is a great pity not to give them the key immediately which unlocks all the doors, and lays open all the divine treasures before them. Teaching them English requires two or three years' time, during which long period, they are concerned only about dry terms, without acquiring any ideas for their improvement.

"2. Welsh words convey ideas to their infant minds as soon as they can read them, which is not the case when they are taught to read a language they do not understand.

"3. When they can read Welsh, *scriptural terms* become intelligible and familiar to them, so as to enable them to understand the discourses delivered in that language, used generally in preaching through the principality; which of course must prove more profitable than if they could not read at all, or could only read English.

"4. Previous instruction in their native language helps them to learn English much sooner, instead of proving in any degree an inconvenience. This I have had repeated proofs of, and can confidently vouch for the truth of it. I took this method in instructing my own children, with a view of convincing the country of the fallacy of the general notion which prevailed: and I have persuaded others to follow my plan, which without one exception has proved the truth of what I conceived to be really the case.

"Having acquired new ideas by reading a language they understand, excitement is naturally produced to seek for knowledge. And as our ancient language is very deficient in the means of instruction; there being few useful books printed in it, a desire to learn English; yea, and other languages also, is excited, for the sake of increasing their stock of ideas, and adding to their fund of knowledge. I can vouch for the truth of it, that there are twenty to one who can now read English, to what could when the Welsh was neglected. The knowledge of English becomes necessary from the treasures contained in it. English books are now generally called for. There are now a hundred books, I am sure, for every one that was in the country when I removed from England, and first became resident of these parts. English schools are every-where called for; and I have been obliged to send young men to English schools, to be trained up for English teachers, that I might be able in some degree to answer the general demand for them. In short, the whole country is in a manner emerging from a state of great ignorance and seditious barbarity to civilization and piety, and that principally by the means of Welsh schools. Bibles without end are called for, are read diligently, learned out by heart, and searched into with unwearied assiduity and care. Instead of vain amusements, dancing, card-playing, interludes, quarrelling, and barbarous and most cruel fightings, we have now prayer meetings, our congregations are crowded, and public catechising is become pleasant, familiar, and profitable. One great means of this blessed change has been the Welsh schools.

"6. By teaching Welsh first, we prove to them that we are principally concerned about their souls, and thereby impress their minds with the vast importance of acquiring the knowledge of divine truths, in which the way of salvation, our duty to God and man, is revealed; whereas that most important point is totally out of sight by teaching them English; for the acquisition of English is connected only with their temporal concerns, which they may never want, as they may, as the majority do, die in infancy. In my opinion, in the education of children, it is of the utmost importance, in the first place, to impress their minds with a sense that they are candidates for another

world, and that things pertaining to their eternal felicity ~~there~~, are of infinitely greater importance to them, than the little concerns which belong to our short existence here. The neglect of this is, I apprehend, a very great defect in the education of children.—What I have just said, is, I apprehend, equally applicable to the Irish and the highlanders, as to the Welsh." p. 329—331.

While the spiritual interests of his own countrymen of the principality lay nearest his heart, Mr. Charles felt for the sister island with his characteristic warmth of benevolence. In the year 1807, he visited Ireland, at the request of the committee of the Hibernian Society, in company with the Rev. Dr. Bogue, the Rev. J. Hughes, and S. Mills, Esq. The following extracts from his private journal, possess at this time a peculiar interest.

" " *Kilkenny*.—Called on the Rev. P. Roe, and met the Rev. G. C. of Ross, near Waterford—both evangelical, zealous and successful; but complained heavily of the increase of popery in Kilkenny and all the adjacent country. The Papists have a great school here, and it is the principal place of ordination. The *Irish* is generally spoken, though English is by most understood, and taught in the schools.—Complaints everywhere of the bigotry of the Methodists.—The carnal clergy oppose those that are evangelical, more than they do the Popish priest.—At *Athy*, when Mr. Keilly preached in the courtyard, the Popish priest stood at the end of the lane to prevent any of his people to go and hear. Mr. B. preached there to about two dozen people.—A few good people, though very few, in all these places.

" " *Clonmel*, 24 miles from Kilkenny.—All the country spoke *Irish* and were principally Papists.—Assizes just over—nineteen tried, mostly for murder.—We spent the Sabbath here—went in the morning at ten to the Quakers' meeting—all silent,—at twelve to the Popish chapel and heard an *Irish* sermon—the congregation very attentive and about 3000;—at one to church—congregation about 200—the sermon as usual.—Ten Papists to one Protestant.—They spoke *Irish* in the streets.

" " *Waterford*, Aug. 3.—Arrived here about one, after a pleasant ride through a romantic country—all speaking *Irish* and many *Irish* only—the religion generally Catholic.—Mr. B. addressed in the evening a small congregation of Independents—nine Catholics to one Protestant.—Religious people here, as everywhere else, in some degree infected with *Sandemanianism*.—Sacrament every Sunday—administered without a minister; they spend their time in vain jangling, instead of laying themselves out in endeavours to spread the gospel and save sinners which are perishing all around them.

" " *Fermoy*, Aug. 4.—A pretty town—the country mountainous—*Irish* generally spoken—very few Protestants in all the country—the poor much neglected and very ignorant.—Went into a school on the road—English only taught. Very few can read *Irish*, though universally spoken. The spirit of industry is not encouraged by the

landowners—land lots very high—farms at £4. an acre—fields near towns £12. and £15. an acre. Between Clonmel and Carackare they have long leases, and farmers, they say, have the land on very moderate rents.

“*Cork, Aug. 5.*—In my way from Fermoy, I conversed with several poor Irish, found them zealous Catholics, not able to read, and very ignorant. When I told them that I was a Welshman, they expressed great kindness in their countenances. I asked them, whether they loved the Welsh more than the English? One replied—“Ten thousand times.” I asked, why? “The Orangemen swear,” said he, “that they will fight in Irish blood to their knees, their middle, and to their necks.” “The poor Irish,” he added, “would join the French, were they to land: for they say, it cannot be worse: and if we die fighting, we shall go to a blessed place.”—This town contains from 80,000 to 90,000.—The gospel is preached in the church.—The cause very low among the Independents and Baptists.

“*Limeric, Aug. 7.*—The country from Cork wilder than what we had before seen.—Irish spoken throughout—all Catholics—the land seemed capable of great improvement—the soil good, for the crops were everywhere good.—This is a large, fine built, populous town, situated on the Shannon, the finest river in the British Empire.—The gospel preached in the church by J. and W. Hoars.—The people generally Catholics—profligate in their manners.—On Sunday we went at eight to the Methodist chapel—heard an indifferent sermon from an illiterate man from 1st John, ii. 1—seemed an honest man—much shackled by the Wesleyan system of perfection and falling from grace—congregation about 200—on the whole attentive.—Mr. B. preached at the old Presbyterian meeting house—served by an old Socinian minister and a young gay fellow—both cannot keep up a congregation. Were it not for the bounty allowed to Dissenters, the meeting must have been shut up years ago: and it would have been as well if it had, as no good is done.—M.— and J.—, two evangelical ministers, met us at the Chancellor's in the evening.—J.— is very active in carrying on schools over the country—assisted by W.—, Esq. and others in England—trains up schoolmasters—superintends the schools himself.

“*Gort, Aug. 9.*—We came through Newport from Limerick—the inhabitants spoke Irish in general. There is a church and a Popish chapel in this place—Protestants very few.—Popery and the Irish language always go together; when the one is spoken, the other prevails.

“*Tuam, Aug. 10.*—32 miles from Gort—province of Connaught—all speak Irish and are Catholics—only a few Protestants scattered here and there,—more irreligious, if possible, than the Papists—all enveloped in darkness and superstition.—Schools everywhere teach English—none learn Irish.—The poor in their cabins very civil and communicative, but ignorant of the bible to a man—turned into a few of them in every place: their ignorance of the bible, the only source of real and permanent comfort, affected me much. They have been sadly neglected indeed! I hope the time is drawing nigh for the Lord to shew them mercy. The earth must be filled

with the knowledge of the Lord: and as Ireland is a part of the earth, it must be also filled with this knowledge. This is a cheering consideration indeed.—The clergy riot in wealth and luxury, unmindful of their duty. The priests make a prey of the people, whom they keep in ignorance for that purpose. The Protestants of all denominations mind earthly things; and therefore the cause of God is neglected. Mercy or judgement must produce a change, and that speedily.—Few Protestants at Tuam—Methodists have preached here for thirty years—hundreds of Catholics in different parts of the country, the preacher told us, have joined them.—Nothing wanted but zeal and piety in the Protestants, and God's blessing, to effect their conversion, just the same as other sinners.

“*Castlebar*, Aug. 12.—The Methodist chapel was asked for me, but refused—the Methodists are few, and their prejudices run high against Calvinists, owing to Walker's publications against them.—We saw a mountain in our way here, called *Croagh Patrick*; from whence, the tradition is, St. Patrick beat all the serpents and venomous creatures from Ireland into the sea. A hermit dwells on this mountain, who is a half-witted man; and thousands flock here from all parts to perform *stations*, as they call them,—to repeat Ave-Marias and Pater-Nosters, walking bare-footed around a stone or heap of stones. The hermit directs them in their devotions, for which he is paid. Rich people send him money, and he performs for them.—There is a *lake* in Galaway to which thousands resort every year, to perform religious ceremonies to obtain a blessing on their cattle, &c. They offer butter to it by throwing large lumps into it.—The Methodists are considered as supplementary to Church clergy. They partake of the sacraments in the church, and never have service in church time. We met a Mr. St—— at Tuam, a sensible, plain, open, and, to appearance, a good man. He complained of the prejudices of the Calvinistic clergy against them, but not with bitterness. The devil is very busy and works here in a variety of ways among religious people; and this is one.—he fills them with prejudices against one another, and keeps among them a disputing spirit.—Irish is spoken all over this country.—Cabins much improved as we draw north; and the poor not so dirty.—Catholic superstition reigns universally, and prevails in all the country we have hitherto passed through.

“Near *Castlebar* is a well, consecrated to the Virgin Mary, frequented certain days in the year by about 20,000 people from different parts, to perform *stations*. We saw several fourteen miles off, going there barefooted. In their distress they vow pilgrimages to this well. There is a priest to direct them in their superstitious devotions, for which he is paid.

“*Sligo*, Aug. 14.—Last night we lay at Tyber Cyrry, a small village—two of us lay on the floor and slept very well—set off at five—arrived at *Sligo* by nine.—The country hilly all the way from *Castlebar*—the country still Popish—Irish everywhere generally spoken. What a wilderness for cultivation by the gospel! Labourers are indeed wanted. May the Lord send them speedily.—The sum allowed the Dissenters here is £17,000, divided by Dr. Black—very worthless persons generally receive it; it has encouraged many

such to enter the ministry—Dined to-day with a Mr. B., a member of the Independent chapel. As a proof of the baneful effects of Walker's Sandemanian sentiments, he gave us a melancholy account of his son, once a serious, promising young man, but now, having imbibed those sentiments, a cause of great grief to him. He never joins in family prayer, nor in public worship, though he goes to hear. He has refused praying with the sick when sent for. They deem it a sin to join unbelievers in any act of religious worship: and all are unbelievers who are not of their way of thinking. They are in the snares of the devil, thus caught at his will.

"There are twenty-four parishes in the county of Kilkenny without one Protestant family.

"*Bell-Turbah*, (Cavan,) Aug. 17.—English is more talked here than in the country we have yet travelled through, and there are more Protestants.—Considerable number of *Swaddlers* here (Methodists) and hold quarterly meetings.—*Colones*, Many Methodists and Catholics here—no other parties except the Church of England. The common people speak Irish; and the priests preach in Irish.—*Morrogha*, The face of the country and the appearance of the people are much improved in every respect.

"Aug. 19. We set out for Dublin through Dunleer, Dundalk, and Drogheda. The people in general through the country speak Irish. There are a few Methodists in all these places: but the people are mostly Catholics, especially at Drogheda. We came to Dublin late in the evening, and lodged at Judge Kelly's, where we were very kindly received."

'Appended to Mr. C.'s journal are the following sentiments, which explain the measures he thought should be pursued towards improving the religious state of Ireland.

"I am of opinion, that religion cannot be diffused in general among the Irish, without *bibles in their own language*, and schools to teach them to read *Irish*; and this in aid of *gospel preaching in the Irish language*.—We have not met with any one who could read Irish. There are no elementary books in the language. Circulating charity schools might do wonders.—Many parts of Wales in G. Jones's time were as dark as Ireland." pp. 310—316.

But the most remarkable circumstance in the life of this admirable man, was the share which he had in originating the formation of the Bible Society. No sooner had he succeeded in establishing his circulating schools, than he began to feel the necessity of taking measures for supplying his countrymen with Welsh Bibles. But at that time of day, there was as little disposition in certain quarters, to patronize the Welsh, as the Irish Bible. In the year 1792, application was made to the Venerable Society, by Mr. Jones of Creaton, to print an edition of 10,000 Welsh Bibles. The Society was reluctant. Mr. J. engaged to pay for 5000 as soon as printed, and the offer was accepted; but, nine months after, a demur was made on the ground of an opinion entertained by the Society, that

such an edition was not wanted. Mr. Jones now had recourse to his diocesan, Bishop Madan, who readily promised to exert his influence with the untractables of Bartlett's Buildings; and in consequence of his Lordship's interposition, a resolution to print passed the Board in the year 1796. Three years afterwards, and seven from the time of the first application, the edition appeared, and was no sooner published than sold. Not a single copy was in a short time left; and again Mr. Jones solicited the Society to print, and again the Bishop interceded, but in vain: the Venerable Society resolved that Welsh Bibles enough in all conscience had been issued for one generation; and the Church would be endangered by a larger supply. Under these circumstances, it suggested itself to Mr. Charles, while in London, that it would be desirable to establish a society in London, on the plan of the Religious Tract Society, for supplying Wales with Bibles. At a meeting of the Committee of that Society, he mentioned his unformed project; and in the conversation that ensued, Mr. Hughes, who is claimed by the present Biographer as a brother Welshman, suggested an extension of the plan so as to embrace the general circulation of the Holy Scriptures. Thus, to Mr. Charles's exertions in the promotion of schools,—the consequent want of Welsh Bibles,—and the stupid pertinacity of the Bartlett's Buildings Committee, we may trace the origin of our great national institution, the British and Foreign Bible Society.

One of the first undertakings of the Bible Society was, as it ought to have been, a large edition of Welsh Bibles; and Mr. Charles was requested to prepare a copy for the press. Some immaterial alterations which he made in the orthography, were made the pretence for a violent and illiberal clamour, the true source of which could not be mistaken. Dr. Gaskin wrote to Bishop Porteus, denouncing the heretical spelling, and a sub-committee was appointed to investigate the matter. The issue was, a decision to adhere to the old orthography, to which Mr. Charles submitted without manifesting the slightest symptom of chagrin; and he assiduously assisted in bringing forward that text by which it was determined that his own should be superseded. Many of his corrections were subsequently adopted in the Oxford edition of 1809, and the value of his labours was acknowledged by the conductors of the press.

Two and twenty years have elapsed since these circumstances occurred, and fourteen since this admirable man rested from his labours; and it might have been hoped, that his memory was now at least safe from splenetic detraction. But the noble zeal which he manifested, has, it seems,

not been forgotten or forgiven by the enemies of the Bible Society; and the Apostle of North Wales has been recently honoured by a Writer in the Quarterly Review, with the opprobrious designations of a 'renegade clergyman' and an 'apostate'*. These indiscreet and scandalous calumnies have given rise to the inquiry in many quarters, Who was Mr. Charles? To have this question answered with its proper emphasis, a person should make the inquiry of the good people of Merionethshire and Carnarvonshire, and other parts of the Principality, where his name is regarded with an enthusiastic veneration, and the monuments of his labours still exist. But it was high time that, by means of some such memorial as the present, the English public should be made better acquainted with the character and labours of a man whose name so strongly claims to be had in lasting remembrance. The volume before us has nothing attractive in its appearance and typography, and the memoir itself is not very well put together. The plan of mixing up the narrative with extracts from diaries and letters, under the idea of making the subject of the memoir his own biographer, is rarely successful. Mr. Morgan has, however, done himself honour, in other respects, by this attempt to exhibit in its true light the character of his inestimable countryman, and he deserves the thanks of the Christian public. The Diary and Letters of Mr. Charles, which form the bulk of the volume, expose the most interior experience of his mind, and will be found an instructive record of religious experience. Upon the whole, we cordially recommend the volume to our readers as an interesting piece of biography. The profits of the sale are to be given to some charitable Institution.

Art. VII. 1. *Forget me not; a Christmas and New Year's Present for MDCCCXXIX.* Edited by Frederick Shoberl. pp. 418. 14 plates. Price 12s. in case. Ackermann.

2. *Friendship's Offering.* A Literary Album and Christmas and New Year's Present for MDCCCXXIX. pp. 420. 13 Plates. Price 12s. bound. Smith, Elder, and Co.

3. *The Amulet; or Christian and Literary Remembrancer.* Edited by S. C. Hall. pp. 394. 14 plates. Price 12s. in silk. Westley and Davis.

* Mr. Charles was originally a clergyman of the Establishment, and afterwards connected himself with the Calvinistic Methodists.

4. *The Anniversary; or Poetry and Prose for MDCCCXXIX.* Edited by Allan Cunningham. 8vo. pp. 320. 20 plates. Price 21s. in silk. John Sharpe.
5. *The Winter's Wreath.* A Collection of Original Contributions in Prose and Verse. pp. 420. 12 plates. Price 12s. Whitaker.
6. *The New Year's Gift; and Juvenile Souvenir.* Edited by Mrs. Alaric Watts. 18mo. pp. 240. 12 plates. Price 7s. 6d. Longman and Co.
7. *The Juvenile Forget me not.* A Christmas and New Year's Gift, or Birthday Present for the Year 1829. Edited by Mrs. S. C. Hall. pp. 230. 16 plates. Price 7s. Hailes; Westley and Davis.

TRUE to their season, the literary annuals (as they are rightly termed, to distinguish them from perennials) are fast coming out in all their crimson, purple, and green varieties. The bees have been busy, and we have some new specimens to produce to our readers since the last year; but they belong to the same class and order. Our readers will of course expect to be made acquainted with the contents of these rival volumes,—the gay efflorescence of our literature; and without further prelude, we shall begin, as in duty bound, with the parent of the rest, the *Forget me not*.

One hundred contributions in prose and verse, and fourteen line engravings, form the proud display which Mr. Shoberl exultingly sets before his readers in this his seventh volume. In his plates, Mr. Ackermann has greatly improved; but of this hereafter. The literary quality of the volume is also, we have pleasure in saying, of a superior cast; and although we cannot extend an unqualified approbation to the whole of its contents,—for the Editor has felt himself at liberty to cater for the entertainment, rather than to consult the improvement of his readers,—there are many articles of high interest. Generally speaking, the prose is better than the verse. This, indeed, is not Mr. Shoberl's fault. We have the names of Mrs. Hemans, James Montgomery, Delta, James Hogg, Barry Cornwall, Bernard Barton, John Clare, N. T. Carrington, John Bowring, &c.; but the promise which such names hold out, is not adequately fulfilled; and most of the poetry written to the plates, is but very mediocre. Mr. Shoberl should have known better than to give insertion to such absurd trash as the lines on the Banks of the Ganges, in which India is styled, the 'land of the wise' and the bold,—

'Land of the beautiful and the brave,
Land of the Ganges' holy wave,'

than which, we are told, 'there's not a land more blessed.' Of two poems written expressly to illustrate the engraving inscribed *Constancy*, the Editor has apparently been at a loss to decide which was the worst. *Frolic in a Palace*, however, if indeed written for the plate, is a most happy hit; and, at all events, it is extremely clever and amusing. *Alice*, by the same hand, is also ingenious, but it does not end so well as it begins. Among the prose contributions that have pleased us most, we may mention, the *Zanteote Lovers*, a true and touching story, very well told; *Lost and Won*, by Miss Mitford, a tale of my Village in her usual dramatic style; *The Goldsmith of Westcheap*, by the Author of "*London in the Olden Time*"; and "*An Hour too many*", which we find it difficult to characterize, and shall therefore give an extract.

'Hail, land of the kangaroo!—paradise of the bushranger!—purgatory of England!—happy scene, where the sheep-stealer is metamorphosed into the shepherd; the highwayman is the guardian of the road; the dandy is delicate no more, and earns his daily bread; and the Court of Chancery is unknown. Hail to thee, soil of larceny and love! of pickpockets and principle! of every fraud under heaven, and primeval virtue! daughter of jails, and mother of empires!—hail to thee, New South Wales!

'In all my years—and I am now no boy; and in all my travels—and I am now at the antipodes; I have never heard any maxim so often as, that time is short; yet, no maxim that ever dropt from human lips, is further from the truth. I appeal to the experience of mankind—to the three hundred heirs of the British peerage, whom their gouty fathers keep out of their honours and estates—to the six hundred and fifty-eight candidates for seats in parliament, which they must wait for till the present sitters die; or turn rebellious to their noble patrons, or their borough patrons, or their Jew patrons; or plunge into joint-stock ruin, and expatriate themselves, for the astonishment of all other countries, and the benefit of their own;—to the six thousand five hundred heroes of the half-pay, longing for tardy war;—to the hundred thousand promissory excisemen lying on the soul of the chancellor of the exchequer, and pining for the mortality of every gauger, from the Lizard to the Orkneys;—and, to club the whole discomfort into one, to the entire race of the fine and superfine, who breathe the vital air, from five thousand a-year to twenty times the rental, the unhappy population of the realms of indolence included in Bond Street, St. James's, and the squares.

'For my own part, in all my experience of European deficiencies, I have never found any deficiency of time. Money went like the wind; champagne grew scanty; the trust of tailors ran down to the dregs; the smiles of my fair flirts grew rare as diamonds: every thing became as dry, dull, and stagnant as the Serpentine in summer; but time never failed me. I had a perpetual abundance of a commodity which the philosophers told me was beyond price. I had not merely

enough for myself, but enough to give to others; until I discovered the fact, that it was as little a favourite with others as myself, and that, whatever the plausible might say, there was nothing on earth for which they would not be more obliged to me than a donation of my superfluous time. But now let me give a sketch of my story. A single fact is worth a hundred reflections.

The first consciousness that I remember, was that of having a superabundance of time; and my first ingenuity was demanded for getting rid of the encumbrance. I had always an hour that perplexed my skill to know what to do with this treasure. A schoolboy turn for long excursions in any direction but that of my pedagogue, indicative of a future general officer; a naturalist-taste for bird-nesting, which, in maturer years, would have made me one of the wonders of the Linnean Society; a passion for investigating the inside of every thing, from a Catherine-wheel to a China-closet, which would yet have entitled me to the honours of an F. R. S.; and an original vigour in the plunder of orchards, which undoubtedly might have laid the foundation of a first lord of the treasury; were nature's helps to get rid of this oppressive bounty. But though I fought the enemy with perpetual vigour and perpetual variety, he was not to be put to flight by a stripling; and I went to the university as far from being a conqueror as ever.

At Oxford, I found the superabundance of this great gift acknowledged with an openness worthy of English candour, and combated with the dexterity of an experience five hundred years old. Port-drinking, flirtation, lounging, the invention of new ties to cravats, and new tricks on proctors; billiards, boxing, and bar-maids; seventeen ways of mulling sherry, and as many dozen ways of raising "the supplies," were adopted with an adroitness that must have baffled all but the invincible. Yet Time was master at last; and he always indulged me with a liberality that would have driven a less resolute spirit to the bottom of the Isis. At length I gave way; left the university with my blessing and my debts; and rushed up to London, as the grand *place d'armes*, the central spot from which the enemy was excluded by the united strength, wit, and wisdom of a million and a half of men.

I might as well have staid bird-nesting in Berkshire. I found the happiest contrivances against the universal invader fail. Pigeon-matches; public dinners; coffee-houses; blue-stocking reunions; private morning quadrille practice, with public evening exhibitions of their fruits; dilettanti breakfasts, with a bronze Hercules standing among the bread and butter, or a reposing cast of Venus, fresh from Pompeii, as black and nude as a negress disporting on the banks of the Senegal, but dear and delicate to the eyes of taste; Sunday mornings at Tattersal's, jockeying till the churches let out their population, and the time for visits was come; and Sunday evening routs at the duchess's, with a cotillon by the *vraies danseuses* of the opera, followed by a concert, a round game, and a select supper for the initiated;—the whole failed. I had always an hour too much—sixty mortal minutes, and every one of them an hour in itself, that I could never squeeze down.

"Ye gods, annihilate both space and time,
And make two lovers happy,"

may have been called a not over-moderate request; but I can vouch for at least one half of it being the daily prayer of some thousands of the best-dressed people that the sun ever summoned to a day of twenty-four hours long.

On feeling the symptoms of this horary visitation, I regularly rushed into the streets, on the principle that some alleviation of misery is always to be found in fellow-suffering. This maxim I invariably found false, like every other piece of the boasted wisdom of mankind. I found the suffering infinitely increased by the association with my fellow-fashionables. A man might as well have fled from his chamber to enjoy comfort in the wards of an hospital. In one of my marches up and down the *pavé* of St. James's Street, that treadmill of gentlemen convicted in the penalty of having nothing to do, I lounged into the little hotel of the Guards, that stands beside the great hotel of the gamblers, like a babe under its mamma's wing—the likeness admirable, though the scale diminutive. That 'hour too many' cost me three games of billiards, my bachelor's house, and one thousand pounds. This price of sixty minutes startled me a little; and, for a week, I meditated with some seriousness on the superior gaiety of a life spent in paving the streets, driving a waggon, or answering the knocker of a door. But the 'hour' again overflowed me. I was walking it off in Regent Street, when an old fellow-victim met me, and prescribed a trot to Newmarket. The prescription was taken, and the hour was certainly got rid of. But the remedy was costly; for my betting-book left me minus ten thousand pounds. I returned to town like a patient from a watering-place; relieved of every thing but the disease that took me there. My last shilling remained among the noble blacklegs; but nothing could rob me of a fragment of my superfluous time, and I brought even a tenfold allowance of it back. But every disease has a crisis; and when a lounge through the streets became at once useless and inconvenient—when the novelty of being cut by all my noble friends, and of being sedulously followed by that generation who, unlike the fickle world, reserve their tipstaff attentions for the day of adversity, had lost its zest, and I was thinking whether time was to be better fought off by a plunge to the bottom of the Thames, or by the muzzle of one of Manton's air-triggers—I was saved by a plunge into the King's Bench.

Terence O'Flaherty is Irish all over; but 'the ould gentleman' is a stale joke, and we do not approve of playing with edge tools. 'The Magician of Vicenza' is well told; and 'The Red Flag at the Fore', is graphic and interesting, although not quite nautical enough in its spirit and style for an 'old sailor.' We have spoken slightly of the poetical contributions; and if the reverend gentlemen and fair ladies who have favoured the Editor with their erotic or anacreontic effusions about 'Woman's eye', and 'Woman's Love', and 'Woman

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'and Music', and the 'Destroyer,' &c.—cannot find better themes than these,—which ought certainly to be henceforth abandoned to L. E. L.,—we would strongly recommend them, (and even, perhaps, if they can) to desist from their sweet pastime. But there are some better things in the shape of verse; and from among these, in justice to Mr. Shoberl, we take the following stanzas by an old acquaintance of our readers:

' TIME'S TAKINGS AND LEAVINGS.'

By Bernard Barton.

' What does Age take away ?

Bloom from the cheek, and lustre from the eye ;
The spirits light and gay,
Unclouded as the summer's bluest sky.

' What do years steal away ?

The fond heart's idol, Love, that gladdened life ;
Friendships, whose calmer sway
We trusted to in hours of darker strife.

' What must with time decay ?

Young Hope's wild dreams, and Fancy's visions bright.
Life's evening sky grows grey,
And darker clouds prelude Death's coming night.

' But not for such we mourn !

We knew them frail, and brief their date assigned.
Our spirits are forlorn .
Less from Time's thefts, than what he leaves behind.

' What do years leave behind ?

Unruly passions, impotent desires,
Distrusts and thoughts unkind,
Love of the world, and self—which last expires.

' For these, for these we grieve !

What time has robbed us of, we knew must go ;
But what he deigns to leave,
Not only finds us poor, but keeps us so.

' It ought not thus to be ;

Nor would it, knew we meek Religion's away :
Her votary's eye could see
How little time can give or take away.

' Faith, in the heart enshrined,

Would make Time's gifts enjoyed and used, while lent ;
And all it left behind,
Of Love and Grace a noble monument.'

In Friendship's Offering, the average character of the poetry is decidedly superior,—perhaps higher than that of the prose; although Miss Mitford, the inexhaustible and always interesting Miss Mitford, has two short and very pretty country

stories, 'the Election' and 'Patty's New Hat'; the Author of the O'Hara Family has a thrilling Irish tale; and there is a story about a 'Jewish Pilgrim', which ought to be by the Author of Salathiel. There is, moreover, a very touching little tale in French, entitled '*La Fiancée de Marquis*'. Mrs. Opie has a short story; and the Author of the very clever Essay on Housekeepers, in the preceding volume, has a pleasant Essay on 'Contradiction.' Among the poetical contributors, we have Mrs. Hemans, James Montgomery, Robert Southey, John Clare, Allan Cunningham, the Ettrick Shepherd, Delta, T. Roscoe, Horace Smith, some half dozen Howitts, and the Editor himself, whose pieces form certainly not the least pleasing or meritorious portion of the volume. The following lines, which have the initial P., we presume to be his own; and they do equal credit to the head and the heart of the Writer.

VERSES

WRITTEN UNDER A PORTRAIT OF THE LATE

REV. DR. ALEX. WAUGH.

(By one who knew and loved him.)

' Whoe'er thou art whose eye may hither bend,
If thou art human, here behold a friend.
Art thou of Christ's disciples?—he was one
Like him whose bosom Jesus leant upon.
Art thou a sinner burthened with thy grief?
His life was spent proclaiming sin's relief.
Art thou an unbeliever?—he could feel
Much for the patient whom he could not heal.
Whate'er thy station, creed, condition be,
This man of God has cared and prayed for thee.

' Do riches, honours, pleasures, smile around?
He could have shewn thee where alone is found
Their true enjoyment—on the Christian plan
Of holiness to God and love to man.
Are poverty, disease, disgrace, despair,
The ills, the anguish to which flesh is heir,
Thy household inmates?—Yea, even such as thee
He hailed as brothers of humanity;
And gave his hand and heart, and toiled, and pled,
Till nakedness was clothed, and hunger fed;
Till pain was soothed, and even the fiend Despair
Felt that a stronger arm than his was there.

' And ye, far habitants of heathen lands,
For you he raised his voice and stretched his hands;
And taught new-wakened sympathy to start
With generous throb through many a British heart,—

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Till wide o'er furthest oceans waved the sail
That bade in Jesus' name the nations hail,
And Afric's wastes and wildered Hindostan
Heard the glad tidings of "Good will to man."

' Such was his public ministry. And they
Through life who loved him till his latest day,
Of many a noble, gentle trait can tell
That, as a man, friend, father, marked him well ;
The frank simplicity ; the cordial flow
Of kind affections ; the enthusiast glow
That love of Nature or his Native Land
Would kindle in those eyes so bright and bland ;
The unstudied eloquence that from his tongue
Fell like the fresh dews by the breezes flung
From fragrant woodlands ; the benignant look
That like a rainbow beamed through his rebuke—
Rebuke more dreaded than a despot's frown,
For sorrow more than anger called it down ;
The winning way, the kindliness of speech
With which he wont the little ones to teach,
As round his chair like clustering doves they clung—
For, like his MASTER, much he loved the young.

' These, and unnumbered traits like these, my verse
Could fondly dwell upon : but o'er his hearse
A passing wreath I may but stop to cast,
Of love and grateful reverence the last
Poor token. Weeping mourners here
Perchance may count such frail memorial dear,
Though vain and valueless it be to him
Who tunes his golden harp amidst the seraphim !'

pp. 344—346.

One poem, by Mr. Pringle, is of considerable length ;
' Glen-Lynden, a tale of Teviotdale', composed in the Interior
of Africa, when the recollections of his native vale rose like a
soothing dream upon the exile's fancy. We must, however,
confine our extracts to the smaller poems ; and the following
spirited ode ' On leaving Scotland', by William Kennedy,
next presents itself.

' I love the land !
I see its mountains hoary,
On which Time vainly lays his iron hand ;
I see the valleys robed in sylvan glory,
And many a lake with lone, romantic strand ;
And streams, and towers, by immortal story
Ordained heart-stirring monuments to stand :
Yet tower, stream, lake, or valley could not move me,
Nor the star-wooing mountain, thus to love thee,
Old, honoured land !

' I love the land !

I hear of distant ages

A voice proclaiming that it still was free ;

That from the hills where winter wildest rages

Swept forth the rushing winds of liberty ;

That blazoned broadly on the noblest pages

E'er stamped by Fame its children's deeds shall be.

O ! poor pretender to a poet's feeling

Were he who heard such voice in vain appealing :

I love the land !

' I love the land !

My fathers lived and died there ;

But not for that the homage of their son :

I found the spirit in its native pride there—

Unfettered thoughts—right actions boldly done :

I also found—(the memory shall preside here,

Throned in this breast, till life's tide cease to run)

Affection tried and true from men high-hearted—

Once more as when from those kind friends I parted,

God bless the land !

There are a few poems of a more serious and sacred character ; and among them is a noble sonnet by T. Roscoe, Esq., which we transcribe with peculiar satisfaction.

' SAUL JOURNEYING TO DAMASCUS.

' Whose is that sword,—that voice and eye of flame,

That heart of inextinguishable ire ?

Who bears the dungeon-keys, and bonds, and fire ?

Along his dark and withering path he came,

Death in his looks, and terror in his name,

Tempting the might of Heaven's Eternal Sire.

Lo ! THE LIGHT shone !—the sun's veiled beams expire :

A Saviour's self a Saviour's lips proclaim !

Whose is yon form, stretched on the earth's cold bed,

With smitten soul and tears of agony

Mourning the past ? Bowed is the lofty head,

Rayless the orbs that flashed with victory.

Over the raging waves of human will

The Saviour's spirit walked—and all was still.'

We had not intended to rifle this volume of another poetical extract ; but the stanzas entitled ' A Father's Lament,' by William Howitt, will not be passed over. We ought not to hope that the occasion of such verses was *not* imaginary ; and yet, we should detest the skill that could feign sorrow so well, and steal away admiration by taking advantage of our sympathy. It is however, at all events, a beautiful poem.

‘ Two creatures of a pleasant life were mine ;
 My house they filled with a perpetual joy ;
 Twin lamps that chased all darkness did they shine,
 My fairy girl and merry-hearted boy.
 I never dreamt death would their mirth destroy ;
 For they were dwelling ’mid life’s freshest springs ;
 And I was busied with a fond employ,
 Ranging the future on Hope’s fearless wings,
 And gathering for them thence how many pleasant things !

‘ In truth I was a proud and joyful man,
 As from the floor unto the very roof
 Their murmured songs and bursts of laughter ran,
 And jocund shouts which needed no reproof.
 All weariness, all gloom was kept aloof
 By their quaint shows, and fancies ever new ;
 Now bending age with staff in its behoof ;
 Now island Crusoe and “ man Friday ” true ;
 Now shipmates far at sea with all their jovial crew.

‘ But a dark dream has swept across my brain,
 A wild, a dismal dream that will not break ;
 A rush of fear, an agony of pain—
 Pangs and suspense that inly make me quake.
 My boy ! my boy ! I saw thy sweet eyes take
 A strange, unearthly lustre, and then fade ;
 And oh ! I deemed my heart must surely break
 As, stooping, I thy pleasant locks surveyed,
 And felt that thou must die, and they in dust be laid.

‘ Oh ! precious in thy life of happiness !
 Daily and hourly valued more and more !
 Yet, to the few brief days of thy distress
 How faint all love my spirit knew before !
 I turn, and turn, and ponder o’er and o’er,
 Insatiate, all that sad and dreary time.
 Thy words thrill through me ;—in my fond heart’s core
 I hoard thy sighs, and tears shed for no crime,
 And thy most patient love sent from a happier clime.

‘ How dim and dismal is my home !—a sense
 Of thee spreads through it, like a haunting ill :—
 For thou—for ever—thou hast vanish’d thence !
 This, this pursues me, pass where’er I will :
 And all the traces thou hast left but fill
 The hollow of thine absence with more pain.
 I toil to keep thy living image still,
 But Fancy feebly doth her part maintain,
 I see, yet see thee not, my child ! as I would fain.

‘ In dreams for ever thy dear form I grasp ;
 In noon-day reveries do I rove—then start—
 And certainty, as with an iron clasp,
 Shuts down once more to misery my heart.

The world from thee as a shorn flower doth part,
Ending its care and knowledge with—"Farewell!"
But in my soul a shrined life thou art,
Ordained with Memory and strong Hope to dwell,
And with all pure desires to sanctify thy cell.

' Spring like a spirit is upon the earth—
Forth gush the flowers and fresh leaves of the tree ;
And I had planned, with wonder and with mirth,—
The bird, the nest, the blossom, and the bee,
To fill thy boyish bosom—till its glee
O'erflowed my own with transport! In far years
I felt thy hand in mine, by stream and lea
Wandering in gladness—But these blinding tears,
Why will they thus gush forth, though richer hope appears?

' Far other land thy happy feet have trod ;
Far other scenes thy tender soul has known ;
The golden city of the Eternal God ;
The rainbow splendours of the Eternal Throne.
Through the pearl-gate how lightly hast thou flown!
The streets of lucid gold—the chrysolite
Foundations have received thee.—Dearest one!
That thought alone can break Affliction's might—
Feeling that thou art blest, my heart again is light.

' Thanks to the framer of life's mystery!
Thanks to the illuminator of the grave!
Vainly on Time's obscure and tossing sea
Hope did I seek, and comfort did I crave ;
But He who made, neglecteth not to save.—
My child!—thou hast allied me to the blest ;
I cannot fear what thou didst meekly brave ;
I cannot cease to long with thee to rest—
And heaven is doubly heaven with thee, with thee, possessed !'
pp. 270—273.

We can make room for only one specimen of the prose contributions; and it must be one of Miss Mitford's *crayon* sketches.

' A few years back, a gentleman of the name of Danby came to reside in a small decayed borough town—whether in Wiltshire or Cornwall, matters not to our story, although in one of those counties the aforesaid town was probably situate, being what is called a close borough, the joint property of two noble families. Mr. Danby was evidently a man of large fortune, and that fortune as evidently acquired in trade,—indeed he made no more secret of the latter circumstance than the former. He built himself a large, square, red house, equally ugly and commodious, just without the town; walled off a couple of acres of ground for a kitchen garden; kept a heavy one-horse chaise, a stout poney, and a brace of greyhounds; and having furnished his house solidly and handsomely, and arranged his domestic affairs to his heart's content, began to look about amongst

his neighbours; scraped acquaintance with the lawyer, the apothecary, and the principal tradesmen; subscribed to the reading room and the billiard room: became a member of the bowling-green and cricket club, and took as lively an interest in the affairs of his new residence, as if he had been born and bred in the borough.

Now this interest, however agreeable to himself, was by no means equally conducive to the quiet and comfort of the place. Mr. Danby was a little, square, dark man, with a cocked-up nose, a good-humoured, but very knowing smile, a pair of keen black eyes, a loud voluble speech, and a prodigious activity both of mind and body. His very look betokened his character,—and that character was one not uncommon among the middle ranks of Englishmen. In short, besides being, as he often boasted, a downright John Bull, the gentleman was a reformer, zealous and uncompromising as ever attended a dinner at the Crown and Anchor, or made an harangue in Palace-yard. He read Cobbett; had his own scheme for the redemption of tithes; and a plan, which, not understanding, I am sorry I cannot undertake to explain, for clearing off the national debt without loss or injury to any body.

Besides these great matters, which may rather be termed the theoretic than the practice of reform, and which are at least perfectly inoffensive, Mr. Danby condescended to smaller and more worrying observances; and was, indeed, so strict and jealous a guardian of the purity of the corporation, and the incorruptibility of the vestry, that an alderman could not wag a finger, or a churchwarden stir a foot, without being called to account by this vigilant defender of the rights, liberties, and purses of the people. He was, beyond a doubt, the most troublesome man in the parish—and that is a wide word. In the matter of reports and inquiries Mr. Hume was but a type of him. He would mingle economy with a parish dinner, and talk of retrenchment at the mayor's feast; brought an action, under the turnpike act, against the clerk and treasurer of the commissioners of the road; commenced a suit in chancery with the trustees of the charity school; and finally, threatened to open the borough—that is to say, to support any candidate who should offer to oppose the nominees of the two great families, the one whig and the other tory, who now possessed the two seats in parliament as quietly as their own hereditary estates;—an experiment which recent instances of successful opposition in other places rendered not a little formidable to the noble owners.

What added considerably to the troublesome nature of Mr. Danby's inquisitions was, the general cleverness, ability, and information of the individual. He was not a man of classical education, and knew little of books; but with *things* he was especially conversant. Although very certain that Mr. Danby had been in business, nobody could guess what that business had been. None came amiss to him. He handled the rule and the yard with equal dexterity; astonished the butcher by his insight into the mysteries of fattening and dealing; and the grocer by his familiarity with the sugar and coffee markets; disentangled the perplexities of the confused mass of figures in the parish books with the dexterity of a sworn accompt-

ant ; and was so great upon points of law, so ready and accurate in quoting reports, cases, and precedents, that he would certainly have passed for a retired attorney, but for the zeal and alertness with which, at his own expense, he was apt to rush into lawsuits.

‘ With so remarkable a genius for turmoil, it is not to be doubted that Mr. Danby, in spite of many excellent and sterling qualities, succeeded in drawing upon himself no small degree of odium. The whole corporation were officially his enemies ; but his principal opponent, or rather the person whom he considered as his principal opponent, was Mr. Cardonnel, the rector of the parish, who, besides several disputes pending between them, (one especially respecting the proper situation of the church organ, the placing of which harmonious instrument kept the whole town in discord for a twelvemonth,) was married to the Lady Elizabeth, sister of the Earl of B., one of the patrons of the borough ; and being, as well as his wife, a very popular and amiable character, was justly regarded by Mr. Danby as one of the chief obstacles to his projected reform.

‘ Whilst, however, our reformer was, from the most patriotic motives, doing his best or his worst to dislike Mr. Cardonnel, events of a very different nature were gradually operating to bring them together.’ pp. 8—11.

* * * * *

‘ Perhaps too, consistent as he thought himself, he was not without an unconscious respect for the birth and station which he affected to despise ; and was, at least, as proud of the admiration which his daughter excited in those privileged circles, as of the sturdy independence which he exhibited by keeping aloof from them in his own person. Certain it is, that his spirit of reformation insensibly relaxed, particularly towards the Rector ; and that he not only ceded the contested point of the organ, but presented a splendid set of pulpit hangings to the church itself.

‘ Time wore on ; Rose had refused half the offers of gentility in the town and neighbourhood ; her heart appeared to be invulnerable. Her less affluent and less brilliant friend was generally understood (and as Rose, on hearing the report, did not contradict it, the rumour passed for certainty) to be engaged to a nephew of her mother’s, Sir William Frampton, a young gentleman of splendid fortune, who had lately passed much time at his fine place in the neighbourhood.

‘ Time wore on ; and Rose was now nineteen, when an event occurred, which threatened a grievous interruption to her happiness. The Earl of B.’s member died ; his nephew, Sir William Frampton, supported by his uncle’s powerful interest, offered himself for the borough ; an independent candidate started at the same time ; and Mr. Danby found himself compelled, by his vaunted consistency, to insist on his daughter’s renouncing her visits to the rectory, at least until after the termination of the election. Rose wept and pleaded, pleaded and wept in vain. Her father was obdurate ; and she, after writing a most affectionate note to Mary Cardonnel, retired to her own room in very bad spirits, and, perhaps, for the first time in her life, in very bad humour.

' About half an hour afterwards, Sir William Frampton and Mr. Cardonnell called at the red house.

' " We are come, Mr. Danby," said the rector, " to solicit your interest."—

' " Nay, nay, my good friend," returned the reformer—" you know that my interest is promised, and that I cannot with any consistency"—

' " To solicit your interest with Rose"—resumed his reverence.

' " With Rose!" interrupted Mr. Danby.

' " Ay—for the gift of her heart and hand,—that being, I believe, the sufferage which my good nephew here is most anxious to secure," rejoined Mr. Cardonnell.

' " With Rose!" again ejaculated Mr. Danby: " Why I thought that your daughter"—

' " The gipsy has not told you then!" replied the rector. " Why William and she have been playing the parts of Romeo and Juliet for these six months past."

' " My Rose!" again exclaimed Mr. Danby. " Why Rose! Rose! I say!" and the astonished father rushed out of the room, and returned the next minute, holding the blushing girl by the arm.

' " Rose, do you love this young man?"

' " Oh Papa!" said Rose.

' " Will you marry him?"

' " Oh, papa!"

' " Do you wish me to tell him that you will not marry him?"

' To this question Rose returned no answer; she only blushed the deeper, and looked down with a half smile.

' " Take her, then," resumed Mr. Danby; " I see the girl loves you. I can't vote for you, though, for I've promised, and you know, my good Sir, that an honest man's word"—

' " I don't want your vote, my dear Sir," interrupted Sir William Frampton; " I don't ask for your vote, although the loss of it may cost me my seat, and my uncle his borough. This is the election that I care about; the only election worth caring about—Is it not, my own sweet Rose?—the election of which the object lasts for life, and the result is happiness. That's the election worth caring about—Is it not, mine own Rose?"

' And Rose blushed an affirmative; and Mr. Danby shook his intended son-in-law's hand, until he almost wrung it off, repeating at every moment—" I can't vote for you, for a man must be consistent; out you're the best fellow in the world, and you shall have my Rose. And Rose will be a great lady," continued the delighted father;—" my little Rose will be a great lady after all!" pp. 15—18.

The Amulet, while not inferior to any of its rivals in the attractive character of its list of contributors, and in the average merit of the lighter contributions, is distinguished by having a proportion of articles of a more solid and permanently valuable cast. Even on the score of variety, the introduction

of a few such papers might seem to be advisable; and the Editor has, we think, exercised a sound discretion in not trusting for success wholly to the attractions of tale and sketch, and song and sonnet. There is a very interesting original paper, furnished by Dr. Edward Walsh, containing Notices of the Canadian Indians, which we shall have occasion to refer to in some future Number. Dr. Robert Walsh, the Author of the valuable notices, in the preceding volumes, relative to the Chaldean Christians and other Eastern Sects, has contributed an account of the 'Doctrine of the Schismatic Armenian Church', as the Romanists arrogantly style that portion of the Armenian nation who reject the supremacy of the Pope. Mr. Ellis, the Missionary, has favoured the Editor with a Polynesian Story from an unpublished historical work which he is preparing;—the Battle of Bunaauia.' Our readers will be agreeably surprised, and not less pleased, to find a short unpublished paper, entitled 'Poetry and Philosophy', by the Rev. Robert Hall, which bears the genuine stamp of the mint-age from which it proceeds. Mr. Coleridge has contributed 'Fragments of a Journey over the Brocken,' including some lines which he wrote in the album presented to travellers at Elbinrode, quite in his Anglo-German manner. Mr. Hall, the Editor, must indeed consider himself as a highly favoured and fortunate man, in being able to get hold of such choice articles. Our Literary Annals would assume a new character, without losing any of their entertaining qualities, if they were more richly diversified with light essays, historical notices, or brief memoirs from the pens of our best writers. Among the other contributions, are poems by the Poet Laureate, Mrs. Hemans, Montgomery the Great, and Montgomery the Little, the Rev. T. Dale, Horace Smith, John Clare, T. K. Hervey, the Howitt family, Delta, &c. William Kennedy has 'a strange story of every day', very natural and good. Mrs. S. C. Hall, the Editor's lady, has thrown off the anonymous, and let us into the secret that some very pleasing stories in the preceding volumes were from her pen. There is 'a Tale, founded on facts', by Dr. F. A. Cox, and a village story by Miss Mitford. The following are Mr. Coleridge's lines,

'I stood on Brocken's sovran height, and saw
Woods crowding upon woods, hills over hills;
A surging scene, and only limited
By the blue distance. Wearily my way
Downward I dragged, through fir-groves evermore,
Where bright green moss moved in sepulchral forms,
Speckled with sunshine; and, but seldom heard,

U U 2

The sweet bird's song becomes a hollow sound;
 And the gale murmuring indivisibly,
 Reserved its solemn murmur, more distinct
 From many a note of many a waterbreak,
 And the brook's chatter; on whose islet stones
 The dingy kiddling, with its tinkling bell,
 Leapt frolicsome, or old romantic goat
 Sat, his white beard slow waving. I moved on
 With low and languid thought, for I had found
 That grandest scenes have but imperfect charms
 Where the eye vainly wanders, nor beholds
 One spot with which the heart associates
 Holy remembrances of child or friend,
 Or gentle maid, our first and early love,
 Or father, or the venerable name
 Of our adored country. O thou Queen,
 Thou delegated Deity of Earth,
 O "dear, dear" England! how my longing eyes
 Turned westward, shaping in the steady clouds
 Thy sands and high white cliffs! Sweet native isle,
 This heart was proud, yea, mine eyes swam with tears
 To think of thee; and all the goodly view
 From sovran Brocken, woods and woody hills
 Floated away, like a departing dream,
 Feeble and dim. Stranger, these impulses
 Blame thou not lightly; nor will I profane,
 With hasty judgement or injurious doubt,
 That man's sublimer spirit, who can feel
 That God is everywhere, the God who framed
 Mankind to be one mighty brotherhood,
 Himself our Father, and the world our home.'

Not *this* world our 'home', Mr. Coleridge.—But we are not
 in a critical mood, and so pass on to our next extract, which
 must be—

' LINES WRITTEN UPON THE DEATH OF THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE.

- ' 'Tis not the public loss which hath imprest
 This general grief upon the multitude,
 And made its way at once to every breast,
 The young, the old, the gentle, and the rude:
- ' 'Tis not that, in the hour which might have crowned
 The prayers preferred by every honest tongue;
 The very hour which should have sent around
 Tidings wherewith all steeples would have rung,—
- ' And all our cities blazed with festal fire,
 And all our echoing streets have peeped with gladness;
 That then we saw the high-raised hope expire
 And England's expectation quenched in sadness.

- ' It is to think of what thou wert so late,
O thou who now liest cold upon thy bier!
So young and so beloved: so richly blest
Beyond the common lot of royalty;
The object of thy worthy love possess;
And in thy prime, and in thy wedded bliss,
And in the genial bed—the cradle drest,
Hope standing by, and Joy a bidden guest!
- ' 'Tis this that from the heart of private life
Makes unsophisticated sorrow flow:
We mourn thee as a daughter and a wife,
And in our human nature feel the blow.'

These lines are simple and pleasing; but, if they are correctly given, we cannot perceive the beauty of the lawless versification into which the poem breaks down after the third stanza. In any poet of lower pretension, it would be imputed to a strange unskillfulness or indolence: in Mr. Southey, it must be sheer perverseness, but it spoils the lines. We wish that we could find something better, as a specimen of the poetry in this volume; but we regret to say that, this year, Helicon seems to run low: through some cause or other, at least, even the most popular contributors have failed to do justice to themselves. These *Annals*, we fear, are operating rather disadvantageously as a *bonus* upon the manufacture of verse, which must tend to the deterioration of its quality. We must turn to honest prose, and as a further specimen, give an extract from 'the Rose of Fennock Dale.'

' With many virtues, Rose was too great a favourite not to possess many faults. Her taste was so often consulted by the village girls—her affectionate attention to her father and sister so praised by the village pastor—and her beauty and superior acquirements so admired by the young, and even by the aged inhabitants of D——, that weeds soon sprung up, and mingled with the flowers. They were, indeed, weeds that might have been easily rooted out; but unhappily, her indulgent father saw them not, and they grew on unchecked. She was impatient of restraint, fond of display, too often angry, and sometimes, though not frequently, haughty to her equals. 'Tis true, that tears of sorrow usually followed, when she had been angry without a cause, or had wounded the feelings of her village friends; but such bursts of tenderness did not teach her the luxury of self-control; and the noble generosity of her disposition made those who ought to have corrected this growing evil, forget the past in the present. She was idolized by the poor, for she was truly kind to them; and when she sighed for wealth and power, she fancied it was only that she might become the Lady Bountiful of Fennock Dale.

' Sometimes the Pastor would seriously lecture her on her love of dress.—"The flowers," she would answer, "grew in my father's garden; and it was only to please him that I twined this jessamine in

my hair: surely, dear Sir, there can be no harm in gratifying my beloved parent."

'Alas! how truly did he tell her, that the love of ornament creeps slowly, but surely, into the female heart;—that the girl who twines the lily in her tresses, and looks at herself in the clear stream, will soon wish that the lily was fadeless, and the stream a mirror.

A circumstance occurred, when Rose was about eighteen, which caused her father bitter sorrow; and he feared that his child had imbibed "high flighted" notions, for which, poor man, he could not account.

George Douglas was the son of an opulent gardener in the village of D—, and he had been long and sincerely attached to Rose Dillon. Her father urged, in strong and affectionate language, the suit of this upright and generous youth; but a scornful smile curled her lips, as she told her parent, "it was quite impossible that she could marry any man in Mr. Douglas's situation."

"*Situation, Rose,*" repeated the astonished Dillon; "what do you mean by *situation*? George Douglas is a pattern for village youths. He has loved you long—since childhood you have known each other. Who can say they saw George idle?—who ever saw him intoxicated? His word is his bond: and, ah! Rose, in the house of God, have ye not marked his godly and pious conduct?"—"I cannot find fault in any way with George. I love him as a brother; but, indeed, father, I could not marry the son of a" She paused, ashamed of her own feelings. "The son of whom, Rose?" said her father, really angry. "I hoped, child, that I did not at first understand you. What means this pride? The son of an English yeoman, whose station in life is equal, whose wealth is superior to mine—I ask what you mean by this?"

Rose wept! and Heterick Dillon, the tender, too tender parent, was softened. "Well, do not cry, Rose: I would not make thee unhappy, child, for the wealth of worlds: but God"—(the old man clasped his hands)—"God of his infinite mercy grant that you may be as happy with the man of your own choice, as you would have been with poor George."

Rose kissed her father, and assured him that she never would marry but for his or her sister's advantage.

The old man drew himself up to his full and majestic height.

"Daughter, all I desire is, that you may ever support the honest character bequeathed you by your forefathers. The Dillons have lived in Fennock Dale nearly two hundred years—their daughters without spot—their sons without blemish. I want nothing from my children but their affection.—and that," he added, "they will not refuse their grey-headed father." Long and fervent were the prayers of the old man that night for this wayward child. Two or three years passed away—Rose increased in beauty—but her faults had not departed with time.' pp 203—205.

"The Winter's Wreath" comes forth under the auspices of a new Editor, with the following announcement.

'No attempt has been here made to produce a religious impression: on the contrary, the introduction of religious topics has been carefully avoided. Interesting and important as these topics undoubtedly are, their discussion appears unsuited to a work of elegant amusement; and, if it have any decided effect, is likely to be injurious to the dignity of Religion.'

Upon this somewhat strange paragraph, we must offer a few comments. That religious topics are important, is certainly an undoubted truth, of that class to which we generally apply the term truism. The discussion of such topics, if, by discussion, an argumentative, didactic, or polemical treatment of them be meant, is, we admit, quite unsuitable to a work of mere amusement; and so, we should presume, would be deemed the *discussion* of any other important topics. We must protest, however, against the assumption, that these works cannot be both elegant and amusing without a careful and zealous exclusion of all religious topics; and still more strongly against the implied position, that the dignity of Religion is comprised by extending her sanction to polite literature. While we feel it right to animadvert upon this absurd preface, which gives us no very high idea of the Editor's taste or competency, we are happy to state, that the volume itself, thanks to the contributors, is, in certain respects, of better quality than it was intended to be. 'The insertion of some of the articles', says the sapient Preface-writer, 'might seem, at the first glance, a departure from this principle; but, on their perusal, the reader will perceive that motives wholly unconnected with theology have procured their insertion.' In other words, the theology of some of the best articles is, we presume, distasteful to the Editor;—the more is the pity.

With the contents of the Winter's Wreath, we must confess that we have been far better pleased than we had anticipated. The poetry is, for the most part, of a highly respectable order. The Author of May You like it has a very pleasing historical tale; there is an amusing 'Journey up the Mississippi'; and the stories, historical or descriptive, are of a good tendency. The signature of Q. Q., usurped by one of the writers, has served to remind us how much the contributions of the pen to which that designation belonged, might have enriched those annals. Mrs. Hemans has several short poems: the following is, we think, not unworthy of her, which is more than we can say of some of her contributions this year.

' THE MEETING OF THE SHIPS.

- ' Two barks met on the deep mid sea
When calms had still'd the tide ;
A few bright days of summer glee
There found them side by side.
- ' And voices of the fair and brave
Rose mingling thence in mirth ;
And sweetly floated o'er the wave
The melodies of earth.
- ' Moonlight on that lone Indian main
Cloudless and lovely slept ;—
While dancing step and festive strain
Each deck in triumph swept.
- ' And hands were linked, and answering eyes
With kindly meaning shone ;
— Oh ! brief and passing sympathies,
Like leaves together blown !
- ' A little while such joy was cast
Over the deep's repose,
Till the loud singing winds at last
Like trumpet music rose.
- ' And proudly, freely on their way
The parting vessels bore ;
— In calm or storm, by rock or bay
To meet—Oh ! never more !
- ' Never to blend in Victory's cheer,
To aid in hours of woe.—
And thus bright spirits mingle here :
Such ties are formed below !'

We can make room for only one more specimen, and the following is the best that presents itself:

' THE WIDOW AND HER SON.

- ' She sat beside her cottage door,
A friendless, solitary thing ;
Her soul with troubling thought ran o'er,
And long-pass'd griefs had power to wring
From her, that eve, unbidden tears,
Such as she had not shed for years.
- ' Her thought was of the buoyant time
When play'd her children round her knee ;
And life was as the morning prime,
With fresh dews on the leafy tree ;
Till strong affections, one by one,
Were broke, and life's last joy was gone !

- ‘ Of beautiful children, once her pride,
That wither’d while she had no fear ;
Of sons in distant climes that died,
Alone, with none to tend or cheer ;
But most of him who latest went,
Young, ardent, on adventure bent.
- ‘ But, if he died by land or sea,
Or lived in peace on some bright shore,
Or pined in hopeless misery,
She knew not; traveller never bore
Tidings of him ; and ne’er was sent
Message or token since he went.
- ‘ She sat absorbed in torturing thought,
Unheedful of what passed around—
Though gazing, yet perceiving nought—
Though silent, listening to no sound,—
Unconscious that a stranger stood
Before her, marvelling at her mood.
- ‘ At length she saw a weary man,
Like one by age or grief subdued,
Or exile whose thin cheek grew wan
In some life-blasting solitude :
Long gazed she on his wasted frame,
Ere tardy recognition came.
- ‘ Then saw she, with instinctive glance,
All mind and body had gone through,
That life had been but evil chance—
By sunken eye and pallid hue,
By lines of agony and care,
And by his thinned and whitened hair.
- ‘ Her son, the one for whom she wept,
The long-lost child for whom she prayed,
The youngest hope whose image kept
Within her memory not to fade—
’Twas he, alas ! with alter’d mien,
In love alone as he had been.
- ‘ Beside her cottage-door he leant
Whole days in melancholy mood,
Like one whose strength to act was spent,
Reckless of evil or of good ;
And busy neighbours, passing by,
Said he had but returned to die.
- ‘ Those summer eves he would relate
His perilous life by land and sea ;
The changes of his dreary fate,
And dark years of captivity,
Of hardships, wrongs, and savage strife,
When death seemed welcomer than life.

- ' Then told he of some fairer scene,
 Where it had been his hap to roam
 Through cypress marsh, savannah green,
 Where the dark Indian finds his home;
 And of kind nature, undebased
 In those pure children of the waste.
- ' Oh, joyful mother was she then!
 Listening the marvellous tales he told—
 How rescued from ferocious men,
 The fell, intractable, and bold,
 Fierce pirates of the southern main,
 He came, with mark of brand and chain.
- ' Yet saw she with slow unbelief,
 That joy ne'er warmed his wither'd cheek;
 That sufferings, misery, and grief,
 Had left him spirit-bowed and weak;
 And time might pass, but never more
 Life's energy or hope restore.
- ' She tended him by night and day,
 Noting how swiftly life declined,
 Wearing herself the while away,
 With patient love that ne'er repined:
 But ere the autumn leaves were red,
 Mother and son were with the dead.'

The names of Allan Cunningham and John Sharpe are good securities for a combination of spirit, taste, and elegance on the part of the Editor and the Publisher of the Anniversary. The Embellishments are of a very high order, as we shall presently shew. Among the contributors to this new candidate for popular favour, are Robert Southey, J. G. Lockhart, Miss Mitford, James Montgomery, T. Doubleday, A. Ferguson, George Darley, John Clare, James Hogg, Miss Bowles, T. Pringle, T. Crofton Croker, Barry Cornwall, the Rev. Ed. Irving, and the Editor.

Montgomery is all himself in the following lines.

2 A FRIEND, ON HIS RETURNING TO CEYLON AS A MISSIONARY,
 AFTER A VISIT TO ENGLAND.

- ' Home, kindred, friends, and country,—these
 Are ties with which we never part:
 From clime to clime, o'er land and seas,
 We bear them with us in our heart:
 But O, 'tis hard to feel resigned,
 When these must all be left behind!
- ' Yet, when the pilgrim's staff we take,
 And follow Christ from shore to shore,
 Gladly for Him we all forsake,
 Press on, and only look before:

Though humbled Nature mourns her loss,
The Spirit glories in the Cross.

- ' It is no sin, like man, to weep,
For Jesus wept o'er Lazarus dead ;
Or yearn for home beyond the deep ;
He had not where to lay his head :
The patriot pang will he condemn,
Who grieved o'er lost Jerusalem ?
- ' Take up your cross, my friend, again :
Go forth without the camp to Him
Who left his throne to dwell with men,
Who died his murderers to redeem :
O ! tell his name to every ear ;
Doubt not, the dead themselves shall hear ;—
- ' Hear, and come forth to life anew :
Then, while the Gentile courts they fill,
Shall not your Saviour's words stand true ?
Home, kindred, friends, and country, still,
In Candy's wildest woods you'll find,
Yet lose not those you left behind.'

We perceive that our limits will not allow us to indulge in further citation, and we can only briefly advert, therefore, to a few of the leading articles—Edderline's *Dream*, a touching poem by Professor Wilson ; ' *Abbotsford described*, by a distinguished American ; ' *Going to the Races* ' by Miss Mitford ; Paddy Kelleher and his Pig, an Irish story ; and ' *a Tale of the Times of the Martyrs* ' by the Rev. Edward Irving, who seems to shine in this style of composition more than any other that he has yet attempted. Allan has enriched the volume with some of his own graphic tales. Altogether, the volume does credit to the taste of all parties.

But we must now pay our respects to the artists, without whose concurrence, the utmost efforts of the lady and gentlemen contributors would, we fear, fail of realizing the object of the publishers. To begin with the Anniversary, which is dedicated, by the way, with propriety, to the President and Members of the Royal Academy. We first open upon a presentation plate, an ornamented letter in wood by Harvey and Thompson, admirably designed and exquisitely cut. A gay and glowing circlet of letters and quaint figures representing the months of the year, designed for a second presentation vignette, is in the same style and by the same clever artists. Harvey is an extraordinary man. We then come to the vignette title, a tasteful architectural design, and *Psyche*, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, which forms a superb frontispiece. Of the rest we shall only specify those which have pleased us most.

The Lute, by poor Bonnington, is an expressive plate from an excellent design. Linton's Morning is Claude 'all over,' and the plate does credit to Goodall. The Author of Waverley in his Study, by Allan, is a delightful plate: there is an easy awkwardness in the posture of Sir Walter, which assures us that we see the Great Magician just as he looks when he is conjuring upon paper. Landseer's Travelled Monkey, is clever. The Castle of Chillon by Stanfield, is good, and though the subject is not new, will interest. 'Pickaback'—does Mr. Westall recollect the Gipsy portrait of Mrs. Sheridan? The child is ugly. Fonthill, by Turner; a beautiful foreground, and the engraver has done justice to the artist. Howard's 'Bea-trice' is rich and well filled, but not very expressive. Newstead Abbey, by Danby, is a delightful sunset, and the subject most interesting. 'Love me, love my dog', does great credit to the engraver. 'The Young Cottagers', by Gainsborough, is a gem. 'Twilight' by Barrett, has great merit. In short, we find that we have particularized almost every plate, except The Lost Ear-rings and the Blackberry Boy, which we leave others to admire.

In the Forget me not, Marcus Curtius by Martin is, like all his designs, clever, gorgeous, imaginative, and *outré*. Ellen Strathallan by Miss L. Sharpe, is a bewitching plate, and does great credit to the artist. The Faithful Guardian by Cooper is very pleasing. A view on the Ganges by W. Daniell, Eddystone Lighthouse by Owen, and a view of Vicenza by Prout; all three, especially the last, are of great merit. Chalon has a very clever plate, 'Frolic in a Palace.' The Blind Piper by Clennell, deserves also to be particularized.

In the Amulet, we have a very tasty vignette, with Etruscan and classic vases; a Morillo, rich and glowing, and well rendered by Graves; 'The Mountain Daisy,' exhibiting the indescribable grace and beauty with a *nuance* of affectation, characteristic of Sir Thomas Lawrence; a 'Temple of Victory' by Gandy,—rich, but sadly deficient in classical truth and simplicity; 'Fishermen leaving home,' by Collins,—a very pleasing moonlight scene; Wandering Minstrels in Italy,—the landscape is good. 'Guardian Angels' is execrably engraved, and the Water-cross Girl is no better.

In the Winter's Wreath, there are two or three sweet landscapes,—View on the Thames by Havell; Meleager and Atalanta by Arnald; and View near Ambleside by Renton. 'The Scotch Peasant Girl' is beautifully engraved. 'Le Contretems' had better not have been given.

In Friendship's Offering, Bone has a clever plate, 'La Frescura'; Chalon, a slight but interesting one; there are some

pleasing landscapes; and 'Hours of Innocence', by Landseer, is a delightful picture, which will, we doubt not, prove a favourite. Stephanoff appears in most of these annuals: his designs are always shewy and tasteful, but we are beginning to tire of them.

We have left ourselves scarcely any room to speak of the juvenile annuals, of which, however, we can report very favourably. We are almost ashamed to confess that we have found them more entertaining—through a retrospective sympathy, perhaps, with our former selves,—than the greater part of the volumes designed for grown up children. Mrs. Hemans, Mrs. Hofland, Miss Mitford, Miss Bowles, Miss Jewsbury, Mr. Montgomery, Allan Cunningham, and other favoured and favourite writers, have kindly consented to exert themselves for the special amusement and instruction of the rising race. We wish we had room to insert John Clare's Tale about the Grasshopper, which is admirable. The Nettle, by Dr. Robert Walsh, in the same volume, (the Juvenile Forget me not,) is a dialogue quite worthy of Evenings at Home. In the New Year's Gift, Hints to Young Gardeners, The Young Cricketers, and the Consequences of Bad Spelling, are excellent. But we have room for only one short specimen, with which, for the present, we must take our leave of the Annuals. There are several, not yet ready for publication, of which we hope to give an account in our next.

THE REED-SPARROW'S NEST.

BY THE AUTHOR OF 'SOLITARY HOURS.'

"Come here, and I'll shew you a wonderful work—
I'll shew you the reed-sparrow's nest;
Only see, what a neat, warm, compact little thing!
Mister Nash could not build such a house for the King:
Not he, let him labour his best!

"'Tis hardly a house, though—a cradle, methinks,
Slung up like an Indian's, between
Those six reedy pillars, so slender and tall,
Each topped, like a turret of Oberon's hall,
With its own fairy-banner of green.

"And see! the green banners are waving aloft,
And the cradle rocks gently below;
And the shafts that uphold it, so slender and tall"—
"They're bending!—they're breaking!—the cradle will fall,
For the breeze is beginning to blow!"

"Let it blow, let it blow: let them rock to and fro;
Reeds, cradle, and all—never fear:—

'Twas an instinct unerring (God's gift to the weak)
 Taught the poor little builder this covert to seek,
 That the hurricane only comes near—

“ Only near enough (hark!) just to pipe in the shrouds,
 The tall tree tops, with musical din :
 And to rattle the hazels and hollies about,
 And behind them to bluster and make a great rout,
 Like a bully who cannot get in.

“ And to puff here and there, through a chink in the leaves,
 At the reeds, and the reed-sparrow's nest ;
 Just enough to unfurl the green banners aloft.
 And to balance the cradle, with motion so soft,
 It but lulls the young nurlings to rest.

“ And there sits the mother-bird, brooding in peace,
 And her mate is beginning to sing—
 Proud I warrant is he, of house, children, and wife ;
 Of the house he helped build,—Mister Nash for his life,
 Could not build such a one for the King ! ”

- Art. VIII. 1. *Great Britain illustrated.* A Series of original Views of the principal Towns, public Buildings, and remarkable Antiquities in the United Kingdom. From Drawings by William Westall, A.R.A. Engraved by Edward Finden, with Descriptions by Thomas Moule. No. I. 4to. Price 1s. London, 1828.
2. *Paris, and its Environs*, displayed in a Series of Picturesque Views. The Drawings by A. Pugin. The Engravings under the Superintendence of C. Heath. Nos. I. and II. 4to. Price 1s. London, 1828.
3. *Metropolitan Improvements ; or, London in the Nineteenth Century.* From Drawings by T. H. Shepherd. Nos. I. to XXVI. 4to. Price 1s. 1827.

THIS is a fertile subject, but we have not leisure, at the present moment, to discuss it even superficially. Still, we are reluctant to postpone, from day to day, the announcement of what may be fairly termed, a new class of publications, professing, and on the whole keeping their promise, to combine the advantages of scientific drawing, accurate representation, reasonably good engraving, and extraordinary cheapness. In all the specimens before us, we have a number of very respectable productions of art, at the low rate of four for a shilling.

It would be a pleasant task, to set off on a picturesque tour among the architectural varieties of London and Paris, to note their vagaries, to expose their absurdities, and to give due praise to their praiseworthy points. The frittered and unmean-

ing features of the royal palace; Regent Street, amusing and *piquant* with all its freaks and failures; the Park entrances, not good in themselves, but reminding us of what is; the churches, those motley monsters of architecture, compounds of the classic and the civic, græco-cockney imitations of Ictinus and Palladio, felicitous jumbles of the Gothic, Helladic, Chinese, and Hindoo;—all these, with their affinities and affiliations, might suit either our mirthful or our ireful mood, were it not, just now, rather too late in the month for justice to be done to a subject so complicated and so excursive. We intend, however, to be very learned and illustrative touching these matters, in some future Number.

In the mean time, we point out these ‘number-books’ to our readers, as containing and to contain, an extensive series of graphic exhibitions, with brief explanations. The “London”, so far as we have inspected it, will be found to give an interesting view of, what it is the fashion to call, ‘metropolitan improvements’; a misapplication of phrase, which reminds us of the ‘repaired and beautified’ of country church-wardens, when they have covered walls and ceilings with yellow-wash, Prussian blue, and Dutch gold. It will be found amusing and interesting in more ways than one. The literary part is indifferently done, with much affectation of fine writing, and a vile trick of getting away from the subject in hand. We are told of Mr. Nash, the architect of the New Palace and the Langham Place church, that ‘he comprehends a whole, he grasps the extremities, he achieves variety’, and ‘thinks with Michael ‘Angiolo’!

“Paris” has begun well. The views of the first number are too extensive for their limited scale of representation; but the second number has four good and well-expressed subjects—the fine Gothic front of Notre Dame; the much, but injudiciously vaunted *façade* of St. Sulpice; the court of the Louvre; and the Hotel de Cluni.

The “Great Britain Illustrated”, bids fair for popularity. Lincoln, the wharfs, and warehouses of Liverpool, the “Commercial Room” of Manchester, and Eaton Hall, Cheshire, have supplied the subjects, which, of course, vary in interest, but are, on the whole, effectively treated.

ART. IX. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

On the 1st of December will be published, No. I. of *Eminent Women: their lives and characters. Designed for the improvement of female youth.* By Miss Jane Porter. To be published monthly. 2s. 6d. in 18mo. The same size as the *Percy Anecdotes*, embellished with authentic portraits.

Mr. James Shaw will publish in the course of the ensuing month, a new and practical work on the laws relative to parish matters, calculated for general information, and to furnish all persons liable to serve the offices of Churchwarden, Overseer, &c. with full instructions for their legal and efficient discharge. It will be entitled, "The Parochial Lawyer, or Churchwarden's and Overseer's Guide," and will contain the whole of the statute law, with the decisions of the courts of law on the duties and powers of those officers: it will also embody all that is practical and operative in Dean Prideaux's *Instructions to Churchwardens*; the law, practice, and proceedings of open and select vestries; the duties and powers of guardians, visitors, and trustees, &c. &c. with various hints and suggestions for the management of the poor, and the amelioration of their condition.

There is announced for publication with the *Almanacks*, *The Imperial Remembrancer*; being a collection of valuable tables for constant reference and use: including all the Measures, Hackney Coach Fares, New Rates for Watermen, Stamp and Excise Duties, &c. &c. compressed into a

single sheet, and so arranged on a handsome board, as to be calculated for ornament, as well as use, for the counting-house of the merchant, and the library of the gentleman or scholar. The same work is announced in a small octavo volume.

Mr. Sheppard, the author of "Thoughts on Devotion," has in the Press, a View of some of those Evidences for the Divine Origin of Christianity which are not founded on the authenticity of Scripture.

At Christmas, will be published, *The Housekeepers' Oracle; or Art of Domestic Management*: containing a complete system of carving with accuracy and elegance; hints relative to dinner parties; the art of managing servants, and the economist's and epicure's calendar, shewing the seasons when all kinds of meat, fish, poultry, game, vegetables, and fruits, first arrive in the market, earliest time forced, when most plentiful, when best and cheapest. To which is added, a variety of useful and original receipts. By the late Dr. Kitchiner. In one small 12mo volume.

In the Press, *Advice to Religious Inquirers* respecting some of the difficulties arising from the present state of Society. By James Matheson, Minister of the Gospel, Durham. 12mo.

In the Press, *A New Year's Eve; and other Poems.* By Bernard Barton.

In the Press, *Defence of Modern Millenarians* from the attack of the Rev. Dr. Hamilton, Minister of Strathblane.

ART. X. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

HISTORY.

Memoirs of the Duke of Rovigo, (M. Savary,) written by himself. Vol. IV. forming the conclusion of this extraordinary work, and comprising the seventh and eighth volumes of the Paris edition. 8vo. in English, 16s—French, 14s.

THEOLOGY.

Illustrations of Prophecy; in the course of which many predictions of Scripture are elucidated; together with numerous extracts from the works of preceding interpreters.—Also, *New Illustrations of Prophecy*, in five dissertations, on an Infidel Power; The Abyss, or Bottomless Pit; The Symbolic Dragon; A Millennium; and the

Coming of Christ. To which is appended, a Sermon on the Kingdom of Christ. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s.

The Scripture Reader's Guide to the devotional use of the Holy Scriptures. By Caroline Fry. 18mo. 2s. 6d.

TRAVELS.

St. Petersburg: a Journal of Travels to and from that capital, through Flanders, along the banks of the Rhine, through Prussia, Russia, Poland, Saxony, Silesia, Bavaria, and France. By A. B. Granville, M.D. F.R.S. F.L.S. M.R.S. &c. In 2 large vols. 8vo. with seventy plates. 2l. 5s. bound and lettered.

THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR DECEMBER 1828.

- Art. I. 1. *Travels in Russia, &c. &c.* By William Rae Wilson, Esq., F.S.A., Author of "Travels in Egypt, the Holy Land, Greece", &c.; and of "Travels in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark." Illustrated by Engravings. In 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 726. Price 1*l.* 4*s.* London, 1828.
2. *St. Petersburg.* A Journal of Travels to and from that Capital; through Flanders, the Rhenish Provinces, Prussia, Russia, Poland, Silesia, Saxony, the Federated States of Germany, and France. By A. B. Granville, M.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., M.R.I., F.G.S., and M.R.A.S., &c. &c. &c. In 2 vols. 8vo. Numerous Plates and Vignettes. pp. 1324. Price 2*l.* 5*s.* London, 1828.
3. *The Modern Traveller.* A Popular Description, Geographical, Historical, and Topographical, of the various Countries of the Globe.—Russia. 18mo. Maps and Plates. pp. 338. Price 5*s.* 6*d.* London, 1825.

NOT many months have elapsed, since the Russian conquests in Persia, the battle of Navarino, and the actual invasion of the northern European frontier and the Asiatic provinces of Turkey, by armies consisting of well-disciplined troops, threatened to visit the Ottoman empire with instant and irretrievable ruin. While the cool and calculating politician began to tremble for the consequences to be apprehended to the general peace of Europe, from the anticipated successes of the Russians; the warm friends of the civil and religious liberties of Greece, and the ardent lovers of classic and sacred science, already hailed, in imagination, their triumphal entry into Constantinople, and were preparing to join in the *Tes Deum* to be celebrated in St. Sophia, once more rescued from the desecrating hands of the infidels. The gradual improvement of the Greek affairs, the investiture of the supreme in-

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terests of that nation in the hands of a skilful diplomatist, the friendly reception which the cause of its emancipation had met with in France, and the apathy and neutrality evinced by the Courts of London, Vienna, and Berlin,—all tended to inspire the hope, that, before the end of the ensuing summer, hosts of enthusiastic and enterprising scholars might tread, unmolested, the classical regions of *Ætolia* and *Attica*; that the students of sacred geography might climb to the summits of *Tabor* and *Carmel*, explore the banks of the *Jordan*, and furnish the much desired information respecting the *terra incognita* beyond the *Asphaltic lake*; while it might be the enviable privilege of the *Bible Society* agent, and the *Jewish and Christian missionary*, to proceed in the prosecution of their respective plans of benevolence in *Palestine* and other parts of the *East*, without annoyance from the *firmán* of the *Porte*, or the capricious interference of narrow-minded and despotic *pashas*. Notwithstanding the numerous checks that have been given to our expectations, by the sad disasters of the patriots since first they erected the standard of liberty, we have found it impossible not to augur, from the brave manner in which, under every possible disadvantage, they have maintained the long-protracted struggle, that the time was not far distant, when the soil of *Hellas* should no longer be defiled by the foot of the infidel oppressor; when her depopulated and devastated coasts should once more be adorned with populous cities, and her hills be clothed with vineyards; when the torch of pure and undefiled Christianity should be rekindled in the spheres in which it originally shone, and again spread its bright and gladdening light through the contiguous regions beyond.

To the realization of these hopes, we conceived that *Russia* might most materially contribute. Not that we have ever been disposed to give that power much credit for disinterestedness or pure political benevolence. The partition of *Poland*; the successive conquest of some of the fairest provinces of *Persia*; the gradual inroads she has been making on *Turkey*; and, indeed, her whole policy towards that empire since the reign of *Catherine II.*; irresistibly induce the conclusion, that, how strongly soever she may disclaim the idea of territorial aggrandisement, or whatever may be the countenance which her emperor gives to the feelings of enthusiasm that pervade the breasts of the great mass of his subjects, in the prospect of the emancipation of their *Greek brethren* in the south,—the possession of *European Turkey* and *Asia Minor*, and the command of the *Bosphorus* and the *Dardanelles*, are the covert and real objects at which she aims. But, in order to effect so vast and, for her, so glorious a result, much as she dreads insurrection and re-

volt, she has found it necessary to foster a revolutionary spirit among the Greeks, to furnish them with pecuniary supplies, and to send among them those who were most likely to succeed in rallying the scattered and discordant interests of the Hellenic leaders. Without at all pretending to decide what line of policy the Tzar might pursue towards the liberated and regenerated Greek state, after having employed its materials for working the accomplishment of his immediate designs, it does appear to us extremely probable, that, in the first instance, he would encourage the establishment of liberal institutions, and assist the nation in regaining, at least, some points of ancient glory and renown.

Formidable, however, as were the preparations made by Russia at the commencement of the present campaign, and rapidly as her troops have crossed the Danube, invested some of the principal fortresses of Turkey, and taken the important strong-hold of Varna,—it is impossible not to conclude, from the stop that has been put to their general progress, either that that power has made a display of strength of which she is not really possessed, or has not the means of supporting; or, that the Ottomans, notwithstanding all their reverses in Greece, and the complicated difficulties with which they have had to contend, still command a military force more numerous and formidable than we have been accustomed to imagine, and have means at their disposal very different from what their supposed state of complete exhaustion would have led us to expect.

That the Balkan should not ere now have been crossed, is evidently what the Russians did not contemplate. For such a resistance as that which they have met with, they were not prepared. They expected that one fortress after another would rapidly surrender to their arms; and that, in the course of a couple of months after the actual commencement of hostilities, they would be in Constantinople, whence they might not only dictate laws to Turkey, but exercise an unexampled control over the affairs of three quarters of the globe. There, they were to have placed on the head of Constantine, that crown which was anticipated when the name was given him at his baptism, and for which he in fact relinquished his hereditary claims to that of Russia. To what is the failure to be ascribed? Were the generals ignorant of the natural barriers, strongly fortified by art, which intervened between them and the proud object of their ambition? Have they not an effective force at their command? Or is a real imbecility, arising from the unwieldiness of the imperial sceptre, the dissatisfaction which lurks in the bosom of the nobles, an artificial state of

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finance, and, above all, a want of moral power,—destitution of principle,—the latent cause of the present misfortunes?

With respect to the actual force of the Russian army, it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain its number. That it received a great and rapid increase in the course of last century, and during parts of the present, must be obvious, if any dependence is to be placed on the statements of Hassel. According to that writer, 108,000 troops were maintained by Peter I. in 1724; 162,000 by Elizabeth in 1747; 198,000 by Catherine II. in 1771; 263,000 by the same monarch in 1786; 368,715 by Paul in 1800; 428,287 by Alexander in 1805, and 989,117 in 1820. It is, we should suppose, in some such tabular views as these, that the opinion has originated, that the military strength of that empire amounts at the present time to upwards of a *million* of men; the very idea of which is calculated at once to astonish and to appal. What power, it may be asked, or what combination of powers, is able to meet or withstand so gigantic a host?

A very extensive system of military colonization, of which ample details were published by Dr. Lyall, has of late been called into operation in Russia; in virtue of which, vast numbers of serfs are located in certain frontier or uncultivated districts, where they are formed into communities, subject to martial law and discipline. Thus, combining the acquirement of a knowledge of warlike evolutions with attention to the peaceful arts of agriculture, they are gradually being prepared, at comparatively little expense, for filling up or augmenting the ranks of the army, according as their services may be required. In order to make these establishments tell as much as possible on military productiveness, females of good health and uncommon muscular strength are selected, and, *volens volens*, married to the colonists, from which union there springs a race of powerful and athletic men. One of these forced matches, however, recently gave occasion for the display of a spirit which is believed to exist rather extensively among the boors. A subaltern officer, having conceived a passion for a tall, fine-looking peasant girl, used every art to gain her affections; but finding all his efforts prove ineffectual, he applied to the commanding officer, by whom an order was immediately issued, that the couple should forthwith be joined in wedlock. Remonstrance was made on the part of the parents, but made in vain. The day fixed for the marriage arrived, and the boor accompanied his devoted daughter to the altar; but, just as the priest was about to legalize the union, the aged father, in a fit of desperation, plunged a knife into her heart, and, presenting her to the soldier, exclaimed, 'there is your victim!'

From these colonies, recent as is their establishment, many thousands have already been drafted both into the European and the Asiatic armies; and, as their place is continually being filled up by fresh conscriptions levied on the peasantry, an inexhaustible source is thus opened, from which to supply any deficiencies occasioned by disease or the sword, or to augment the degree of military strength, as circumstances may require. It would be very erroneous, however, to suppose, that the whole force created by this and other means, is disposable for purposes of extensive aggression. The whole system of government, being one of absolute and arbitrary power, renders it necessary to maintain a considerable military force in the two capitals, and generally in the towns throughout the empire. The immense frontier also, beginning at the Baltic, and stretching to the sea of Ochotsk, requires a cordon along the whole of its line; and, what at this moment is a consideration of no ordinary importance, the Russian population comprises upwards of three millions of subjects, who profess the same creed with the Turks, and who for this reason, as well as on the ground of an identity of origin, and from the ancient recollections which most of them cherish, are far from being uninterested, and may not remain inactive spectators of the present struggle. All these circumstances go to prove the impossibility of Russia's bringing into the field any thing like the strength usually ascribed to her. In fact, two of the works at the head of this article, and other sources to which we have access, positively reduce the number of men capable of engaging in actual service, to about 600,000; and even this force cannot be regarded as regularly or permanently effective, being the utmost that, when pushed, it is in the power of Government to produce.

Of this number, it does not appear that much above 200,000 have been brought into the field against the Turks, who seem to have been fully prepared to meet them with at least as considerable a force. And though their troops may not have the same knowledge of European discipline, yet, a considerable portion of them have been training under French officers; and the rest, from their habits of irregular warfare, aided by the natural obstacles presented by Mount Hæmus, are likely more effectually to annoy the Russians, than better disciplined soldiers.

With respect to the finances of Russia, to which special attention ought to be paid in calculating her strength, they are well known to be in the most ruinous condition. The amount of the national debt cannot, indeed, be exactly ascertained; but it is believed to be not less than one thousand millions of rubles. Such a sum may not, at first view, seem greatly dis-

proportionate, in consideration of the immense size of the empire; yet, it presses hard on the Government, consisting for the most part of foreign loans, which require to be paid in gold and silver, while there is scarcely any thing in circulation but paper and copper money, which has become depreciated to one-fourth of its nominal value. Numerous and extensive as the different branches of the revenue may be, and trifling as are the salaries with which the servants of Government are paid, compared with those granted in other states, it is only in times of peace that any thing approximating to a balance can be kept up between the revenue and the expenditure. On the score of finance, therefore, or her internal pecuniary resources, Russia may be regarded as ill-prepared at any time to engage in war; and nothing can be more weakening to her strength, or place her more at the mercy of a foreign enemy, than protracted warfare. At the present moment, she is not receiving millions sterling, as she did during the late war, by which she was enabled to equip and maintain in the field, an active force of 400,000 men. She is now left single-handed to fight with her Moslem neighbour.

But the principal evil under which Russia groans, and that which cripples all her departments, and sheds its baneful influence over every class of society, is the want of moral principle, which is found so extensively to prevail among her population. With some noble, but rare exceptions, from the minister next to the Emperor's person, down to the meanest servant of the crown, all are open to bribery. In many of the public offices, the prices of justice are of long standing and currently known; in others, a bargain must be struck, in much the same way as in the shops; and in proportion to the importance of the decision to be given, the rank of the functionary, and the supposed possibility of the sum's being raised, is the amount of the expected *douceur*. Those who have carried on trade in that country, know by experience, that the native merchants and shop-keepers are, in general, totally unworthy of confidence; that the most paltry sum will make them break their agreement, and that no effort is left unemployed to evade the payment of a just debt. Where there exists to so great an extent such an utter recklessness of principle, what effective energy can there be in mere physical strength?

To one other point of weakness, we beg to call the attention of our readers. Notwithstanding all the vigilance employed by the censors to prevent foreign newspapers, periodicals, and other sources of information from circulating in the empire, it is an undeniable fact, that much light has recently broken in upon the depressed and enslaved portion of the Russian po-

pulation. Perhaps nothing has had a greater tendency to make them feel the wretchedness of their condition, and to fill them with discontent against their despotic lords, both supreme and subordinate, than those accounts of the liberties and privileges enjoyed by foreigners, which have been given them by the warriors who assisted in the final overthrow of Napoleon. These men, after having seen the state of things in France and other parts of Europe, returned to their native villages and their native stoves, and have since beguiled the tediousness of the winter evenings with interesting details of what they witnessed during their visit to the regions of the West. It is not in human nature, feeling the pressure of the one state, and being made acquainted with the enjoyments of the other, not to sigh for deliverance, and, when a favourable opportunity presents itself, to effect its own emancipation. Nor is it among the lower orders only, that a spirit of discontent and insubordination exists. Five of the late conspirators had the hereditary title of prince; the rest were colonels, captains, &c.; and it appears from documents which we have seen, relative to the insurrection of 1825, that ramifications of the most formidable and alarming nature, were found to extend throughout the empire. While the Tzar is leading on his troops in the vicinity of the Balkan, his heart can never be at ease with respect to Petersburg and Moscow. Tidings out of the East and the North may speedily trouble him.

We have thus entered into some detail, with a view to assist our readers in forming a just and sober estimate of the actual strength of Russia, and the probable results of her present position relative to Turkey. The advantage she has gained by the capture of Varna, is doubtless considerable. A direct communication is thereby opened with the left wing of her manœuvring line, and one, though by no means the principal strategical point is brought into her possession. At this advanced season of the year, however, it will be impossible for Nicholas to turn this advantage to any immediate account. The navigation of the Black Sea is extremely dangerous in winter; and to penetrate the Bulgarian Alps, it would be consummate madness to attempt. The Imperial army may now be considered as having gone into winter-quarters between that formidable barrier and the Pruth, where they will have sufficient occupation to guard the strong and well-provisioned fortresses on the line of the Danube, while they wait for the return of spring to renew the campaign. Who does not perceive that, in such a posture of affairs, Russia has much to fear, and Turkey every thing to hope? The latter power is entrenched behind her natural bulwark, at only a short distance from her

capital, with next to impregnable fortresses in the rear of the enemy: the former is immensely removed from her source of supplies, has numerous difficulties to contend with from the character of the country, and will feel proportionally weakened as the period is protracted at which the struggle must close.

But it is time to say something of the works at the head of our article, the announcement of which has given rise to these remarks.

The volume of "The Modern Traveller", which we have, from identity of subject, classed with two recent books of travels in Russia, is already known to our readers, and has been so well received by the public, that it will not be necessary for us to enlarge upon its merits. The volume before us forms the tenth in order of twenty-four that have been published; and the whole work is announced to be completed in thirty volumes. This portion of it contains an interesting outline of Russian history; a view of the territorial boundaries, divisions, and population of the empire; and descriptions of the two capitals, and most of the principal towns; interspersed with remarks on the general features of the country, the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and, in short, every object which has attracted the attention of the Traveller. With the judicious and duly acknowledged citations from Perry, Coxé, Bell, Pallas, Porter, Clarke, Lyall, James, and Cochrane, are interwoven such discriminating, apposite, and accurate observations on characters and events, as are well adapted to enable the reader to form an impartial judgement in reference to the various conflicting statements which have appeared on the subject of Russia. The following spirited 'general view' concludes the volume.

'Such is Russia, the Gog and Magog of the modern world,—that vast, heterogeneous empire, which, stretching over more than a third of the circumference of the globe, and from the Arctic Sea southward beyond the latitude of Madrid or Rome, touches, on one side, Sweden, Prussia, Austria, and Turkey; on the other side, Persia, China, and, by means of her colonies on the north-west coast of the New Continent, Mexico, and the United States*. While, however, the vast aggregate strikes the imagination with its colossal bulk, the greater part of the Russian territory is but the waste land of the civilized world. This largest of empires is, in the scale of political greatness, one of the feeblest of nations†. It has gone on increas-

* 'It has been computed that the superficial extent of the Russian empire is 920,000 square leagues, "being the ninth part of terra firma, and the twenty-eighth of the whole globe."'

† 'With a population of fifty millions, and an extent of superficial territory forty-two times that of France, the revenue of

ing in bulk, till it is incumbered with its own vastness. And, throughout its huge extent, the pulse of mind, the circulation of commercial or moral energy, is so feeble as scarcely to give the semblance of political life to its various parts. The great majority of the people are as yet but little removed from the uncivilized and brutish state in which they were left by the Ruriks and Vladimirs of other times. There are but two classes, the noble and the slave. The government is a despotism of a strictly oriental character, administered by a military police: the word of the emperor, if not his will, is law, for his will may be controlled by his vizier or his janissaries. The religion, literature, and commerce of Russia are all exotic. Her sacred language is Greek; her polite language, French; her vulgar language, a compound of Greek, Latin, German, French, and Slavonian. Her literati are Germans; her merchants, to a great extent British; her bravest officers, Poles or Cossacks. The Slavonic alphabet is said to have been first introduced in the ninth century. The oldest existing written documents are two treaties with the Greek emperors of the tenth century. The first Russian Grammar was published in England towards the close of the seventeenth *. The oldest printed book is a Slavonic Psalter, dated Kiev, 1551. Two years after, a press was established at Moscow; and the first paper which was used for it was manufactured in England. Such is Russia, a country most interesting, viewed as a political phenomenon, though destitute of all those features of historic or moral grandeur that give attraction to the countries which have been the scenes of the ancient monarchies. What Russia may become,—what she would be, if she had seamen as well as ships, commerce as well as extent of territory, and wealth as well as millions of slaves, it is not for us to predict. Commercial wealth and naval power are the two things wanting to make the semi-barbarous colossus as really formidable as it would gladly be thought. Muscovy has, indeed, been continually travelling southward; and it is well understood, that there exists a wish that its limits should protrude into the Mediterranean. Were this to be effected, Russia would soon cease to be Russia; for neither the Northern Palmyra nor the Tartarian Rome would long remain her capital.' *Mod. Traveller*, Part XX. pp. 336—338.

Very nearly coincident with the view here given, is that which is presented by the pages of Mr. Rae Wilson. Though not characterised by profundity of research and originality of remark, or, by the novelty of its information, adapted to throw light on the empire of the Tzars, his volumes discover a very creditable assiduity of observation, and a minuteness which, though sometimes bordering on puerility, nevertheless fur-

Russia in 1817 was under 13,000,000*l.*; that of France nearly 37,000,000*l.*'

* '*Ludolfi Grammatica Russica*. Oxon. 1696.—See Bowring's Russian Anthology, p. xii.'

nishes the strongest evidence of the Author's veracity, and supplies information which the more scientific or more courtly traveller might think it beneath his dignity to communicate. We refer, for instance, to the calculation of expenses, bills of fare, &c. at different places on the route. There is a plain straight-forwardness about Mr. Wilson, which cannot but inspire his readers with the conviction that he really saw or heard what he relates. His style is simple and unvarnished,—very different from that of a man who is determined to make the most of his materials; and, on the whole, men and things seem fairly to rise before us in the form and costume of real life. We therefore give the Author full credit when he tells us, in the Preface, that 'whatever be the imperfections imputed to 'this work,' he 'can conscientiously assert, that' he has 'uniformly endeavoured to adhere to the truth, whether favourable or otherwise.'

The work professedly contains an account of "Travels in Russia", but embraces a much more extended tour, and furnishes the reader with travelling sketches through Germany, by the northern route of Hamburgh, Berlin, Koenigsberg, &c. to St. Petersburg; and afterwards, through Finland, Sweden, Denmark, and the Netherlands, to Calais. Our limits will not permit us to follow Mr. Wilson through these countries. Like most other tourists who have taken the same route, he complains of the severity with which he was searched by the custom-house officers at the Russian frontier town of Polanger.

'All the luggage', he says, 'was taken to a house occupied by the douaniers; and every article was turned out, handled, and examined. We were prepared to find great jealousy exercised on the part of the Russians towards books, especially such, however trifling, as treated in any way of this country; and had, therefore, abstained from bringing any. Their suspicion of such articles had been of late greatly increased by publications speaking unreservedly on the subject of the Russian empire. I had but one book in my portmanteau, and this was a volume of my *Travels in the Holy Land*, which was intended as a present to the Emperor. It was, however, instantly seized upon; the officers took it into another room, and shut the door; but it being in the English language, they could not tell what were its contents, and demanded the nature of the publication. On my Russian servant informing them that it was for His Imperial Majesty, and that, if they chose, they might attach the lead to it, with the official mark, and send it to St. Petersburg, they again held a consultation, and sent for the principal douanier. We were then ordered into the apartment, where was a most ferocious-looking fellow with a drawn sword, whose appearance was well calculated to inspire awe; he stood on one side, in an erect attitude, like a statue, beside an enormous pair of scales suspended from the ceiling; and,

after much conversation, through the medium of my interpreter, the volume was returned.'

Vol. I. p. 162.

The patience of the traveller had previously been well nigh exhausted by the snail-like pace at which he had been proceeding along the sandy roads of Germany; but he is restored to good humour by the speed with which he was conveyed through the beautiful scenery of Livonia. He had now exchanged German for Russian postillions; and instead of driving at the rate of thirty-five miles in ten hours (which he was obliged to do in the vicinity of Boitzenburg), he travelled about eighteen English miles in two hours and a quarter;—the animals proceeding at full gallop, so as perpetually to create an apprehension of being upset. Next to the velocity with which a bird cuts the air, it has been said, is the rapidity of a Russian Cabinet courier. This is not an empty hyperbole; as a proof of which, we may mention an anecdote of a person of this description who was attached to the Russian embassy in Paris, during the short cessation of hostilities in 1802. The ambassador, having been apprised that the French Government had sent off a messenger to St. Petersburg, bearing despatches, with the nature of which it was of the utmost importance for the Russian Court to be acquainted before they could be laid before it by the French ambassador,—called his courier, and delivered to him a letter, which he was to produce in his own capital before the Frenchman could reach it: yet, before proceeding thither, it was necessary for him to go to London, and to take with him another despatch from the Russian minister at the Court of Great Britain. No time was lost. The Russian came over to this country, obtained his despatches, recrossed the Straits of Dover, and, notwithstanding the badness of the German roads, and the start which the French courier had got of him, he actually passed him within half a day's journey of St. Petersburg.

As we shall presently have occasion to advert to Mr. Wilson's statements relative to that metropolis, in connexion with some on the same subject by Dr. Granville, we shall now content ourselves with a reference to his visit to Moscow. In depicting the scenes of superstition exhibited in the Cathedral of the Archangel Michael, in the Kremlin, he makes the following observations on the religion of the Russians.

'Judging from the number of churches in this capital, we should be led to suppose that the Moscovites are, more than any nation in the world, distinguished for righteousness, since these religious edifices amount to about 1500, which is far more than sufficient for the population. Within, the walls are covered with pictures of the Virgin Mary and Saints, with lights burning before them, as in

Catholic churches; and some of these are decked out in the most ludicrous manner, with shrines of gold, silver, and precious stones. In truth, these people carry their adoration of pictures absolutely to idolatry. Many have bulbous cupolas and other singular superstructures above the roof, which reminded me of some of the Turkish mosques. These domes are surmounted by the crescent as well as the cross, which is accounted for by the Tartars having taken down the cross and hoisted the crescent, and the former being, in its turn, hoisted over the latter.

'The Russians seem to interpret literally the text; "Let your light shine before men"; for candles are kept burning almost continually before the altars; and we observed many miserable objects in rags come and deposit their glimmering tapers, seemingly satisfied that they were performing a truly meritorious act of piety, and honouring the Almighty; but they are, I fear, far more attentive to outward forms and ceremonies than to spiritual worship. No books are used,' (by the people, Mr. Wilson must mean,) 'but the service seems to consist entirely in crossing themselves, and bowing to the ground. Fête-days are infinitely more venerated than the Sabbath; and although on the latter, shops are open, and persons at work, yet, on the former, the shops are closed, and no kind of business or traffic pursued: thus transferring the worship due to God, to saints, whose title to respect is frequently very questionable. This subject never can be brought too often into view; and it is impossible to reconcile such practices either with the word of Inspiration, which commands most expressly the seventh day to be sanctified; in commemoration of God having then rested from his stupendous labours; or with the regard due to the Christian Sabbath, as the day of the resurrection and glorious ascension of his Son Jesus Christ. During Lent and Easter, in particular, the natives might be supposed actually to outstrip all others in religion. This is a period of complete starvation, and it is held to be actually meritorious to abstain from animal food. At this season, the images in the streets, and those stuck up in houses, have new dresses and ornaments. The primate bathes the feet of twelve men, in imitation of the similar act of humility shown by Christ to the Apostles. Thousands pour into the place, crossing themselves on the forehead, shoulders, and breast. In fine, superstition here almost exceeds all that can be figured of the bigotry even of Roman Catholicism itself.'

Vol. II. pp. 39—41.

We know not whether the Commissioners for building churches will take the hint given them by Mr. Wilson, and appropriate a portion of the money voted by Parliament, to the erection of a British chapel in Moscow. We rather suspect that some of them would not be forward to subscribe to the liberal and tolerant sentiments with which the document concludes, which authorized the establishment of an English place of worship in that city,—one among the last acts of Alexander, having been issued a short time before his death. Count Nes-

seclude states officially, that he was 'expressly charged to make known the determination of the Emperor, to which he had been led by an unremitting solicitude that the members of the different foreign communions tolerated in Russia, should enjoy, in perfect concord among themselves, the whole of that liberty of conscience which the laws of the Empire secure equally to them all.' It is a fact deserving of particular notice, that while, to the disgrace of our nation, the names of so large a minority appeared on the question of the abolition of the Corporation and Test Acts, and while so many of our legislators are still opposed to the emancipation of the Catholics from the civil disabilities under which they labour, no religious distinction whatever has any influence on eligibility to offices and places of trust in Russia. Notwithstanding all that requires reformation in that country, and in the face of the restrictions which cramp free inquiry among the members of the dominant Greek Church, a person may belong to any sect of Dissenters, and yet fill the highest office under the Emperor. The nobleman whose name is attached to the document above referred to, though a member of the Anglican Protestant church at St. Petersburg, has for many years held the responsible station of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Admiral Greig is a member of the same Church; and many of the most distinguished officers, both civil and military, belong either to the Roman Catholic Communion, or to the Protestant Confessions. Some considerable degree of progress was made in liberality of religious feeling in Russia during the reign of Alexander; and as the character of that monarch has been the subject of much discussion in this country in connexion with this question, it may not be uninteresting to our readers, to glance at the portrait which Mr. Wilson has drawn of his Imperial Majesty.

On the introduction of the Lancasterian, or British system of education, the Emperor Alexander declared himself the warm friend of what promised to contribute so extensively to diffuse the blessings of education throughout his dominions. That he really was solicitous for the welfare of all classes of his subjects, there is little doubt; and when we consider how much was accomplished during his reign; the number of universities, gymnasia, and provincial schools established within that period; the attention paid to literature and science; the various voyages of discovery undertaken at the expense of the Government; and the munificence almost invariably displayed towards every undertaking that had for its object any kind of public improvement; it is impossible to refuse paying a just tribute to his virtues, and holding him up as a model to his successors. Russia has been peculiarly fortunate in having had, within little more than a century, three patriotic sovereigns, who employed despotic power for benefi-

cent purposes; and the names of Peter, Catharine, and Alexander, deserve to be cherished by her with filial regard.

'Magnanimous in the field, Alexander was unassuming in private life; and although possessed of the means of indulging in boundless magnificence, his habits of life were peculiarly simple, and opposed to every thing resembling ostentation. Will it be credited, that, during his last illness, the Sovereign of "all the Russias" laid [lay] not on down and purple, but on a small iron bedstead, without even a curtain attached to it; while his constant and sole attendant, the ministrant to his wants, the nurse beside his humble couch, was the Imperial partner of his throne! Scandal, which omits no opportunity of prying into the private life of monarchs, and which, making no allowance for human infirmities, or the peculiar situation in which those thus exposed on all sides to temptation are placed, delights to unveil, with a cruel and reckless hand, the foibles which they themselves would conceal out of deference to virtue,—I say, scandal has not spared the character of this prince, but insinuated that little affection existed between him and his consort, who were united at a very early age. This may be so; for it is rare indeed to find in the matrimonial alliances of royalty, those attachments of the heart which such unions almost necessarily exclude; but that the Imperial pair must have entertained a high degree of mutual esteem for each other, and that on the one side there was confidence, on the other, cheerful submission, the circumstance that has just been mentioned strongly testifies. Alexander's reign was not that of favourites and mistresses—of profligate and ambitious women—whose tyranny adds to the bitterness of oppression, and the sting of public insult.'

Vol. II. pp. 130—132.

Mr. Wilson gives us a condensed history of the Russian Bible Society; and he indeed omits no opportunity of noticing the existence and operations of similar institutions as they occur, in the course of his travels. As our readers may, however, be supposed to be already in possession of all the information on the subject which the work contains, we shall only advert to a curious fact to which reference is made in "The Modern Traveller"; viz. that the house which was occupied by the Moscow Bible Society, was formerly *La Chancellerie Secrète*, or office of secret affairs,—a species of Star-chamber or Inquisition; and that the very individual who had the charge of the Bibles, was himself once a prisoner in one of its subterranean cells, on the charge of giving circulation to books that were calculated to disturb the minds of the members of the orthodox Greek Church! We have already expressed our conviction of the reliance that may in general be placed on Mr. Wilson's statements; we might, however, if our space allowed, point out a few oversights with which he is chargeable. Had it not been for our ultimately discovering, at the end of the second volume, diurnal observations on the state of the ther-

monometer, we should have found it impossible to determine the dates of his visit to the different places through which he passed. The Appendix contains seventeen royal letters, written by Elizabeth, Mary, and Charles, copied from the autographs in the Imperial library, some of which will be perused with interest.

"St. Petersburg" by Dr. Granville, is a work of very different pretensions. We allude not to the nine and twenty titles of the Author, with an additional &c., blazoned on the title-page; to the seventy superb engravings with which the volumes are embellished; or to the imperial and noble personages, professional gentlemen, and celebrated characters to whom it introduces us; but, taken altogether, it is one of the most imposing books of travels, that have recently been laid on our table.

At the conclusion of what in London is called 'the Season', in 1827, Dr. Granville, Physician in Ordinary to the Duke of Clarence, and so forth, left England, to attend professionally Count Michael Woronzow, a distinguished Russian nobleman high in the military service of his sovereign, who, with the Countess, was returning from a visit to this country. Passing through Flanders, the countries bordering on the Rhine, Prussia, and the Baltic provinces of Russia, he reached St. Petersburg on the 27th of October; and, after remaining in that capital till the 11th of December, returned to England by way of Poland, Saxony, Bavaria, Frankfort, and Paris. The reasons which induced him to publish an account of his travels, he states to be, a desire to communicate to others the result of his observations, a little ambition, and a wish to prove, that although he left his ordinary business for nearly four months, he was not altogether idle during that period.

Though his residence at St. Petersburg occupied little more than six weeks, and the intercourse which he had with its inhabitants was necessarily limited, he appears to have made the most of his time; directing his attention to every object which presents itself to the eye, or interests the mind of the traveller, and taking notes for a minute description of the public buildings and public institutions, the external habits of society, and the more prominent manners and characters of individuals. Comparing his picture of the more obvious features of the topography, and the character of the different establishments, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, which he had an opportunity of examining, with the information we have obtained from other sources, we hesitate not to give it as our opinion, that, in regard to 'things', not perhaps altogether 'as they are', but as they appeared to the Author, we are furnished with statements

on which a considerable degree of reliance can be placed ; and certainly, his book contains a fullness and variety of information relative to the wonders of the Imperial City of the North, which will be sought for in vain from any other work in the English language. Whatever Dr. Granville saw with his own eyes (and most of what he describes comes under this head) may be received with the less qualification, since, as a man of the world, who, in the exercise of his profession, had visited many foreign parts, he was prepared to take very different views of things from those which are often adopted by such persons as have not previously crossed the Channel, or been at the distance of many miles from the paternal hearth. But we cannot resist the conviction, that there are other things which he did not see, or seeing, did not choose to communicate ; and some which he evidently contemplated through the vision of others. His connexion with the Count, and the intercourse which he enjoyed with many of the nobility, his introduction at Court, and the flattering reception which he met with from the most distinguished and illustrious members of the imperial family,—how great soever might have been the advantages they yielded him in certain respects, necessarily involved him in almost insuperable difficulties, in regard to his obtaining of a full-orbed view of the real state of many things in St. Petersburg. The distinctive lineaments of the Russian character, and the effects of a certain system of education and government, to which other travellers have given a very considerable degree of prominence, are here almost entirely passed over, as what could not indeed be seen and examined in the course of a few weeks. It would, certainly, have been wise in Dr. Granville, not to advert at all to points connected with official men and official measures ; as his experience must have been very circumscribed, and much that he advances on these subjects, happens to run directly counter to the experience of persons who have enjoyed more favourable opportunities of observation and research.

On the subject of *espionage*, our Author and Mr. Wilson are completely at issue. Because it was well known that he visited every establishment and saw a great variety of people, took notes of every thing with a view to publication, scribbled, as he states, in his room daily several hours together, left his apartments open and his papers unsecured, and yet met with no vexatious interference,—he imagines, forsooth ! that he was not subjected to any domiciliary visit :—as if the Russian spies would have been absolutely stupid enough to carry on their business before his eyes ; or, as if his being a resident in the house of a nobleman, prevented his being under the *surveillance*

of the police, and his papers from being examined by its agents—some of the Count's own servants. Most persons who have been in Russia, know certainly and positively, and some of them experimentally, that a system of the most refined and thorough-paced *espionage* does exist at St. Petersburg, and can vouch for the credibility of the following statements of Mr. Wilson, who is rather unceremoniously attacked by the Doctor in reference to this subject.

We hired a domestique de place at five rubles a day. These fellows being uniformly in the pay of the police, are mere spies on strangers; and I am persuaded, that the police were informed not only of every place we visited, but all the remarks we uttered; a hint that, it is trusted, will not be thrown away upon future travellers. We learned, too, that the police were daily at our hotel, making special inquiries concerning what we were about; and as I was frequently engaged in writing, this circumstance occasioned the most violent suspicions. One morning the mistress of the hotel entered my apartment in great agitation, exclaiming, "*Oh, prenez garde, prenez garde, Monsieur, je vous prie.*" On asking for an explanation, she acquainted me with the danger of writing so much; adding, that she was under the greatest apprehension that the officers would pay me a domiciliary visit, and seize on all my papers, as they had lately done to an English gentleman there, a short time previous. I must confess that, hearing this, I was not altogether easy, especially on recollecting the arbitrary and unjust behaviour exercised towards my two countrymen, as has been already pointed out, and was apprehensive that I might share a similar fate,—be hurried out of the country,—even if not ordered to travel in the direction of Siberia. On the landlord and her husband again strongly cautioning me, I considered it to be no more than prudent to attend to the warning in time; and therefore represented the matter to our ambassador, requesting to be informed how I should act under these circumstances. From him I learned that Count Nesselrode, the Russian minister, had been making enquiries relative to me; but was assured that, in consequence of his representations, I might rest perfectly easy. Still, although my fears were removed, I had reason to apprehend that my steps were constantly watched, until the very moment of our departure from the capital. Such is the system of espionage kept up in this country, that if a servant be despatched with a letter, especially if in a hurry, it is a thousand to one but he takes it to the governor, who opens it, *sans cérémonie*, looks into the contents, and thus becomes acquainted with your private sentiments or affairs. The government appear to have persons scattered in all quarters, whose office it is to report whatever occurs; so that nothing, however trifling, escapes its cognizance: besides which, it is to be apprehended that these public scrutinizers do not always adhere to mere facts, but indulge in surmises prejudicial to innocent individuals; and woe be to him whom they mark out as the object of their vengeance. At the

same time that such a system destroys all private confidence, and opens a wide door to perfidy and treachery, it is really disgraceful in any government to have recourse to such low and paltry artifices, which are quite as much calculated to entrap the innocent and unwary, as to check those who are evilly disposed.

Vol. I. pp. 379—381.

We hope the hint here given will not be thrown away on such as may visit the Russian dominions, and that they will not allow themselves to be put off their guard by the assurance of Dr. Granville, that 'things are not always as bad as represented.' The cases of the Rev. Mr. Withy and Mr. Holman, fully bear us out in our view of this matter.

'The post', says Mr. Wilson, 'at Trawenbourg [Frawenbourg], where we halted to breakfast, might be called the house of a comfortable gentleman farmer; and we were waited upon by two genteel girls, the postmaster's daughters. Here we became somewhat alarmed at hearing that an Englishman had been arrested while travelling, and detained some weeks under this very roof, by the police, from whom he suffered many indignities. This gentleman, who was a clergyman of excellent character, and whom we had the pleasure of knowing personally, was returning from St. Petersburg, where he had been spending the winter with a family of rank, and was going to Paris in company with a Frenchman, when, before he reached the frontier, he was rudely seized by a police officer, who forced him to change his route, and accompany him to Riga. In this dilemma he was obliged to abandon his *companion de voyage* and was hurried, like a felon, into a cart without springs. Being greatly overcome with fatigue, he could not proceed, and was allowed to remain in this spot. Every rule of propriety or common decency was disregarded; his papers were laid hold of, and he was as rigidly examined, as if a charge of high treason had been brought against him. The officer proceeded to Riga to report what had occurred. No explanation whatever could be obtained, why a British subject, a gentleman of character, and a minister of religion, against whom not the shadow of a charge could be brought, as to any thing of a criminal nature, should be thus treated. Another instance of exceedingly tyrannical and most oppressive conduct towards a British subject travelling in Russia, is that of Mr. Holman, the well-known traveller; and what rendered the outrage, in this instance, more aggravating and unfeeling, is that he is deprived of sight, and ought, therefore, to have excited sympathy and commiseration rather than mistrust. Independently also of this severe affliction, his deportment is so mild and amiable, that there could not exist any reasonable pretence for the harshness and severity exercised towards him. Notwithstanding this, he was apprehended, like a criminal, in the eastern part of Siberia, whither he had penetrated in spite of all obstacles and infirmities, and was hurried back through Russia and Poland, under the surveillance of an officer of police, to Vienna. Even in this latter city he was not

permitted to remain, so formidable did this unfortunate and helpless individual appear to the governments of Russia and Austria.

Vol. I. pp. 173—175.

That banishments to Siberia for causes the most trifling, are still practised, the following curious fact, on the truth of which our readers may place the fullest dependence, furnishes a striking and melancholy proof.

‘To shew that even a joke cannot be uttered with impunity, I will here relate an anecdote, communicated to me on unquestionable authority. In 1823, at a meeting of the Academy of Arts, three ministers were proposed as members; on which the vice-president, a man of considerable talent, and far more of the artist than the courtier, objected to their admission, as being quite unqualified. It was urged, in reply, that they were near the person of the Emperor, and might be of use to the institution. In some desultory conversation after the meeting had broken up, the vice-president, animadverting on the ineligibility of those who had been nominated, said that the Academy might as well have elected the emperor’s coachman, as he too was near his person, and quite as much an artist as the individuals in question. This pleasantry did not fail to reach the ears of Miloradovich, and the unfortunate wit was summoned before him, and asked whether he really uttered the remark imputed to him. Disdaining to have recourse to any subterfuge, he replied that he had, but quite jocosely, and without in the least intending to reflect on those to whom it was applied. This, however, availed nothing: he was ordered to quit St. Petersburg in four-and-twenty hours, and proceed to enjoy the cool air of Siberia, as being best adapted to persons of his lively temperament. It is suspected, however, that no notice would have been taken of what had passed had it not been for the president, who was jealous of his talents, and availed himself of this opportunity to get him expelled from the institution.

Vol. II. pp. 139, 140. (Note)

We shall only add, that this took place in one of the last years of the reign of Alexander, and that the learned counsellor of state who was thus punished for an honest attempt to preserve the purity and dignity of the institution over which he presided, soon died of a broken heart in the land of his exile.

But we must now lay before our readers an extract or two from the work of Dr. Granville, containing a description of some of those objects respecting which he can have laboured under no mistake. The following panoramic view of the city, obtained from the elevated tower of the Admiralty, will give them some idea of the spirited manner of the work.

‘A few days after our arrival, the Count requested one of his *aide-de-camps*, the Prince Herbeouldzeff, a Circassian nobleman, whose amiable disposition and refined manners have won him the affections of a large circle of friends, to accompany a medical friend

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and myself to see the interior of the Admiralty. The elevated tower of this building offers an excellent opportunity of taking a periscopic bird's eye view of the city ; we at the same time ascended to the external gallery placed around the lantern, which, surmounting the dome, serves as a base to the beautiful and richly gilt spire that rises from this point, eighty-five feet high. In this situation, we found ourselves at an elevation of one hundred and forty-five feet above the level of the Nieva ; and never did a more magnificent spectacle greet the eye of an enquiring traveller, than burst upon us, when we stepped out on the circular balcony. The day was one of the finest seen in this climate. An uninterrupted sunshine lighted up every part of the surrounding panorama, and there was a transparency in the atmosphere which made every object still more conspicuous.

' The first impression received on looking around, when hundreds of fine palaces, colonnades, statues, and towering spires, with not a few specimens of the pure Grecian style of building, attract the attention, would lead one to imagine oneself suddenly transported to a newly erected city of Greece, in the time of Pericles. But when we connected those different objects with the long, straight, and wide streets, flanked with houses of various but generally handsome designs—when we marked the bustle of the multitude—the great and motley variety of costumes, most of them picturesque—the *bizarrierie* of the different vehicles that glided before us, some training silently along the handsome area that lay immediately below us, intersecting each other in a thousand directions ; others rapidly coursing on low wheels with horses that are taught antics and gambols in their course—and now and then a stately carriage drawn by four horses, guided by a long bearded coachman, whose waist is compressed by a silken sash, with a square cap of crimson velvet placed diagonally on his head, and who was heard urging the distant leaders under the control of a little urchin ; we were recalled in our imagination to present times and to reality, and we surveyed with admiration this youngest of the European capitals, and the capital of the largest empire in Europe.

' The prevalence of the light and soft tints with which most of the public buildings are painted, give to the city a gay and refreshing aspect. Immediately in front of us three noble streets, diverging like rays from a centre, penetrate into the heart of the city, and open to the view the façades of churches and palaces without number, and present lines of dwelling-houses of the first magnitude. These are mostly built of stone, or are of brick stuccoed over. Timber houses are only perceived in a few of the distant suburbs of the Litteinoï, and Narfskoï districts, or in the more remote parts of the Vassiliefskoï and Peterbourskoï Islands. Although higher than the houses in London, those of St. Petersburg have seldom more than two stories, the elevation of each of which is consequently considerable. These are frequently ornamented with handsome balconies, and light balustrades surround the flat roofs, which are generally covered with sheet iron, painted green or red. Columns are profusely introduced ; but their application is mostly confined to the

principal story, being seldom employed for the construction of porticos before the principal entrance.

The number of spires, domes, and towers, with which the general map of the city is interspersed, give to the whole a pleasing variety. The Byzantine bulbous cupolas distinguish those dedicated to the Greco-Russian communion from the other churches. One of the principal ornaments of this modern Palmyra are indeed its churches. Seen from an eminence, the Greek churches appear, both far and near, with an imposing aspect, alike removed from the masterpieces of Gothic architecture and the modern temples. Five domes, the central one of which is higher than the others, and of larger proportions, in many instances gilt with profusion, would remind one of the mosques of Constantinople, but that the Greek Cross towers here in proud triumph over the Ottoman Crescent. We were struck with the fine appearance of the several military barracks, and the riding-house adjoining those which belong to the several cavalry regiments of Guards stationed in the capital. The uniform beauty of these buildings, most of which have been erected by eminent architects, is very remarkable. The squares and gardens, seen to interrupt the monotony of large masses of dwellings and streets, form at the same time a number of important openings in the great map of the city, on which the eye dwells with pleasure. We particularly noticed, on the eastern side of our station, and on the bank of the Moika, the Imperial Mews, with the church belonging to it, one of the most superb specimens of architecture existing in St. Petersburg: its running portico, of the order of Pestum, is unequalled in beauty. The summer-gardens, and the Castle of St. Michael near them, the pleasure-grounds belonging to the recently finished and magnificent palace of the Grand Duke Michael, are likewise seen grouped on this spot. The wide Fontanka, with its many granite bridges, marks the boundary of this district, beyond which the view stretches to the old and new Arsenal, to the Taurida palace and its park, and farther still to the splendid convent of Smolnoï. Turning gently round over the neighbouring scenery, the elevated church of St. Alexander Nevoski with its monastery, cemetery, and cloister, caught our attention; while in the intermediate ground we observed the long line of shops of the Gostinoidvor, the tower of the Town-hall, the private palace of Anitchkoff, belonging to the Emperor, the semicircular front of the Cathedral of our Lady of Casan, the Bank of Assignats, the handsome building of the Poor's Hospital, and that of the Institute of St. Catherine. Directing our attention to the south-western part of the city, new wonders offered themselves to our view. The colossal pile of marble forming part of the intended new church of St. Isaac, the Palladian structure of the Post-office, the barracks and riding-house of the *Gardes à cheval*, the great and handsome portico of the Opera, with the picturesque church of St. Nicholas not far distant from it, successively presented themselves as objects for our admiration. The scene, too, in this direction, is pleasingly varied by the many intersecting canals which meet to mingle their waters with those of the gulf placed at the extreme point of our picture, and forming its distant horizon.

We left with regret our elevated station, where pleasure and sur-

prise had riveted us for nearly an hour to the contemplation of a living panorama, to see which alone, it is not too much to say, that a journey of 1700 miles is not too great a sacrifice.' Vol. I. pp. 444—447.

From this groupe of singularly magnificent and interesting objects, we select, as a specimen of the Author's talent for minute description, the triumph of modern architecture in St. Petersburg—the palace begun and completed under the late Emperor, and now occupied by the Grand-duke Michael, and hence called *Palais Michel*.

'The architect of this important and recent embellishment of the capital, Mons. Rossi, was so kind as to accompany me in my visit to it, and presented me with some original drawings, made on a large scale, of the elevation, sections, and plans of the building, with its extensive offices, elegant riding-house, and pleasure-grounds. By means of these, and with his personal assistance, I was enabled to take the following notes on the spot, and also to procure a sketch of the façade of the palace, which forms the frontispiece plate to the second volume of these Travels.

'The choice of a situation for erecting a stately residence, intended for the use of his Imperial younger brother, was left by the late Emperor to Monsieur Rossi himself, who selected the present spot, which was formerly a morass. By the elevation of one of the finest buildings of the present day, the distribution and arrangement of a garden and pleasure-grounds behind it, and the formation of a large square in front, planted in the centre in the English style, and flanked with handsome private mansions on three of its sides; together with the opening of new and fine streets leading to it—that eminent architect has given to this part of the city a grandeur, which at once strikes the stranger, and in a particular manner arrests his attention. No choice of situation could be more happy, whether in reference to the palace and the dignified individual who was to occupy it; or to the quarter of the town which it so materially embellishes. The distance from the Imperial palaces, the cathedral, and the great public walks, is inconsiderable. The house is placed a short way between the Imperial mews on the north-west, and the castle formerly occupied by the unfortunate Paul on the east; and its extensive pleasure-grounds reach to the quay of the Moika canal, which separates them from the *Champ de Mars* and the summer-gardens. Besides the handsome square in front of the palace, a wide street is intended to be opened facing it, which will pass between the Catholic and Armenian churches, and, crossing the Nevskoi Prospekt, will join the projected improvement in the immediate neighbourhood of the Russian shops. For convenience therefore, for health, and agreeableness of neighbourhood, the situation of the new palace is beyond question the best that could have been selected in the capital, and does great credit to the judicious discrimination of the architect. Nor is this a trifling merit on his part; since we are perpetually seeing architects of the first reputation placing magnificent edifices in situations which accord neither with the splendour of the building, nor the objects for which they are erected.

The magnificent structure which Monsieur Rossi has raised on so favourable a spot, presents a façade fifty-two sajenes, or 364 feet in length, and consists of a main-body, or *corps de logis*, and two projecting wings. The former is united to the latter by pavilions, without any interruption in the line of communication; and by its projection toward the wings, forms, with the main body of the building, a spacious court, which is separated from the street by a lofty railing of cast iron, connected by colossal pillars, representing fasciæ, in which the beauty of workmanship equals the richness of the design. In the centre of this railing, four square granite piers, surmounted by handsome trophies, form the grand entrance into the court, around which the carriages drive on the left or right side, and set down under a covered archway in front of the ground or basement story. This story, rusticated by horizontal lines only, and very lofty, contains on the left the ordinary dwelling apartments of the Grand-duchess, and on the right those of the Grand-duke. The windows, by their boldness and size, bespeak the magnitude of those apartments. Upon the basement story is placed the state floor, of the Corinthian order, with an octostyle portico in the centre, of the greatest beauty, resting on the rusticated archway of the ground story, and having on each side of it a series of seven handsome pillars, continued as far as the pavilions, with seven lofty arched windows, one in each intercolumniation. The order is not crowned either by a second floor or an attic, but by an entablature of rich construction, under which and above the windows a wide space intervenes, which is filled up with a running bas-relief. The portico is surmounted by a well-proportioned pediment, and an elegant balustrade runs along the top of the building and conceals the roof. The two large pavilions consist likewise of a ground and state floor, in continuation of those of the main building, to which they are united, and beyond which they project several feet. On the state floor of these pavilions there are no pillars, and only three windows, the centre of which is a triple Venetian arched window, rising to the architrave of the entablature, and contrasting favourably with the surrounding objects. The wings are of the Doric order, and rise a little higher than one-half of the elevation of the main building. That part of each wing which fronts the street is very extensive, and presents a Doric colonnade, half-fluted, of the utmost elegance of proportions, and neatness of execution. A large *porte cochère*, in the centre of each of these, serves for the more ordinary ingress and egress of the inmates of the palace and their carriages, the grand entrance in the fore-court being only used on state occasions.

In its interior, this imposing structure combines every thing that decoration, rich and beautiful workmanship, costly material, and a profusion of other means, directed by consummate skill, and the purest taste, could accomplish. It is seldom that, in a princely palace of such magnitude, the arrangement of its different parts can be made to unite beauty with convenience,—display of architectural grandeur with utility. In the present instance, however, all this has been effected; and it would be difficult to find in any other capital, or even in St. Petersburg, so complete, so exquisite a specimen as the *Palais Michel* offers of a plan, every sub-division of which is

equally well contrived for its individual purpose, and neither interferes with, masks, nor otherwise injures, the usefulness and effect of the rest or of any part of it.

The principal vestibule within the grand entrance has a character of grandeur, which the bold double flight of granite steps occupying the centre tends greatly to heighten. It is impossible to do justice in words to the imposing effect of the grand staircase, around three sides of which extends a wide gallery with handsome columns, supporting the highly ornamented roof, raised to the height of the entire building. Two statues of great merit, representing Achilles and Hector, by Russian sculptors, decorate this part of the building, and the lofty walls bear a running *fascia* of bas-relief, of beautiful execution. The general effect, however, is much diminished by the substitution of a slender common iron bannister, covered with a narrow mahogany hand-rail, placed along the stairs, instead of a massive bronze or marble balustrade, called for by the colossal proportions of every other part. The presence of the commonest sort of three burner Argand lamps, cased in tin, suspended between the columns of the three-sided gallery, by which the staircase is lighted at night, is also injurious to the grandeur of the whole. Here, nothing short of some colossal bronze candelabra ought to have been introduced. These are defects arising rather from a spirit of economy, than from an incongruous taste; and will probably be, as they are happily susceptible of being, rectified at some future period.

I must abandon the task of even attempting to delineate the manner in which the magnificent suite of state-rooms appeared fitted up as they burst upon me in succession, while walking over this extensive mansion in company with M. Rossi and one of the superintendent officers of rank in the establishment. Every style and combination of architectural decoration, in the form of the rooms, the introduction of columns, the composition of chimney-pieces, the dimensions of the architraves and piers to the doors, the direction of friezes, the projection of cornices, and the situation of caryatides have been laid under contribution, and are to be met with in the interior of this mansion. Ornamental modern painting too has seldom, if at all, been carried to such perfection as in this case, by Scotti, Vighi, and Medici—three artists, each in his different department far superior to the majority of decorative fresco and oil-painters of modern Italy. The ceilings or *plafonds* of the former are exquisitely beautiful, and leave nothing to be desired. If the upper part of the rooms has been so carefully attended to, their lower part cannot be said to have been neglected. The floors are inlaid with rose-wood, ebony, mahogany, and other handsome woods from Carelia, as well as from foreign parts. The walls of the largest rooms are of scagliola, imitating the yellow siena, the porto venere, the verde antico, or the finest polished and white Carrara marble. In most of these rooms, columns or pilasters of different orders of architecture, and in imitation of the same marbles, have been introduced, surmounted by gilt capitals. In the smaller apartments, costly hangings and draperies cover the walls; and in all of them, mirrors of astonishing magnitude, pier-tables, vases, and superb candelabra, handsome *fauteuils*, and rich carpets, lackered doors, brilliant, polished, carved,

and divided by gilded frames into panels, and damask curtains, impart that high character of magnificence to the whole, which one expects to find in, and which so well becomes the residence of a prince so nearly allied to the sovereign of the country.

‘ I ought, however, to make particular mention of the Ball-room, the Great-hall of White Marble, the State Bed-room, and the principal *boudoir*, because their style of decoration not only surpasses every thing I have seen in the Tuileries, or any of the other royal palaces on the Continent, but is likewise perfectly unique.

‘ The first of these rooms is a parallelogram of considerable size. The walls are wholly incrustated with imitative marble of a delicate blue colour, highly polished, and eight handsome columns are placed at each end, of the same colour and material, with gilt capitals. Twelve magnificent candelabra of three rows of sockets, for thirty lights in each, of wood most beautifully carved and richly gilt, decorate the sides and end of the room. The ceiling is divided into panels on a blue ground, each panel containing several interesting groups and arabesque paintings by Scotti, delightfully executed. The cornice is carved in the most masterly style, and the happy mixture of white and gold, with the blue tint of the room, is particularly effective. The floor is skilfully inlaid with foreign wood; and the most splendid mirrors, placed in different parts of the room, multiply the enchanting objects to an infinite series. The *fauteuils*, the draperies, and curtains, of the richest materials, complete the decorations of the apartment.

‘ The Great Hall, or Principal State Room, is that on which Signor Rossi has bestowed all his ingenuity, *estro architettonico*, and classical taste. It is an oblong apartment of considerable length, supported at each end by two detached Corinthian columns and an architrave. The wall opposite to the windows, which is one of the longest sides of this parallelogram, has three divisions. The centre, or the largest, is occupied by the chimney, surmounted by a mirror of unusual dimensions, richly framed. The two lateral divisions, covered with beautiful, even, and highly polished scagliola, of a dazzling, and of the purest white, and distinguished by pilasters likewise of white scagliola, are embellished by groups of figures, four feet high, painted in oil, the production of *Vighi*, who has the merit of having discovered the only process in existence for permanently fixing oil-painting on the smooth surface of white marble. These figures are represented on arabesque supports, which, with other panelling ornaments, are painted in the richest gold, on the white scagliola, by the same artist. At each end of the room another large mirror is placed, to add splendour to the whole; and here also other mythological groups are seen painted in the same style, and on the same kind of white and polished ground. The *plafond* is covered with a profusion of gold arabesque figures painted in oil. The cornice is bold and rich, the white colour of which is relieved in a masterly manner by the gold. Below it a narrow frieze runs round the room on the marble walls, having a ground of solid gold, over which are painted white and yellow flowers, shaded with a mellow brown. The pavement is designed with large roses and octagonal

divisions, marked by inlaid woods of very expensive kinds. Between the windows stand very handsome pier-tables, the slabs of which are of a beautifully coloured opaque blue glass, more than an inch in thickness. In the interval between the columns, at each end of the room, is placed a superb sofa, richly embroidered, and the hanging and curtains of the windows, as well as the covers of the arm-chairs, are of corresponding materials. At each of the front angles stands a magnificent candelabrum composed of several pieces of Siberian jasper, of great beauty, and of ormolu very skilfully worked and blended with the jasper.

The State Bed-room has lost its original appellation since the removal of the State-bed from it by order of the Grand-duchess, who, with her Imperial Consort, dislikes show and unnecessary parade. The form of the room is a large square; rich silk hangings, of a sky-blue colour, depend from the light airy cornices, and are either fashioned in festoons and massive draperies, or by being drawn aside, allow the white marble wall to be seen covered with gold arabesques, and Cupids painted in oil. The ceiling is in character with the rest of the room. Pier-tables, on richly carved and gilt pedestals; two exquisitely fine screens, six feet high, on each side of the central sofa and table; vases and candelabras, and other accessories, complete the decorations of the apartment, the general effect of which is inconceivably enchanting.

The Grand Duchess's *boudoir* follows, remarkable for the simplicity of its ornaments, and the very pleasing effect of its panelled walls of white scagliola, equally dazzling with that in the principal state-room; but, unlike it, free from all rich decoration, and embellished merely by garlands of roses, painted in oil on its polished surface by the same artists, Vighi and Scotti.

This style of painting in oil, and gilding on white scagliola, has not been employed so successfully anywhere else as it has been in St. Petersburg within the last few years. Rossi has the merit of having introduced it; and there can be no doubt, that if used sparingly and judiciously in the mansions of the great, it forms one of the most effective kinds of internal decoration. His Majesty the King of England, having learned from report the existence of the splendid room just described, in which that style of decoration had been so successfully adopted, with that anxiety to promote the improvement of the elegant arts and exquisite taste for them, which have ever distinguished him, caused an application to be made, through the Russian ambassador, for a specimen of the white scagliola, and the manner in which it is ornamented by gilding and paintings in oil. A square-block, of a moderate size, of this species of scagliola, was prepared under the direction of Rossi, and painted by Scotti and Vighi while I was at St. Petersburg, where I had an opportunity of seeing the process employed. This specimen reached this country two or three months ago, and was inspected by the King, by whose command it was delivered over to Mr. Nash, who, I understand, does not think very favourably of it. Probably the effect of so small a specimen is very different from that produced by an entire and very large room decorated in the same manner; and that

circumstance would account for that able architect differing in opinion from every person who has seen the apartments themselves as to the value, merit, and beauty of the process. Certain it is, that no such white scagliola has as yet been produced in this country, either by the Italian or English manufacturers; and still less have ornamental painters succeeded in doing that upon the surface of scagliola, which Scotti and Vigbi have effected. It is to be hoped, therefore, that when, by means of repeated trials, artists in this country shall have succeeded in both processes, and a room of handsome proportions and construction shall have been decorated with them, the intelligent architect before-mentioned will see reasons to alter his present opinion*. In attempting to manufacture the white scagliola, care is to be taken to select the proper species of alabaster necessary for its composition. It was not until Signor Rossi discovered a particular sort of alabaster, found in great abundance in the government of Kazan, that they succeeded in St. Petersburg in forming that beautiful white scagliola, free from the slightest tint of any colour, or soil, and with a surface smooth, highly polished, and not waved like the surface of ordinary scagliola walls, which has been so successfully employed in the *Palais Michel*, and since, also, in some of the apartments of the Winter Palace, particularly in those of the Empress-mother. Thinking that a specimen of the Kazan alabaster might be of service in guiding the artists in England in their attempts to make white scagliola, Signor Rossi was kind enough to give me a large block of it, of which, however, I could not bring to this country more than a small portion.

The apartments in which the Grand-duchess Michel habitually resides, occupy the ground or basement story on the left of the main building and corresponding pavilion. This Princess was at the time confined to her rooms by severe indisposition, from the effects of which it was feared that she might not soon recover. Those of the Grand-duke are on the principal story, and command from the back of the building a magnificent view of the pleasure-grounds and the distant Neva. There is nothing remarkable in them, as the Prince hates ostentation. I observed a very large square sitting-room with several large tables, and a plain camp-bed, placed behind a screen, in one of the angles of the room, on which the Grand-duke generally sleeps. In this, as well as in the whole suite of rooms, including a well-assorted and neat library, every thing bespeaks the greatest simplicity. Where, however, the Prince has displayed pomp and parade is in the suite of apartments immediately below these and on the ground floor, in which there is a rich and very interesting collection of ancient and modern armour, uniforms, military caps, accoutrements, arms, and every kind of artillery and warlike weapons, kept in the highest order, and neatly arranged, forming a *coup d'œil*, unique of its kind. These are the principal objects on which the Grand-duke loves to bestow his attention; and he spares no pains to

* 'I have been informed that, within the last month or two, a model of the room itself has been forwarded from St. Petersburg to his Majesty.'

bring together whatever may suggest improvement, or useful changes, in a department which is in a degree confided to his care by the sovereign. From these apartments a private communication leads to the riding-house,—a handsome and spacious building.

The splendid palace of which I have endeavoured to give a faint description, was begun in 1819, and completed and first inhabited about the middle of 1825. It cost about seventeen millions of roubles, including every species of ornament, furniture, and other objects either of show or utility. The furniture is almost wholly the work of Russians; and the design of every part of it is from the inventive genius of Rossi. Several bronze candelabra by Zacharoff, upwards of twelve feet high, containing branches for thirty-six lights, are deserving in an especial manner the attention of the stranger, as no artist, whether French, English, or Italian, can boast of being able to produce any thing more exquisite. Nothing can be more creditable to the mechanical skill and handicraft of the Russians, than the vast and rich assemblage of a variety of objects contained in this palace.

On the day of its inauguration, the late Emperor, standing at the great entrance door, under the portico, received his Imperial brother, and having offered him bread and salt on a golden salver, according to the ancient manner of the Russians, welcomed him to a mansion, which was to be henceforward his own—the gift of his sovereign and brother.' Vol. I. pp. 565—576.

Had not this article been already protracted to an undue length, we should have been tempted to make a few more extracts from Dr. Granville's book; but we must conclude by remarking, that though "St. Petersburg" is professedly the subject of which it treats, our readers will find equally interesting, though not so extended descriptions of Brussels, Frankfort, Leipsic, Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and other towns through which our Author passed on his route, accompanied with sketches of some of the most distinguished characters of modern Germany. The work is admirably got up, and the plates, as far as we can judge, give an accurate representation of the objects they are intended to exhibit.

Art. II. 1. *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans*; with an Introduction, Paraphrase, and Notes. By C. H. Terrot, A.M., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. pp. 312. Price 9s. London, 1828.

2. *The Unconditional Freeness of the Gospel*; in Three Essays. By Thomas Erskine, Esq., Advocate. Author of "Remarks on the Internal Evidence for the Truth of Revealed Religion." 12mo. pp. 240. Price 4s. Edinburgh, 1828.

THESE two volumes are of a very different character, but they have for their common object, to promote a right un-

derstanding of the Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Romans ; a portion of the New Testament which, rightly understood, affords the clew to all true theology, but which, more than any other portion, has offended the moralist, and perplexed the critic ; presenting to the Papist a stumbling-block, and to many of the wise and prudent among ourselves the appearance of foolishness. ' In all the discussions between the Reformers and ' their Romish opponents,' remarks Mr. Terrot, ' in the whole ' course of the Calvinistic controversy, and in almost all the ' doctrinal differences of our own time, we find, that there exists, on the one side or the other, a misapprehension of the ' Pauline doctrine respecting *justification by faith*.' Both parties, in these several controversies, admit that the Pauline doctrine must be the true one: there is no question as to the apostolic authority and inspiration of the writer. But the true meaning and scope of his language, the real character of his theology, are still the matter of polemical debate.

There is, at the first view, something unaccountable, and amounting even to a serious difficulty, in the circumstance, that so important a part of the recognized Rule of Faith should be of this enigmatic or ambiguous character. Can it be that the cause of obscurity lies in the phraseology of the Apostle? The idioms of a foreign dialect and the allusive language of familiar writing in remote times, may be expected to prove sources of some degree of difficulty in arriving at the precise meaning of particular phrases ; but they rarely leave the drift of a writer at all questionable. Obscure passages occur in the text of classic authors, which employ and baffle the ingenuity of critics ; but it is not often that the sense of a paragraph is at all doubtful. There must be some other cause, than lies in the mere style and diction of St. Paul's familiar letters to the Christian societies of Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, that renders his doctrine at all 'hard to be understood' by those who would rank with neither the ignorant nor the unlearned.

The principal source of the supposed obscurity seems to us to be, the *originality* of the Christian doctrine, and its contrariety to the natural current of human opinions ; a circumstance, which forms, as the Bishop of Chester (Sumner) has shewn, an important feature of the internal evidence of Christianity itself. No man who had wished to found a sect or new system of religion that should meet with general acceptance, would have chosen to make its ground-work, doctrines so entirely opposite to every Jewish prejudice and all Gentile philosophy ; nor can it be explained, how such doctrines should originate with a Jew, a pupil of Gamaliel, except we receive

the Apostle's own explanation; that it was "not after man;" that he "neither received it of man, neither was taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." "We can tell from our own experience," remarks Bishop Sumner, "what chance there was of a doctrine proving acceptable, which began by impeaching men as offenders against a righteous and holy God, who looked on all iniquity with abhorrence. . . . The doctrines in question, that Jesus came to make atonement for the sins of men, for that "all have sinned and come short of the glory of God;" and that "eternal life is the gift of God through him," or for his sake: how are these statements usually received? Are they the first or the last doctrines which mankind are willing to acquiesce in? Are there not multitudes who do not dispute or doubt the authority of the Scriptures, and yet refuse their assent to this leading tenet? Is it not generally understood to be so contrary to the prepossessions of mankind, that it is often kept out of sight, and has been seldom insisted upon as the main object of the Gospel, in treatises of Christianity?"* Now, since the facility with which we understand any subject, depends upon its relation to our previous knowledge, it naturally follows, that a slow reception should be given to doctrines of a character altogether original, and which do violence to the fixed associations of mankind. The same false assumptions that render it hard to believe the doctrines, render them hard to be understood, because they come between the understanding and the only source of knowledge. The doctrines in question are to be learned solely from the New Testament. They originated in those writings; and the knowledge of them so absolutely depends upon the book from which they are drawn, and upon the authority of which they rest, that it has uniformly been found to decline in exact proportion as the study of the Scriptures has been neglected; and during the long eclipse of Scriptural light which preceded the Reformation, this knowledge appeared to be lost. On the other hand, the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, the *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesie*, was re-discovered, when the Rule of Faith was again drawn forth from the cells of monkish ignorance into open day, and made to speak for itself. It has gained ground with the diffusion of Scripture, and it prevails most in those countries where the Bible is most read and revered.

These facts, while they afford the strongest presumption that the doctrine is the genuine sense of the sacred text, go far to

* Sumner on the Evidence of Christianity, pp. 73-99.

wards accounting for the controversy itself. We do not speak now of the controversy between the Protestants and the Romanists, in which the sufficiency of the Scriptures is involved. Although the Bible is admitted, professedly at least, by all Protestants, to be the only rule of faith, it is very far from being regarded as the only teacher of the faith. It is referred to less as an immediate guide, than as an ultimate authority; theologians being accustomed to draw from it their proofs, rather than their knowledge; or, in other words, to use it for the purpose of proving what they teach, rather than as furnishing the simple matter of their teaching. Now the Scriptures may be made to yield a seeming proof of almost any doctrine, by the citation of detached sentences; but what they really teach, is best shewn by the opinions which they originate, and which the implicit study of the Scriptures is found uniformly, on the large scale of general experience, to produce. Tried by this test, it cannot be denied, that the Protestant (or what is called by some Pelagian Protestants the Calvinistic) doctrine, is the true interpretation. It is the only one which can clearly be traced to the simple study of the New Testament as its source; and those who oppose the doctrine, are equally distinguished by their opposition to the unrestricted circulation of the inspired volume. In fact, the state of the case between the two parties, is this. The one maintains that St. Paul's writings are obscure, paradoxical, and difficult of interpretation: the other, that the natural import of his expressions and the whole drift of his argument are plain and unequivocal. Surely, the probability must be, that the latter best understands the writer. And yet, when we consider the critical ability and learning of our opponents, the only adequate explanation of the difficulty they complain of, is, that they do not understand the Apostle because they *ab origine* differ from him.

In reading the writings of the early Protestant advocates and Reformers, of Tyndal and Latimer, of Nowell and Hooker, it is impossible not to be struck with the superior clearness, and strength, and boldness with which they insist upon the Scriptural doctrine of justification by faith;—like men whose minds had been cast in the mould of that doctrine, rather than like those whose doctrines had been moulded by their own minds. Taking their stand upon the Scripture, they stood forward as the fearless expositors of what it teaches; and there is a spirit in their theology, which shews that it was fresh drawn from the living source. But the Restoration brought back with it, among other evils, a courtly divinity, which paid the Bible the compliment of professing itself in agreement with it, but took care to shelter itself under the convenient principle, that

the Church is the only authorized expounder of the Rule of Faith. The Bible itself had indeed got a bad character as a favourer of Presbyterianism; and to be familiar with it, was held a sign of disaffection to Church and State. Mark the consequence. The doctrine of justification by faith, the doctrine of the Reformers, of the Articles, and the Homilies, was almost banished from the pulpits of the Establishment; and at this very moment, Pelagianism, or a sort of semi-Pelagianism, forms the self-pleasing orthodoxy of that large body of the English clergy who have distinguished themselves, consistently enough, by their opposition to the Bible Society. Their repugnance to the doctrines of St. Paul, is decently veiled under the form of a hatred of Calvin. The presumed evil tendencies of the system being set against its scriptural evidence, they decide, that the latter cannot outweigh the former; and their only solicitude, therefore, is to make the evidence speak, if they can, for their own opinions. Where it cannot, the subject is mysterious, 'a dangerous mystery,' and St. Paul hard to be understood. And so they turn again to the weak and beggarly elements of Bishop Tomline's miserable theology.

'There are many persons,' Mr. Erskine says, (speaking, we presume, from personal knowledge, not hypothetically,) 'who oppose the doctrine of justification by faith, from the honest conviction that it opposes the interests of practical holiness or Christian morals.'

'They acknowledge the excellency and the obligation of the precepts which describe the Christian character; they are persuaded that any view of Christian doctrine which does not agree with the tendency of these precepts must be incorrect; and, as they do not perceive that the doctrine of justification by faith without works has this agreement, they conceive themselves warranted to reject it as a misrepresentation of the language of Scripture.'

This class of objectors, our much respected Author thinks, have not been often either kindly or fairly answered; and he goes so far as to concede, that their case certainly appears at first sight a strong one. He does not refer us to any individual writer of this class, (which, it seems to us, would have been the most natural and the fairest way of exhibiting the real sentiments of the supposed objectors,) but states their case in the following manner.

'1st. In the first place, say they, by making pardon a free gift irrespective of character, you take away a powerful motive to obedience; and you give the strange and pernicious impression, that God is indifferent to right and wrong in his intelligent creatures. . . .

'2d. We object, they continue, to the propriety of the title which

you give to your system. You call it a system of free salvation, and you say that it attributes all to God; and yet, it is, in fact, as much embarrassed with conditions, and contains as much of human effort, as our own. Faith is in your system what obedience is in ours; and they are both of them acts of the human mind. You blame us for resting our hopes on the obedience which we can discover in our lives, whilst, at the same time, you avowedly rest your hopes on the faith which you can discover in your hearts. But you defend yourselves by saying, that faith is the gift of God. In point of gratuitousness, then, the two systems are thus nearly on a par; that is to say, neither of them is gratuitous except in name. And in point of moral influence, we would ask, whether a system which rests salvation on the belief of any facts whatsoever, can be compared with one which rests it on faithful exertion and holy obedience.

‘3dly. You depreciate practical holiness by all possible means; for even when you are compelled to admit, that “without holiness no man shall see the Lord,” you do what you can to weaken the force of the admission, by saying that the value of holiness arises simply from its being an evidence of the reality of faith, and not from any intrinsic quality of its own.

‘4thly. You do not seem at all agreed as to what is the meaning of faith. Sometimes you make it to consist in trust and confidence in Christ, sometimes in an intelligent assent to the propositions of Christian doctrines, and sometimes in a mere prostration of reason before divine authority, or a gulping down of unintelligible obscurities. Now really you ought to make out to our fullest satisfaction what faith is, before you call us to rest on it, anything so important as our eternal interests. But, whichever of these various kinds of faith you prefer, and we give you your choice, it must be allowed to be but a meagre substitute for universal obedience. If you take the first definition, and make faith to consist in trust in Christ, we acknowledge that it is a most necessary feature of the Christian character, but it cannot fill the place of all duties. It is one duty; and we do not exclude it from our system. On the contrary, we inculcate it as a part of that universal obedience, of which we consider salvation to be the recompense. As for the other descriptions of faith, we really think that a man might as reasonably rest his hopes before God on his mathematical science, or on his stupid credulity.

‘5thly. Although we acknowledge that there are passages of Scripture which appear to support your view of the question, yet, we maintain that there are also many most unequivocally on our side, and that the general tendency of the whole Bible, as well as the common sense and the common feeling of man, is decidedly with us; and we therefore think that we do not speak without good reason, when we say that your system is founded on misconstruction or misrepresentation of the language of Scripture.

‘These are some of the objections which are usually made to the doctrine of justification by faith. And I cannot help thinking that they are borne out to a considerable extent by the way in which that doctrine is very commonly stated.’

Before we proceed to notice the solution of the theological problem furnished by Mr. Erskine, and by which he thinks these objections may best be obviated, we must protest, *in limine*, against the objections themselves. Viewed in reference to the Scripture doctrine of justification by faith, they involve a tissue of misrepresentation, as Mr. Erskine himself must admit. And with regard to the way in which that doctrine is very commonly stated—we wish that the Author had substantiated so sweeping a charge by a few citations from the writers he alludes to—the proper answer to the objector would be: Never mind how the doctrine has been stated by theologians;—let us not talk of the title of this or that system, or perplex the question with absurd metaphysical definitions: ‘what saith the Scripture?’ Is it possible, we ask, that such objections as these could be advanced by a devout student of the sacred text, one who had derived his religious knowledge simply from the New Testament itself? We confidently answer, No. Admitting the theological statement of the doctrine, which is supposed to give plausibility to these objections, to be never so erroneous, is it not plain, that the doctrine itself and the human exposition of it are identified in the mind of the objector? Mr. Erskine represents both parties as appealing to the Scriptures; and he states the case as if the evidence on each side derivable from the language of the Inspired writers, was pretty evenly balanced. He cannot, however, mean to admit so much as this. He knows that, if the statements he objects to are unwarranted by Scripture, the opposite opinions run counter to Scripture. The objections which he has drawn out, rest *in part* upon a misapprehension of the Scripture doctrine; and that misapprehension being rectified, they would so far be obviated. But, in part at least, they involve a denial of the doctrine of Inspiration itself; and the only effectual refutation is an appeal to the sacred text. The question is one of evidence; and to allege that the Scriptural evidence in favour of two opposite systems is equal, is to say, that the only Rule of Faith is, upon points of fundamental importance, ambiguous and useless. When the Divine authority of the record is called in question, vindications of the Christian doctrine on the ground of its reasonableness and holy tendency, may be very proper and useful; because its moral character forms an important feature of the internal evidence which attests the credibility and truth of the document. But, in the supposed case, the objector should be told, that the common sense of mankind is indeed invited to judge of the interpretation of the Scripture, but that it is a very poor judge of what the Scripture doctrine ought to be. It may be allowed to give its verdict as to the

fact, but not as to the law. Objections that impute an evil tendency to the doctrines of Grace, involve a prejudging of the question of their truth; and this unfounded presumption too often acquires the strength of an invincible prejudice, disqualifying the party for a calm examination of the Scriptural evidence. It may be well to attempt to reason down that prejudice; but the controversy is not likely to be settled, so long as it assumes the character of a war of opinions. The authority of the Scripture being admitted, the question resolves itself into a simple matter of interpretation. Disputes may still be raised respecting the meaning of the text; a great advantage, however, is gained by having contracted the debate into a small compass; and now the objector will soon feel put upon the defensive. He will no longer be at liberty to cavil at the title of our system; nor will he have a pretence for requiring us to agree upon a definition of faith, before we call upon him to stake his salvation upon believing the Gospel. It is for him, the objector, to explain away, if he can, the language of St. Paul:—"Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through his blood."

If ever the Christian Church is to be brought back to a state of greater unity of sentiment, it must take place as the result of a more general and simple deference to the Bible rightly understood. All true unity has relation to a rule or standard; and whatever contributes either to make more clear and certain the letter of the rule, or to enforce and vindicate its authoritative claims, tends to promote that desired consummation. On this account, we hail as a happy omen, the increasing attention that is paid to the means of biblical interpretation; a branch of theological science too long neglected in this country. Mr. Terrot's volume has given us considerable pleasure. The plan and design of the volume are alike excellent, and the execution does credit to him as a scholar, if not as a divine. We shall have occasion to express our dissent from some of his positions, and to point out a few mistakes; but we bear a willing testimony to the diligence and ability with which he has executed his task. He has, in fact, anticipated a design which we had long wished to realize; that of exhibiting, parallel with the sacred text, a version of the Epistle, partaking of the freedom of a paraphrase without its diffuseness, supported by critical notes. Admitting that a literal translation is the best for a public standard, it must very inadequately convey to common readers, under the disguise of a foreign idiom, the native sense of the writer. A paraphrase, on the other hand, is an awkward and unsatisfactory expedient. The manner in which

the sacred text meanders through Dr. Doddridge's pages, sometimes well-nigh lost in a wood of words, or spread out into a shallow inundation,—is, we must confess, to us extremely distressing. St. Paul is often made to talk much more like an old woman than an apostle; and every semblance of the original style is frittered away. In cases where an extended exposition is necessary, the plan of annotations seems to us immeasurably preferable to torturing the text; but in general, the design of a paraphrase might be answered by a version similar to that which Mr. Terrot has given. We take a specimen nearly at random.

‘But now, in a manner quite distinct from the merit of legal obedience, the method by which God justifies or acquits sinners, is made perfectly clear, having already been borne witness to by the law and the prophets: an acquittal which originating in the free grace or mercy of God, is attained by faith in Jesus Christ, and extends to all,—to all I say who believe in him. For here there is no distinction made between Jew and Gentile, all having equally sinned, and having equally failed to merit the favour of God by their own performances. And all are acquitted gratuitously by the mercy and favour of God, through the redemption effected by Christ Jesus; whom God hath appointed to be an expiatory sacrifice, available to all those who believe in the merits of his death. And thus God exhibits his method of acquitting sinners, in reference to past sins committed during the times when God bore with the ignorance and sinfulness of men; and exhibits also his method of acquitting us who live, at the present time, under the gospel system: a method which, reconciling the exercise of his mercy and justice, admits of his being just, and at the same time the Justifier, or acquitting Judge, of every one that believes in Christ. Where then is the ground for boasting? It is effectually excluded. For, by what system does God justify? Is it by that which grounds justification on the merit of works? No, but by that which grounds it upon faith. For the result of our whole argument is, that a man is justified by faith, without any reference to the merit of legal obedience. And of you who wish to ground justification upon such terms as must necessarily confine it to your own nation, I would ask, is God the God of the Jews alone? Is he not also the God of the Gentiles? Surely, of the Gentiles also. And as his divine power is universal, so also is the scheme of salvation which he offers: for it is the same God who justifies both the circumcision and the uncircumcision by the instrumentality of the same faith.’ pp. 83—87.

On a first or cursory reading of any new version of a portion of the Scriptures, however close or in other respects successful, the ear is disappointed at missing the familiar cadence and consecrated phraseology of the Received Version. Nor is this the only disadvantage attaching to such attempts. The less familiar will often seem to be the less perspicuous trans-

lation, even where the Old Version is confessedly obscure and defective; owing to a common and often unsuspected illusion, by which words continually read pass themselves off for distinct ideas, and we seem to understand clearly what we only recollect. Who has not found a passage of Scripture, which he may have read a hundred times, attaching to the words some indefinite and perhaps erroneous meaning, reveal itself to his more earnest attention with the force of perfect novelty! It is, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance, that many difficulties are thus unconsciously passed over by general readers, which might otherwise divert their attention from the scope of the context, and interfere with the profitable and devout perusal of the Scriptures. Nothing is more to be dreaded, than the habit of reading the Bible in the spirit of criticism. Yet, as the Scriptures can benefit us, only so far as they are understood in their genuine sense, the opposite habit, which leads persons to content themselves with the music of words of which they scarcely catch the articulate meaning, is scarcely less to be deprecated. For daily use, we are disposed to recommend the Authorized Version, with all its imperfections, in preference to any other translation. Speaking for ourselves, we must confess, that the text of neither Doddridge, Campbell, nor Boothroyd, seems to harmonize with our feelings, like that of the Old Bible. We do not care to inquire how far this is a prejudice: there are prejudices which are salutary. But while we would not substitute any new version or paraphrase for the Received Text, the occasional perusal of such works will not be slighted by any person who is desirous of understanding what he reads. The mere variation of the language, even if not for the better, rouses the attention. The ideas, differently put, are seen in a new light. And thus, a new translation often serves as the most valuable and effective commentary.

With these views, we shall not deem it necessary to examine at any great length the merits of Mr. Terrot's Paraphrase. It is intended chiefly for the use of the Biblical student, who will best appreciate its value; and the text being constantly under his eye, will prevent his being misled. While, however, he may derive important assistance from Mr. Terrot's labours, we should earnestly recommend the student, with a view to his own benefit, to write out the whole epistle immediately from the Greek text; not as an essay of his critical skill, but simply as the best means of imbuing his mind with the genuine sense and scope of the original.—We shall now proceed to notice a few passages in the present Translation, which seem to require animadversion.

‘ Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, commissioned by Christ himself

to be an apostle, and separated from all earthly employments to the ministry of the Gospel.' p. 57.

With this version of the opening of the epistle, we have no fault to find, except that ἀφωρισμένος might have been more simply rendered 'appointed.' But the note upon this passage is singularly at variance with the text. Mr. Terrot supposes, that while κλητὸς may refer to the call from Heaven, ἀφωρισμένος 'may refer to the ordination of St Paul by the Church at the command of the Spirit.' He adds. 'It is observable also, that, until this ordination, St. Paul was not considered as an *Apostle*, but only as a *prophet* or *teacher*.' According to this representation, he had no better right to style himself an apostle, than Barnabas had; and his appeal to the Corinthians (Ch. ix. 1, 2.) is wholly without force or propriety. We are astonished that Mr. Terrot should have adopted a notion so entirely at variance with the Apostle's reiterated declarations, that he received not his apostleship from man, and one which would be fatal to his apostolic authority. The ordination mentioned in the xiiith of Acts, was an appointment to a specific mission, the fulfilment of which is noticed at ver. 26 of the following chapter. It had no more to do with the ordination or separation of St. Paul as a minister of the Gospel, than it had with his apostolic commission, received, as he himself declares, immediately from Christ himself.

In the same chapter, we meet with the following objectionable gloss upon the fourth verse.

'But was also powerfully declared by his resurrection from the dead to be the Son of God, being therein begotten to a new life by the agency of the Holy Ghost.'

Having, in our last Number (p. 435), adverted to this passage, we shall merely observe, that although our Lord was *proved* to be the Son of God by his resurrection from the dead, there is no propriety in representing that event as 'a new and visible begetting',—an expression both uncouth and incorrect. Add to which, κατὰ cannot be rendered 'by the agency of', but has evidently the same sense as in Gal. iv. 29, where there is a similar antithesis.

Ch. i. ver. 21. is thus paraphrased :

'So that they are inexcusable, who thus possessing the means of knowing God, gave him not the honour and gratitude due to him: but followed their own vain speculations respecting the expediency of a sensible and popular theology; and thus their foolish hearts became darkened to the perception of natural religion, and professing to be wise, they gradually sank into the lowest degradation of folly.'

Here, we think, Mr. Terrot refines unnecessarily, and he has given a turn to the expression *διαλογισμοῖς*, which appears to us foreign from the meaning of the Apostle.

‘Rom. v. 13. For, from the fall of Adam down to the revelation of the law through Moses, sin existed in the world, but then there existed no law which affixed the penalty of death to sin; and sin is not charged with any penalty not previously denounced by law.’

‘The meaning seems to be’, adds Mr. T. in a note, ‘that before the Mosaic law, sin existed in the world; but, as no divine law had as yet declared death to be the penalty of sin, sin was not visited with death as a penalty.’ We must confess, that the version and the note are to us alike unintelligible. What the Apostle appears to us to assert, is of a contrary import; namely, that as sin cannot be chargeable where no law exists, and the fact proved that all men were dealt with as sinners, there must have existed a law prior to the written law of Sinai,—a law against which they sinned, and according to which they were punished,—the unwritten law to which he had alluded, ch. ii. ver. 12—15.

Rom. vi. 1. &c. ‘What moral inference then shall we deduce from the doctrines of Atonement and Justification, as laid down in the preceding argument? Shall we conclude that we may safely and with propriety continue in the practice of sin, in order thereby to give the greater scope to the exercise of Divine Grace? God forbid! How shall we who have in baptism died unto sin, live any longer therein? Are you not aware, my brethren, that as many of us as were baptized in the name of Christ, were by that baptism symbolically admitted to a participation in his death?’

‘The apostle here states and repels an Antinomian inference from what he has just been advancing. The objection is to this effect: If the condemning power of sin, which was rendered apparent, and, with respect to death, actually conferred by the law, has been met and remedied by the death of Christ; why should we not continue in sin, and thereby afford a fuller scope for the exercise of the Divine Grace? And this argument he meets, not by a formal refutation, but by a reference to their initiation into the Christian covenant. . . The Bishop of Peterborough, in the conclusion of his sermon on the Articles, preached before the University in 1825, proves very distinctly, that justification is one and the same thing with the grace of baptism. But when he contrasts this grace with final salvation, and represents faith as the condition of the former, works that of the latter, I am forced to dissent from him. Faith alone is not the condition of baptism. Repentance is also required; and repentance is in the sight of God a work, or rather a series of great and difficult works. . . . There can be no doubt, that the Church in the purest ages, considered baptism as being not merely typically, but actually a new birth.’ pp. 242—4.

The *purest ages* of the Church!—the fourth century! We had always imagined that the Apostolic age was the purest; and in those days, 'there can be no doubt' that *the Church* considered baptism in no such light. In that age, moreover, no Christian bishop would have favoured the pernicious heresy of the Peterborough school. Nor would this clumsy hypothesis of a two-fold justification before God, the first by faith, the final by faith and works—a theology which takes us half way back towards Rome—have obtained any countenance in the purest age of the English Church. Mr. Terrot ought to have known better than to desert the guidance of the inspired pages before him, for the erring tradition of 'the ancient Church', or the anti-Pauline doctrines of the modern theology. We are sorry, however, to remark, that, upon the great point of justification, he betrays a strange degree of perplexity and inconsistency; more especially in his Introduction, where he goes so far as to maintain, that *δικαιοσύνη τοῦ Θεοῦ* means "an acquittal founded upon an actual righteousness which men are enabled to offer by the aid of God's Holy Spirit,—an acquittal which, both in the origin and in the result, is God's work". This position certainly comes very near to a broad denial of the Protestant article of justification, and it is most assuredly subversive of the whole doctrine of the Epistle, which is, that Christ is made to us righteousness (*ἐγενήθη δικαιοσύνη*, 1 Cor. i. 30); that he is 'the end of the law for justification to every believer'; that 'God hath made him who knew no sin to be sin for us, that we might be accounted righteous before God in him.' We are at a loss to conceive how a translator of St. Paul could possibly have fallen into so total a misconception of his doctrine. But we cease to wonder, when we meet with such a perilous corruption of the very text of Scripture as the following.

Rom. viii. 1. 'There is now no condemnation to those who, being united to Christ in baptism, live thenceforth not according to the dictates of their own lusts, but under the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit. For the influence of the Spirit, by whose regenerating power at my baptism I entered upon a new life', &c.

Were the subject less momentous, it might provoke a smile, to detect this awkward and impotent attempt to slide in the tenet of Baptismal Regeneration and Baptismal Justification, between the words of the inspired text;—a dogma which has much the same affinity to the doctrine of Paul, as that of Penance or Extreme Unction, and which might justly be described as teaching a Justification without faith, and a Regeneration without holiness. The unhappy influence of a false

theology, in intercepting the light of Scripture, could not be more strikingly evinced, than in this attempt to make such a dogma a rider upon the doctrine of St. Paul. We impute to Mr. Terrot no sinister intention: he only follows the false lights of his own Church. But we do earnestly and respectfully conjure him to shake off the trammels of a human creed; and as in this case it holds good, that no man can serve two masters, let him abide by St. Paul, and leave 'the Church' to follow or not, as she may please;—*μᾶλλον γενέσθω ἵνα γένηται σοφός.*

But we must now advert to Mr. Erskine's opposite interpretation of the passage above referred to, Rom. vi. 1., of which he offers the following free translation.

"*Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound?*"—"Not so: how shall we who have already died under the condemnation of sin, continue under it, now that we are restored to life? (And we have in truth virtually both suffered death, and been restored to life.) For do you not know, that as many of us as were baptized into the doctrine of Jesus Christ, were baptized into the doctrine that he died as the representative of sinners. We were thus virtually buried with him, according to our baptismal acknowledgment of the nature of his death; and then, as Christ was raised from the dead by the power of the Father, we also walk in a life newly bestowed. For if we have been connected with him by being ranked under his death, (or by virtual participation in his death,) we shall also be ranked under his resurrection. Knowing this, that our old man was crucified in Him as our representative, so that that part of us which was subject to condemnation has already suffered it; and thus we continue no longer under condemnation, for He who has suffered the penalty of death, has exhausted the condemnation."

'Now I would ask any candid man, whether these verses contain the most distant solution of the difficulty supposed to be stated in the first verse. Their single object is to shew, that condemnation is perfectly exhausted and finished by the representative sacrifice of Christ. One would be led to infer from this, that the question in the first verse, refers not to the principle of sin, but to the continuing in a state of condemnation; which gives to *ἀμαρτία* the same signification in this passage, which it evidently bears through the preceding chapter. And this, I am very much persuaded, is the truth. "Shall we continue", not in sin, but "in a state of condemnation?" But how is this to be reconciled with the last clause in the interrogation—"that grace may abound?" I think that both clauses have been wrong translated.' pp. 37—9.

Mr. Erskine contends, that the word translated *abound*; relates to number, rather than to quantity; and that it here 'refers to an increase of the number of acts of grace, not to the extension of the one great act over all forfeitures.' He therefore gives the following turn to the passage.

‘ Shall we continue under condemnation until grace be also multiplied, until the acts of atonement equal the number of the forfeitures? Not so: how shall we who have already died under the sentence of sin, yet continue to live under it, now that we are restored to life?’ p. 42.

Against this ingenious and laboured interpretation, there appear to lie fatal objections. In the first place, we cannot admit that *ἁμαρτία*, either in this passage or in the preceding chapter, signifies a state of condemnation; nor is it susceptible, we imagine, of such a sense. In the next place; the Apostle’s language, *μὴ γένοιτο*, (far be it, or far be the thought,) evidently implies the indignant rejection of a supposed inference of a highly objectionable character; and there is no instance, we believe, of his using this strength of phrase, where a simple negation alone would seem to be called for. Our Translators, therefore, always render it, God forbid. Thirdly; passing over the Author’s criticism on the verb *πλεονάζω*, (which seems to us sufficiently refuted by the nominative with which it here stands connected,) his interpretation appears wholly foreign from the scope of the passage; the true drift of which meets us, as a conclusion, in the 12th verse: ‘ Let not sin, therefore, prevail in your mortal body, by your obeying it in its desires.’

It is surely venturing much too far, then, to assert, that these verses ‘ do not contain the most distant solution of the difficulty supposed to be stated in the first.’ It is not, indeed, a difficulty that is started, but a false consequence that is deprecated. The passage is confessedly somewhat difficult; but the general sense may be stated, perhaps, as follows.—Lest the delightful view of the glory of Divine Grace, in the preceding chapter, should be thought to encourage a continuance in sin, the Apostle deprecates so licentious an inference, as at utter variance with his premises; namely, that the Christian has undergone a moral change, which mainly consists in his becoming dead to sin. The cardinal doctrine of his baptismal faith, the death of Christ for sin, when cordially received, forbids his continuing in the practice of unrighteousness; inasmuch as the very design of our Lord’s death and resurrection, was the redemption of believers from that bondage to sin and death, which attached to their nature as inherited and derived from the first Adam. That nature is to be regarded as crucified and put to death with Christ; and the believer, by virtue of his union to Christ, becomes a partaker of a new nature, over which sin and death have no power. For, to be thus dead to sin, implies release from its bondage. And such as have thus, morally as well as mystically, died with Christ and risen with him, justified from sin; and emancipated from its inherent do-

minion, shall, in this sense, die no more; partaking of the life of Christ, who liveth for ever.

St. Paul then proceeds to illustrate the moral emancipation which he represents to have been thus effected by the crucifixion of Christ; shewing that if, while they professed to be delivered from the deadly power of sin, through the death of Christ, they yielded their members to the commission of sin, they proved themselves to be under the dominion of that very principle from which they were supposed to have escaped. Sin is then personified as a master,—a hard master, whose wages are death. All who practise sin are in bondage to this tyrant. Believers are liberated from this bondage, by passing from death to a new life, in order that they might enter the service of another master, whose terms are eternal blessedness;—that they might enter into a new relation, and being united to Christ, devote themselves to him, and bring forth the fruits of the new nature derived from him.

Such has appeared to us, on a careful study of this chapter, to be its true scope; and if we have in any respect misconceived the meaning of the Apostle, we are sure that we have not attributed to him any sentiment foreign from his design, or at variance with his doctrines. We had intended to devote part of this article to an analytical view of the whole argument of the Epistle; when we should have examined more minutely Mr. Terrot's critical definitions of the theological terms which occur in it. From this, however, we must now refrain; and we can only briefly advert, in conclusion, to the subject of Mr. Erskine's Essays.

There is so much that is truly excellent and admirable, both in sentiment and in expression, in Mr. Erskine's volume, that we would fain persuade ourselves that we agree with him in every thing that he *means*, although we must object to several of his positions as unguarded and even erroneous. Mr. Erskine, as we have seen, does not shine as a Biblical critic; nor is he a theologian;—and we like him none the worse for this: he brings to the study of the Scriptures an untrammelled, unsophisticated, independent mind. He writes like a man who has thought for himself, thought and felt intensely; and his views of religion are so high and holy, so pure, and just, and delightful, that, to use his own language, instead of presuming to teach such a man, we would rather desire to learn from him. We have derived from the repeated perusal of his volume, the highest pleasure, and we hope edification. Yet, in the discharge of our public duty, we must express our regret that he should, by some of his statements, have laid himself open to misapprehension, and even to just reproof. The positions to

which we allude are, that 'pardon is, by the Gospel, proclaimed freely and universally,—that it is perfectly gratuitous, unconditional, and unlimited; but that heaven is limited to those who are sanctified by the belief of the pardon': moreover, that, 'men are not pardoned on account of their belief of the pardon, but they are sanctified by a belief of the pardon'; that 'a universal amnesty is the subject of the Divine testimony'; while 'a sense of pardon, or *justification*, belongs to those who believe the testimony.'—We must, in the first place, express our decided opinion, that Mr. Erskine errs in his definition of justification, and in the distinction which he founds upon it, as much as in his refinement upon the word *ἀμαρτία*. Into this subject we may enter more particularly upon a future occasion. But secondly, while we admit that there is a sense in which it may be said, that men are not pardoned on account of their belief, seeing that the pardon was procured for them while they were yet enemies,—yet, since they must repent and be converted in order that their sins may be blotted out,—since they must believe in order to attain the blessedness of those whose sins are forgiven and whose iniquities are cancelled,—and he who believes not remains under condemnation,—it is both erroneous and dangerous to deny that their actual pardon takes place on their believing. There is condemnation to them who are not in Christ Jesus. May it be allowed us to state the case thus?—Suppose a general pardon proclaimed to rebels on laying down their arms. Immediately on surrendering his weapons, each traitor may know that he is pardoned. He does not, however, thereby obtain,—he *accepts* of the pardon granted. But, with the arms yet in his hands, he is *not* pardoned. If this be, as we conceive, Mr. Erskine's view of the Gospel system, we have only to regret that he should have obscured so just a representation, by blending it with some untenable criticisms and some statements at the least paradoxical.

As a specimen of the striking passages with which the volume abounds, and of the fervent piety which glows in every page, we shall conclude this article with the following excellent remarks on the study of the Scriptures.

"The world hath not known thee, but I have known thee." Oh, infinite knowledge, the knowledge of the Father by the Son! But we may have our share in this wondrous knowledge. "No man knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." And the Son of God has declared his Father's name, and will declare it; he is standing and knocking at the door; we have not to ascend into the heaven, nor to descend into the deep to find him; he is very

nigh thee, and he longs to reveal the Father to thee, and to give thee that knowledge which is life eternal.

And it is through the Bible read in the spirit of prayer, that he chiefly communicates this knowledge. "Thy word is truth." This is our Urim and Thummim, which will tell us what is the mind of God in all things. We need not be ignorant of God's will or counsel, whilst we have a Bible to consult. We often place much importance on having the advice of particular persons in whose judgment and friendship we have confidence, and we have great pleasure in asking and hearing their opinions. Alas! what can they tell us? What can they do for us? Why should we not go to God, and consult him rather? Reader, do you believe that the Bible is the word of God? and that God spoke it for this very purpose, that by it he might direct, and support, and comfort man in his journey through time to eternity? And do you not need direction, or support, or comfort? And if you do, will you not go to the Bible to seek it? Where else can you expect it? We are so accustomed to the sight of a Bible, that it ceases to be a miracle to us. It is printed just like other books, and so we forget that it is not just like other books. But there is nothing in the world like it, or comparable to it. The sun in the firmament is nothing to it, if it be really—what it assumes to be—an actual direct communication from God to man. Take up your Bible with this idea, and look at it, and wonder at it. It is a treasure of unspeakable value to you, for it contains a special message of love and tender mercy from God to your soul. Do you wish to converse with God? Open it and read. And, at the same time, look to him who speaks to you in it, and ask him to give you an understanding heart, that you may not read in vain, but that the word may be in you, as good seed in good ground bringing forth fruit unto eternal life. Only take care not to separate God from the Bible. Read it in the secret of God's presence, and receive it from his lips, and feed upon it, and it will be to you as it was to Jeremiah, the joy and rejoicing of your heart. The best advice which any one friend can give to another, is to advise him to consult God; and the best turn that any book can do to its reader, is to refer him to the Bible.

Let us seek to know more of the Bible; but, in doing so, let us remember, that however much we may add by study to our knowledge of the book, we have just so much true knowledge of God as we have love of him, and no more. Our continual prayer ought to be, that our true notions may become true feelings, and that our orthodoxy and theology may become holy love and holy obedience. This is the religion of eternity; and the religion of eternity is the only religion for us,—for yet a few days, and we shall be in eternity.

p. 222—225.

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Reader, farewell—I believe that what I have written is according to the word of God; and as far as it is so, I may look up to him for a blessing on it. It would be an unspeakable joy to me, to have any reason to think that it has been really honoured by him to be the bearer of a message to your soul. At all events, I trust it may not do you the injury of exciting the spirit of controversy in you. If

you don't agree with it, lay it down and go to the Bible ; and if you do agree with it, in like manner lay it down and go to the Bible ; and go in the spirit of prayer to him whose word the Bible is, and ask of him, and he will lead you into all truth—he will give you living water.' pp. 239, 240.

Art. III. *Nollekens and his Times* : comprehending a Life of that celebrated Sculptor ; and Memoirs of several contemporary Artists, from the Time of Roubiliac, Hogarth, and Reynolds, to that of Fuseli, Flaxman, and Blake. By John Thomas Smith. In two Volumes. 8vo. pp. 922. London, 1828.

'THIS is too bad.' We could almost consent to a penal enactment that should put an effectual restraint on the rapacity or the pruriency of our popular memoir-mongers. It is not to be endured, that every man who may have the opportunity of turning a penny by the detail of his neighbour's weaknesses, or who may be disappointed in his expectation of a snug corner in a fat will, should be permitted to indulge, without rebuke, in the unlicensed expression of his satire or his spleen. We dare say that Mr. Smith is quite correct in his exhibition of Nollekens as a small-minded, avaricious, and altogether very disgusting person ; and we admit that he has put together a number of amusing anecdotes and conversations, some of which are illustrative of the history of Art. But, on the other hand, we apprehend that he has accomplished his purpose with very little credit to either his motives or his taste: he has ministered to the depraved appetite of those who have lost their relish for wholesome literature ; and he will have his calculated reward in the ready sale of his book.

We make this preliminary observation, however, without the slightest feeling of regret that a character such as is here depicted, should be exhibited to the world in its true lineaments and colours. If the representation here given be not grossly exaggerated—and it has certainly every appearance of accuracy—there has seldom existed an individual more despicable, and with fewer redeeming qualities, than Joseph Nollekens. No human being ever made a more thorough miscalculation of the true end and happiness of life. Sordid in feeling, devoted to wealth, and unscrupulous about the modes of its acquisition ; in his profession, a mere son of labour ; and in his personal habits, negligent and coarse ; he lived without a single elevating association or meliorating sympathy ; and after lingering through a selfish and drivelling old age, died, an object of interest to none but the gaping legacy-hunters who had infested his declining years.

Nollekens, though born in London, was, as his name would indicate, of Flemish parentage; and his father, a painter of some small note, placed him under the tuition of Scheemakers, a sculptor of considerable repute. Joseph was somewhat dull, and strangely addicted to bell-tolling, but he applied steadily to his art, and made a fair progress in its various manipulations. He set about his great business of making money as early as possible; and in 1759, received his first prize, from the Adelphi Society, of 15*l.* 15*s.* for a clay-model. He was at that time about two and twenty years of age. In the following year, he obtained, for a modelled bas-relief, a premium of 31*l.* 10*s.*, besides a smaller sum for a single figure. In 1760, he quitted England for Rome, where his finances were again recruited by the liberal awards of the Society of Arts. He was patronized, too, by Garrick and by Sterne. But he soon engaged in more lucrative operations, and became a wholesale dealer in antiques; a trade from which, as he conducted it, he must have derived enormous profits. He is said to have extensively practised the common artifices of manufacture and restoration, and to have given, by the application of tobacco-water, the stains of antiquity to the freshly chiseled marble.

‘Jenkins, a notorious dealer in antiques and old pictures, who resided at Rome for that purpose, had been commissioned by Mr. Locke of Norbury Park, to send him any piece of sculpture which he thought might suit him, at a price not exceeding one hundred guineas; but Mr. Locke, immediately upon the receipt of a head of Minerva, which he did not like, sent it back again, paying the carriage and all other expenses. Nollekens, who was then also a resident in Rome, having purchased a trunk of a Minerva for fifty pounds, found, upon the return of this head, that its proportion and character accorded with his torso. This discovery induced him to accept an offer made by Jenkins, of the head itself and two hundred and twenty guineas, to share the profits. After Nollekens had made it up into a figure, or, what is called by the venders of botched antiques, “restored it”, which he did at the expense of about twenty guineas more for stone and labour, it proved a most fortunate hit, for they sold it for the enormous sum of *one thousand guineas!* and it is now at Newby, in Yorkshire.’

No method of making a profit seems to have come amiss to Nollekens: he is stated to have done business in the smuggling line, and to have stuffed the hollow interior of his plaster busts with silk stockings, gloves, and lace. His way of life was characteristic; at once sensual and sordid. He was accustomed to boast of the skill of his old woman, who would make him up an ample and most savoury dish of ‘Roman cuttings’ for threepence.

“ ‘ Nearly opposite to my lodgings,” as he would often tell the tale, “ there lived a pork-butcher, who put out at his door at the end of the week a plateful of what he called cuttings, bits of skin, bits of gristle, and bits of fat, which he sold for twopence ; and my old lady dished them up with a little pepper, and a little salt ; and, with a slice of bread, and, sometimes a bit of vegetable, I made a very nice dinner.” ’

When he returned to England, he was already a holder of securities in the public funds ‘ to a considerable amount ’ ; and he seems to have started at once into large and lucrative practice as a maker of busts. In 1772, he was elected a member of the Royal Academy ; and about the same period he ‘ fell ‘ desperately in love.’ The lady whom he successfully wooed, was the daughter of Saunders Welch, Esq. the police-magistrate ; she was, moreover, handsome, and the ‘ pink of precision ’. His choice was, however, an unfortunate one. An amiable and high-principled woman—if indeed such a being could have linked herself to the gross, ignorant, and vulgar Joseph Nollekens—might have exercised a salutary and civilizing control over his character and habits. He had, at least, one good point ; and we are reminded by the following anecdote, that we spoke somewhat unadvisedly when describing him as without a single redeeming quality. He seems to have possessed a considerable portion of good-nature, making somewhat of an approach to kindly feeling ; and this, had it been cherished by the gentle influence of a prudent and affectionate wife, might have given expansion to his mind, and dignity to his existence.

‘ An artist ’, writes Mr. Smith, ‘ named George Richardson, who published several useful works, particularly upon architectural decorations, was an old man at the period I speak of, and lived at No. 105, Titchfield-street, for many years, during which time he occasionally walked around the studio. One day he was asked by Mr. Nollekens, what made him look so dull ? “ I am low-spirited ”, he replied. “ Then go to the pump and take a drink of water ”, was the advice in return. The poor old man, after remaining a few minutes looking vacantly about him, went away in tears. Mr. Nollekens, who had just before been summoned to dinner, upon his return, observed to my father, that Richardson “ looked glumish.” “ Ah, Sir”, rejoined my father, “ he is distressed, poor fellow ! and you have hurt his feelings by desiring him to go to the pump for relief ; he was in tears when he left us.” “ Bless me ! I hurt him ! ” cried Nollekens, and hastily walked out with his head foremost, putting both hands into his pockets. The next morning, Mr. Richardson was waiting at the studio for my father, to whom he gratefully expressed himself for what he had said to Mr. Nollekens, who had been with him the preceding evening, and after asking if he were offended

with him for recommending the pump, stated, that when he was low-spirited, the pump always brought him to. Mr. Richardson, upon disclosing his circumstances, expressed a wish to leave the world in the same room in which his wife died: "Well", observed Nollekens, "and why should you not die there? it's only a garret; let the rest of the house, man; you'll live rent free; one room will do for you; sell your furniture. Here, I have brought you twenty guineas, and I'll allow you the same sum every year as long as you live."

Mrs. Nollekens seems to have been much addicted to jealousy. The employment of females as models, a very questionable part of professional study, was a constant source of annoyance; and she would descend to the degradation of making pretexts for entering the room, when her husband was thus engaged. On other occasions, too, the same spirit would manifest itself, and the system of *surveillance* would break out in a way too vexatious and irritating not to provoke retort. With all the penuriousness of her husband, this lady combined a thorough selfishness, that seems to have been alien from his feelings. A widow, miserably poor, who was permitted to place an apple-stall close to the house, was compelled to pay for her standing, by suffering heartless avarice to have its way in a bargain for a pennyworth of pippins.

'When she went to Oxford-market to beat the rounds, in order to discover the cheapest shops, she would walk round several times to give her dog Cerberus an opportunity of picking up scraps. However, of this mode of manœuvring she was at last ashamed, by the rude remarks of the vulgar butchers, who had been complained of to her Nolly, for having frequently cried out, "Here comes Mrs. Nollekens and her bull-bitch."

In the mean time, Nollekens, in the manufacture of busts, was carrying all before him. Dr. Johnson sat to him, and while admiring the talent of the artist, expressed astonishment at his ignorance. His manner, strange and coarse as it was, seems to have been, instead of an impediment to his success, a source of amusement to his sitters. He would at one time commend the beauty of his female visitors, in the plainest language of vulgar admiration; and at another, request a lady who 'squinted dreadfully', to alter the position of her head, that he might 'get rid of the shyness in the cast' of her eye. To a lady of high rank, who had relaxed from the rigidity of her position, and was looking down on his less elevated seat, he exclaimed: 'Don't look so *scornful*; you'll spoil my busto; and you're a very fine woman; I think it will be one of my best bustos.' Majesty itself was treated quite as unceremoniously. When Nollekens was modelling the late king, he one day omitted his visit, and at the next interview, without any

sort of apology, requested to know when he might be permitted to proceed.

'The King, with his usual indulgence to persons as ignorant as Nollekens was of the common marks of respect, observed, "So, Nollekens, where were you yesterday?"

'*Nollekens*.—"Why, as it was a Saint's day, I thought you would not have me; so I went to see the beasts fed in the Tower."

'*The King*.—"Why did you not go to Duke-street?"

'*Nollekens*.—"Well, I went to the Tower; and do you know, they have got two such lions there! and the biggest did roar so; my heart! how he did roar!" And then he mimicked the roaring of the lion, so loud and so close to the King's ear, that his Majesty moved to a considerable distance to escape the imitation.'

This is a fair hit, but we must have better authority for its entire correctness, before we can lay aside the suspicion, that simple fact has been dressed up with a large addition of ludicrous circumstance. The kindness of the late King is, however, too well known to discredit his part of the story. Nor was the Queen less considerate, if the anecdote given by Mr. Smith be correct. He states, on the authority of Colonel Philips, that her Majesty, calling one day on Mrs. Garrick at Hampton, and entering unannounced, found the lady 'peeling 'onions for pickling.' We should have thought it quite sufficient in the Queen, had she conducted matters in the usual course of a morning's call; but this was not enough for royal condescension;—a knife was forthwith called for, and the Queen of England fairly engaged in the very delectable employment of preparing onions for the pickle-jar!

The opinions of Nollekens on subjects of Art, seem, as might have been expected from so ignorant a man, to have been of little value. A better illustration of this, than from the comparison between his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on the subject of the Elgin Marbles, and that of Flaxman, can hardly be obtained. Poor 'Joey' felt himself in a most awkward situation while under the full fire of examination; and he certainly contrived to display some dexterity in evading a direct reply to any question, the answer to which required the smallest portion of knowledge, or the slightest effort of mind. Flaxman, on the contrary, shewed himself to be full fraught with the learning of his art, and outwent the questions that were put by his examiners. Nollekens, indeed, was no idolater of the antique; nor had he talent or feeling enough to relish its high qualities. Of science, properly so called, he was nearly destitute; and an inspection of his works will sufficiently shew, that he was quite conscious of his want of correct anatomical knowledge.

'During Nollekens's juvenile practice, he received a few lessons in drawing, from a sculptor now but little known, Michel Henry Spang, a Dane, who drew the figure beautifully and with anatomical truth; a most essential component of the art, indispensably requisite for all those who would climb to the summit of fame. But this invaluable acquirement was neglected by Nollekens, nor did he, at any period of his life, venture to carve a subject in which a knowledge of anatomy would have been extensively wanted: his naked figures were of the most simple class, being either a young Bacchus, a Diana, or a Venus, with limbs sleek, plump, and round; but I never knew him, like Banks, to attempt the grandeur of a Jupiter, or even the strength of a gladiator. His monumental effigies, too, were always so draped and placid, that very little expression of muscle was exercised. Nollekens's large academical drawings, made when he was Visitor in the Royal Academy, were feebly executed; his men were destitute of animation, and his females often lame in the joints; their faces were usually finished-up at home from his wife, and in compliment to her, he generally contrived to give them little noses.'

His gains, in some particular instances, were enormous. A whimsical illustration of this occurs in the instance of his employment as the sculptor of Mr. Pitt's monument. The statue, now standing in Trinity College, Cambridge, for which he received the 'unheard-of' remuneration of 8000 guineas, besides 1000 for the pedestal, instead of being carved out of a single block, was 'pieced in a manner which the sculptors of Italy 'would have been ashamed of.' The marble did not cost him more than twenty pounds, so ingeniously did he economize the materials. From the angles, he cut away enough to supply the stone for sundry busts; and, the block not having sufficient length to include the head, a lump, large enough for that purpose, was drilled out from between the legs. Besides the entire figure, he executed between seventy and eighty busts at upwards of a hundred guineas each, and he sold more than six hundred casts at six guineas each. To the sculptor who carved the statue from the model, he paid only three hundred pounds; and the manufacture of the busts cost him, on the average, about twenty-four pounds each. His entire profit must have exceeded 15,000*l*.

The death of his wife, in August 1817, made a rather advantageous change in the habits of Nollekens. He multiplied his solitary mould candle into two, ventured more frequently on a glass of wine, enjoyed his fireside later in the evening, and indulged more deeply in the luxury of morning slumber. He would occasionally ask a friend to dine; and the charms of his purse—*les beaux yeux de sa cassette*—would often tempt his legacy-anticipating visitants to encounter the horrors of his greasy cookery and his gross feeding.

A life thus spent without dignity or usefulness, made no provision for the alleviation of declining years. His disgusting habits became intolerable: sordid self-indulgence and childish gratifications were his only solace. He had a miserable dependant, who had served him through a long course of years, and who had superadded to a coarse and dirty person, the charms imparted by dram-drinking. To this poor creature, who supported herself as well as she was able, on a wretched pittance assigned her for board-wages, he would sometimes give money

... 'to dance his favourite cat, "Jenny Dawdle", round about the room to please him; and at which he would always laugh himself heartily into a fit of coughing, and continue to laugh and cough, with tears of pleasure trickling down his cheeks upon his bib, until Bronze declared the cat to be quite tired enough for that morning.'

His will—but of that strange document, and its sickening history, we shall say nothing further than that, with its long string of codicils, it resembles nothing more closely than a boy's kite and tail.

Our readers may, by this time, be disposed to think that we have given them something like a loose analysis of the volumes in our hand. So far are we from having even attempted it, that we have not given the smallest notion of the contents and rambling character of this *farrago libelli*. Its excursiveness is beyond any thing that we recollect to have met with before. A street, a house, a name, a reminiscence, is to Mr. Smith, what the view-halloo is to the man of hounds and horses;—off he goes, through thick and thin, over hedge and ditch, athwart brake and briar, till he has either run his chase down, or himself breathless. All this is very amusing, and occasionally profitable; but the only way of fairly coping with it, would be by charging our page with extracts; a gratuitous method of getting through our work, and one in which we have been already distanced by the newspapers. There yet remains, however, a part of the collection which appears to us by far the most valuable; and to this we shall for a moment direct attention. In a sort of Appendix, which, under the title of Biographical Sketches, occupies the greater portion of the second volume, Mr. Smith has given a series of interesting recollections, connected with names of which we occasionally hear, but without the means of obtaining specific information respecting the men who bore them. Roubiliac stands first; and we are glad, concerning him, to repair an injustice of which we were unwittingly guilty, by the hasty insertion of an unauthenticated anecdote in our review of the 'Gold-headed Cane'.

In that work, he is injuriously represented as influenced by unprincipled rapacity: a calumnious imputation which the character of that distinguished artist's whole life victoriously refutes. He was careless of money and an enthusiast in his art; and the private information that we have been enabled to obtain, is corroborated by the slight indications which occur in the memoir before us. One instance of his even punctilious feeling, we shall record *en passant*. He had engaged to carve, for Garrick, and at the low rate of three hundred guineas, the statue of Shakspeare, which now stands in the hall of the British Museum. It was not of course possible, for such a price, to employ the best marble; and it was understood, that a somewhat inferior quality was to be used. It unfortunately turned out, that the block was full of veins; and to Garrick's great annoyance, they discoloured the countenance. He complained; and Roubiliac, representing that he had employed the very best materials that the purchase would admit, most liberally engaged to re-carve the head from 'a fine, clear piece of marble', and performed his engagement to the entire satisfaction of his employer. Flaxman inserted in 'The Artist', some years ago, a severe criticism on Roubiliac, from which Mr. Smith has given an extract. Admitting the inferiority of the foreigner to the Englishman, in adventitious qualities, in learning and classical taste, we must say, that with all our admiration of Flaxman, we cannot but place Roubiliac above him in originality, in feeling, and in power. We admit that the taste of the latter had been formed in a wrong school; that it had more of France, than of Greece or Rome;—but let the fine anecdote that we have somewhere told in a former article, bear witness for him, that he discovered this, though when too late, by his own exquisite tact and discrimination. No artist that ever lived, had a finer or more intense feeling for his art; and, had his lot been cast in a better age, or had his season of tutelage been passed on a more genial soil, he would have soared an eagle's flight. Of his devotedness to his profession, as well as of the intensity with which he thought and felt his subjects, the following anecdotes are examples.

'One day, during the time he was putting up Mrs. Nightingale's monument, Roubiliac's servant, who had a message to deliver, found his master with his arms folded and his eyes riveted to the kneeling figure at the north-west corner of Lord Norris's monument. The man, after he had three times requested an answer, was seized by the arm by his master, who softly whispered, "Hush! Hush! he will speak presently."'

* * * * *

'One day, at dinner, during the time he was so intently engaged in modelling the figure of Mr. Nightingale warding off the dart of

Death from his wife, he suddenly dropped his knife and fork on his plate, fell back in his chair, and then in an instant darted forward and threw his features into the strongest possible expression of fear: at the same moment fixing his piercing eye so expressively on the country lad who waited at table, that the fellow was as much astonished as the boy listening to the Cock Lane ghost story, so exquisitely painted by Zoffany.

We speak on no slight authority, when we represent Roubiliac as amiable, negligent, and the very opposite of rapacious. He was an excellent companion, though a water-drinker; and among his friends, would exhibit considerable powers as a sort of improvisatore in his native language. This excellent artist was born at Lyons, and studied the principles of his art under Balthasar of Dresden. He died Jan. 11th, 1762; and his funeral was attended by all the eminent artists of the day. At the sale of his effects, his own portrait, painted by himself, sold for three shillings and sixpence; and a lot of eight paintings, including one by Reynolds, reached the sum of ten shillings!! How much would those pictures sell for at the present time!

'Roubiliac,' says Mr. Smith, 'who was a perfectly honest and generous man, once found a pocket-book containing immense property, which he continued constantly to advertise for a considerable time before it was owned; and then, the only thing he would receive beyond the advertising expenses, was a buck, which the gentleman supplied him with annually.'*

Our readers are aware that, whatever may have been the practice in former days, it is not now the custom for sculptors actually to use the chisel. The first step in the process is to make the design, which is afterwards modelled in full proportion, with some plastic material; generally, we believe, a preparation of gypsum. The next step is to transfer the outlines of the model to the marble; and this is effected by a simple mechanical process which enables workmen, of more or less skill, to carry the statue through its successive stages of *bosting*, carving, and polishing. Here is, obviously, no necessity for the intervention of the master, excepting in the design and model; nor is it, as we have understood, by any means unusual for the first of these to be furnished by artists of readier invention than some sculptors are supposed to possess. We have heard, in particular, that one of our ablest men, and another of far inferior eminence, but of considerable popularity, have been altogether indebted, the one to Smirke, and the other to

* Roubiliac was at the time far from rich. The gentleman bequeathed him a handsome legacy; but the artist died before him, and as it was not secured to his widow, the legacy became null and void.

Stothard, for their original sketches. Of course, we do not vouch for the correctness of these reports, though we repeat them on high authority; but we have the greatest pleasure in giving a decided and somewhat indignant contradiction to a most absurd report, that Flaxman was not the author of those admirable inventions which have given immortality to his name.

We never gave a moment's credit to it, nor can we find it to have obtained circulation among artists; but, whatever may have been its extent of repetition, it cannot for one instant be received. Mr. Smith's incidental details fully refute it; internal evidence annihilates it; the character of the man and the peculiar nature of his published works are at mortal variance with it; and we set it altogether at nought.

Whoever has made acquaintance with the character of Barry, through the medium of his life by Dr. Fryer, or of the characteristic anecdotes which have been scattered through so many publications, will be prepared for any excess of coarseness in his behaviour to others, his friends not excepted. They will, however, be at once surprised and shocked at the following narrative, indicating a ferocious selfishness, to which principle and conscience must have been utterly unknown.

' Barry, who was extremely intimate with Nollekens at Rome, took the liberty one night, when they were about to leave the English coffee-house, to exchange hats with him; Barry's was edged with lace, and Nollekens's was a very shabby plain one. Upon his returning the hat the next morning, he was requested by Nollekens to let him know why he left him his gold-laced hat. "Why, to tell you the truth, my dear Joey," answered Barry, "I fully expected assassination last night, and I was to have been known by my laced hat." This villanous transaction, which might have proved fatal to Nollekens, I have often heard him relate; and he generally added, "It's what the Old Bailey people would call a true bill against Jem." Although Barry was of an irritable and vindictive spirit, yet, after ridiculing Nollekens upon almost every subject, he would not scruple to accept little acts of kindness at his hand, and then with the greatest brutality insult him. I remember an instance of this kind of conduct, which took place soon after Barry had completed the etchings from his pictures in the Adelphi. Nollekens, who was quite delighted in procuring him subscribers, once called out to him as he entered the studio, "Well, Jem, I have been very successful for you this week; do you know I have procured you three more subscribers to your prints from the 'Delphi pictures?" Barry, instead of even returning a smile for his kindness, or thanking him by a nod, flew into a most violent passion, and uttering the coarsest imprecations, of which he possessed a boundless variety, bade him to attend in future to his own business, and not to solicit subscriptions to his works; adding, after the utterance of a most wretched oath, that if the nobility wanted his works, they knew

where he was to be found, and they might come to him—he wanted no little jackanapes to go between him and those who ought to apply at once to the principal. And all this bombast was because Nollekens had declared his success in the presence of his workmen in the studio. Had he received the information in his parlour, all would have been well, and he would have pocketed the money as he had done frequently before.’

The article on Fuseli is one of the least interesting among these ‘postliminious’ sketches: it is full of childish gossip, with more precision in the repetition of irreverent and impious phrases and expletives, than correct detail required, or right feeling would justify.

The biography of that strange and eccentric being, Blake, has pleased us most, inasmuch as we were not previously in possession of the facts, though well acquainted with that artist’s works. He was an engraver by profession, but a poet and designer by preference. Of his poetry, we cannot speak favourably; and much of his invention in design is frigidly extravagant. But, amid much out-of-the-way rubbish, there are gleams of high conception and vigorous expression. He had strong powers of abstraction, and in his fits of mental absorption, saw visions, and held supernatural communications. He writes, just after taking possession of a cottage in the country, to his kind friend Flaxman.

‘Felpham is a sweet place for study, because it is more spiritual than London. Heaven opens here, on all sides, her golden gates; her windows are not obstructed by vapours; voices of celestial inhabitants are more distinctly heard, and their forms more distinctly seen

* * * * *

‘And now begins a new life, because another covering of earth is shaken off. I am more famed in Heaven for my works, than I could well conceive. In my brain are studies and chambers filled with books and pictures of old, which I wrote and painted in ages of eternity, before my mortal life; and those works are the delight and study of archangels. Why then should I be anxious about the riches or fame of mortality? The Lord, our father, will do for us and with us, according to his divine will for our good.

‘You, O dear Flaxman, are a sublime archangel, my friend and companion from eternity. In the Divine bosom is our dwelling place. I look back into the regions of reminiscence, and behold our ancient days before this earth appeared in its vegetated mortality to my mortal-vegetated eyes. I see our houses of eternity, which can never be separated, though our mortal vehicles should stand at the remotest corners of heaven from each other.’

Blake was, although poor, a singularly happy man. He had an amiable wife, kept clear with the world, and rejoiced in the

harmless insanity that gave him communion with the invisible world.

We have been deeply grieved, while reading these volumes, at the innumerable illustrations which they supply, of the waywardness and immorality that men of genius are too prone to indulge in. We might fill pages with these, but we shall cite only a single specimen.

'Mr. Knight' (the late Richard Payne Knight) 'happening to call upon Mortimer, at his house in Church Court, Covent Garden, expressed his uneasiness at the melancholy mood in which he found him. "Why Sir," observed Mortimer, "I have many noble and generous friends, it is true; but of all my patrons, I don't know one whom I could now ask to purchase a hundred guineas' worth of drawings of me, and I am at this moment seriously in want of that sum." "Well then," observed Mr. Knight, "bring as many sketches as you would part with for that sum to me to-morrow, and dine with me." This he did, and enjoyed his bottle. Mr. Knight gave him two hundred guineas, which he insisted the drawings were worth; and on this splendid reception, Mortimer, who was no starter, took so much wine, that the next morning he knew not how he got home. About twelve o'clock at noon, his bed-side was visited by the late "Memory Cooke," who, after hearing him curse his stupidity in losing his two hundred guineas, produced the bag! "Here, my good fellow!" cried Cooke, "here is your money. Fortunately you knocked me up, and emptied your pockets on my table, after which I procured a coach and sent you home."

A portrait of Nollekens, from a drawing by Jackson, is prefixed. The features are handsome and strongly marked, with a predominant expression of good humour.

Art. IV. *Pastoral Memorials*: Selected from the Manuscripts of the late Rev. John Ryland, D.D., of Bristol; with a Memoir of the Author. 8vo. 2 vols. pp. 880. Price 1*l.* 1*s.* Holdsworth, London. 1826.

A PENSIVE and somewhat mournful sentiment is often excited, in seeing how the memory of good men fades away in the places, and the portions of the community, where they may have been very considerably distinguished for piety, ability, and usefulness. This sentiment is felt especially by those few of their survivors who may have been nearly their co-evals, who had the longest known and valued them, and have lingered behind them a considerable number of years. The less and less frequent mention of them in the social circles, the diminishing number of sentences, the easy despatch, in recalling and dismissing their characters and actions, the indications in

various ways how transient the regrets have been for their loss, awaken in the minds of these survivors, at some moments, a disconsolate reflection, how easily even a valuable human being can be spared; and admonish them to prepare for being themselves, ere long, recollected without emotion, and, at length, withdrawn from remembrance. Respecting *them* also, after a while, *their* survivors, who have esteemed them, will have to make the same reflections, and with the like anticipations again for themselves. And thus, through the succession of human existence, one generation, in dismissing another from its sight, is dismissing it also from its affections and thoughts. This may be an impressive admonition to look forward to a state, and a society, where the individuals are not departing and forgotten, but are held by one another in ever-living presence and permanent attachment; and not to be looking back, indulging a melancholy and mortifying sentiment, to think how soon and easily our places on earth, when we shall have left them, will be filled up, and the interest with which we may have been regarded among fellow-mortals, be reduced to a faint reminiscence, dwindling by degrees to the mere record of a name, and that at last obliterated.

While, however, so many men deservedly esteemed in their own times and places, for their virtues and useful abilities, have been subject to this common lot, it was indispensable there should appear, in the progress of time, some good men, so eminently surpassing the rest in talents, or having their appointment so critically in opportune seasons, sometimes both, as to be memorable through ages; redeeming in a measure the character of the race, and shining forth in contrast and counteraction to the great men who have been the moral plagues of the world. That order of gradation, from less to greater, which obtains in every class of beings through the creation, exists in man, under the striking circumstance that, his nature being corrupted, a very great majority of the individuals have always been evil, in each rank in that gradation. It is an awful fact in the history of the world, that the far greater proportion of men who remain permanent in its record as eminent in the possession and exertion of mental power, have been the agents of depravity in all its various modes—propagators of error, corrupters of morals, inciters to mischief, indicators of misery—baleful luminaries, or gigantic destroyers. But, that the fortunes of the race might not be surrendered wholly to such hands, it has pleased the Divine Providence, that a proportion of individuals, of the first order of talent, together with others whose subordinate ability might be brought into operation with great effect, under the advantage of favourable conjunctures of

circumstances, should from time to time come on the scene in the opposite character, as the defenders and expositors of truth, as distinguished examples of piety, and as originators and promoters of beneficent designs. To some of these is applicable, in its limited sense, the assertion, that "the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance." And they may be regarded as standing permanently representative of all the good and wise that have lived on the earth, of whom the immense majority have left upon it individually no trace of their existence.

All good men must rejoice in beholding a select and favoured number of our race thus conspicuous in the ages in which they lived, and some of them destined to continue in renown through ages to come. But the quality of this pleasure may be subjected to some discrimination. Good men who have the fault of indulging too much the love of fame, will be apt to view those examples of pre-eminent ability and excellence, with a sentiment as if congratulating them on their renown *for its own sake*; as thinking what a happy distinction and privilege it was for those persons themselves, that they were destined to have their names and characters enshrined in perpetual fame,—as a good distinct from the beneficial influence of that fame. It is regarding those worthies under the character of having had a personal, selfish, and somewhat vainglorious interest in being lastingly remembered, admired, and revered; and felicitating them that, as a matter of good fortune, all they could have desired for their own glory has been realized; just as an historian or poet, insensible to all the nobler and religious considerations, celebrating the achievements of some great conqueror, who aspired to 'immortal fame,' proclaims, as in exulting retrospective sympathy with the hero, that his anticipations have been illustriously fulfilled.

Now this would be far from a pure and Christian sentiment in taking pleasure in the lasting celebrity of the men of distinguished excellence. And it must have a tendency, not at all remote, to generate envy in the minds conscious of their great inferiority, but at the same time raised so considerably above the multitude around them, as to feel some incitements to think of fame for themselves. If they had the *simplicity* of goodness, they would feel a generous, unenvious delight that there has been such excellence in the world; that there have been men raised up to be the lights and benefactors of mankind, and that their enduring memory is a prolongation of their beneficent influence; that thus, though dead, they may yet be regarded as both speaking and acting, for the best interests of following generations. And this simple goodness would render the inferior spirits who, in after times, look back to them with admir-

ation, happy to do what good they can in their own very subordinate degree; not impatient of the Divine allotment of being so far inferior, nor mortified that they may not themselves anticipate any wide or prolonged celebrity. And indeed, we have no doubt that this contentment with their assigned lot, this being satisfied to shine by their virtues, abilities, and usefulness, in their limited sphere, during their lifetime, without the vanity of thinking of posthumous and lasting distinction,—has been the grace of many excellent men whom, after their decease, their officious friends and biographers have made resolute and sometimes pompous efforts to retain in broad monumental exhibition, for the contemplation of ‘posterity.’ How many a large volume has, within the last twenty years, been constructed for one and another worthy and useful man in his day, who never dreamed that to celebrate *him*, was to be the expedient by which some one or other would seek to distinguish and publish *himself*; and would have warmly deprecated the hyperbolical laudations, the lengthy descriptions of employments which, though useful, were of a common order, the details of domestic habits and local incidents, the exposure of his private diaries, the collecting of his letters, written in whatever haste, about whatever affair, and the ostentation of the acquaintance he might happen to have with any of his more distinguished contemporaries. To push for notoriety for every thing,—for ourselves, for our departed friends, for our remarkable little children, for every thing that a book can be made about, small or great, seems to be the passion of the times: this, too, in a period crowded beyond all example with great events, with the agitation of vast interests, with important enterprises, and with extraordinary characters.

Why cannot we be made to understand, that some rule of *proportion* holds in relation to the measure of public attention to the lives and characters of individuals, which may fairly be claimed from the passing and the next ensuing generation? Why cannot we apprehend, that men have, and are sure in times approaching to have, too many things to think and read of, to yield to the memory of even very excellent persons, the proportion of attention and interest which the friends who write their memoirs appear to demand? If they were a little observant, they might be reminded of this by the no very unusual circumstance, that a large book of this order remains partly unread, in the possession of many of the friends of both,—of the deceased person who is the subject, and of the author. The remark is often made, though not perhaps in the author’s hearing, that the record—no disparagement to the estimable subject—is greatly too much amplified. It is true, these very friends

may have been partly in the fault. In the fresh feelings of regret at the departure of a valuable and respected person, they may have strongly expressed a wish that his life should be written; may have believed that, to themselves first, and then to their descendants, a very full display of the departed excellence would be a precious treasure of interest and instruction, and also, that it would be important and welcome to the religious public; and may therefore have urged the reluctant, or encouraged the ready and willing person, who was deemed the best qualified for the performance. They had little calculated the effect of time, and change, and business, and novelty, on themselves and others; an effect which has resulted in their being sorry, when at last the book is published, that it is of such length, and perhaps even that it is of such cost. And thus it may happen, that the surviving relations of the estimable person so commemorated, may have the surprise and chagrin of finding, that the work is not disposed of in any such numbers or such shortness of time, as had been confidently expected. It may even happen, that one of those relations may have the mortification of silently noticing, that a copy in the possession of one or other of those friends, remains but in part cut open, weeks or months after it has been received.

From such a course of observations, (which were never more than at the present time necessary to be made, but which will, no doubt, be made in vain,) we turn with pleasure to express our approbation of the sound discretion shown by the Editor of the volumes before us, in the limits he has prescribed to himself in the biographical portion. It is an interesting and perfectly unostentatious memoir of about sixty pages. He would have had no manner of difficulty to extend it to many times this length, by the expedients commonly adopted in such works. Dr. Ryland was a man highly and honourably distinguished, during a long period of time, within a sphere which, though it may be denominated local or provincial, was of considerable compass. He was employed in a diversity of concerns in the religious department, was of great activity, and maintained a very extensive acquaintance and correspondence. He was uniformly, during more than half a century, conspicuous in the most genuine zeal to serve the cause of religion; a zeal remarkably clear of every thing like egotism and display; and so free from the acrid taint of bigotry, that he commanded the respect, and a still kinder feeling, of persons of all sects and denominations. His benevolence, in whatever mode he could exert it, was promptly and most unostentatiously manifested on all occasions. His indefatigable assiduity in the im-

provement of his time, was such as often made some of his friends ashamed, by the comparison they were forced to make between him and themselves. In his manner of preaching, there was a strong and marked peculiarity. In the construction of his sermons, the scheme was cast, not so much in an order to carry the topic through in an agreeable course of illustration, of uniform tenor and bearing, as in a form to throw the force into prominent points, exhibiting strongly the *specialities* of the subject; sometimes enforcing it by striking contrasts or parallels; sometimes by remarkable facts from Scripture history, or the natural world, sometimes by unexpected applications; but all these pertinent to the topic or the text, and free from any thing of petty artifice or affectation, always with the most perfect simplicity of feeling and purpose; for no preaching could bear more palpable evidence than his, of serious, direct, simple intentness on the subject, and desire to make it useful to the hearers. These striking prominences of his illustration, he would often enforce with a vividness of ideas and expression, and with an energy of feeling and manner which was animated sometimes into the utmost vehemence. Some disadvantages of voice, or little uncouthnesses of manner, were nearly lost to the perception of those who habitually or frequently heard him, in the perfect demonstration which they invariably felt of his genuine and earnest piety and zeal. He excelled very many deservedly esteemed preachers, in variety of topics and ideas. To the end of his life he was a great reader, and very far from being confined to one order of subjects; taking little less interest in works descriptive of the different regions and inhabitants of the world, and in works on natural history, than in Jewish antiquities, and the other parts of knowledge directly related to theology. And he would often freely avail himself of these resources for diversifying and illustrating the subjects of his sermons; an advantage and a practice which we have often been sorry to see ministers decline, when the well-judged use of their various reading affords so obvious a resource for avoiding the monotony in sermons, so often complained of by the hearers.

Dr. Ryland's early and long addiction to what is called the American school of theology, and to Jonathan Edwards as its great master, imparted a character to his doctrinal views, which was perceptible to the last. But we have understood, and deem it a remarkable and honourable fact, that, as he advanced into old age, he became less tenacious of any extra peculiarity of system, displayed a more free and varied action of mind, and was more practical and impressive.—It may be added, that

his language, formed indeed in the theological mould, of phraseology, and making no pretension to elegance or polish, was perspicuous and precise in the expression of his thoughts.

All our readers, no doubt, will recollect the eloquent delineation and eulogy exhibited in Mr. Hall's funeral sermon for Dr. R. Very just in the main, it has been thought liable to correction in one particular. The description of Dr. R.'s passive meekness, his want of all power of re-action and contest, is such as to give almost the impression, that he was helplessly and without remedy at the mercy of any who could be hard-hearted enough to assail or trample on him. It is true, that he had a painful sensitiveness to opposition, and an extreme horror of harsh, unsparing conflict; and would, before a bold opponent, shrink and be subdued into silence. But, for this weakness, he was by no means destitute of a compensation,—a compensation in his own competence, independently of that forbearance which the knowledge of his amiable character, and of this weakness in it, obtained for him from all persons of kind and considerate temper. He had, for one thing, great tenacity both of opinion and purpose. And for another, he had a great power of persuasion in communicating, in a quiet, amicable, and somewhat confidential manner, with individuals; so that he could do much to disarm, one by one, a number of persons who might otherwise have been disposed to join in opposition to him. He had, also, a very great facility in writing, and could by letters give effect to opinions and arguments, with persons with whom he might not have had spirit and nerve enough to maintain them in stout personal encounter. In consequence, he not seldom carried his point, when it might have seemed that he could not do otherwise than surrender it. And this proceeding was not to be denominated artful, in any culpable sense; for no man could be more upright in his intentions, or more sincere in the arguments and pleadings by which he endeavoured to give them effect.

But we are conscious of having departed too far from the proper business of our profession, in dilating so much in general observations, and on the character of the revered author of these volumes; and have reduced ourselves to the necessity of being very brief in the notice of their contents.

The Memoir, written with exemplary modesty, presents an amiable picture of Dr. R.'s very early piety, and a short account of the stages, the few remarkable events and movements, and the several and busy occupations, of his long life, which began with the year 1753, and closed in 1825; more than thirty years of it being spent, in the capacity of pastor and tutor, at Bristol. The Writer, aware how much partiality is

apt to be imputed to encomiums proceeding from a near relation, has drawn the tribute to his father's merits from the testimony of other men, some of them of high estimation in the Christian Church.

The substance of the book is a selection of short sermons, to the number of 150, printed from Dr. R.'s notes. We should guess that each of them, on the average, might be deliberately read in about a quarter of an hour, and is less, probably, than one third the length of the discourse as delivered by the preacher. But they are different from papers of broken hints and mere suggestions, to help the memory, or prompt the invention, in the course of speaking. They are digested schemes, adjusted with care to put the topics in good order, with a due proportion, under each head, of the essence of the matter to be amplified in the delivery. And the thoughts are in such regular and related series, as to have nearly the effect of continuous composition. When they have not that effect, the printer has very judiciously left small blank spaces between the sentences. There is often an ingenious turn, sometimes in the way of taking advantage of the form of expression in the text; sometimes in the peculiar and pointed manner in which one part of the subject is made to reflect on another. The Preacher very rarely, we believe, failed to provide himself with these attentively studied schemes, throughout his ministrations. He uniformly had them before him in the pulpit, written sometimes in a hand almost microscopically small; and he as constantly made the written sketch the basis of his discourse. But this produced no cramped formality; his extemporary enlargements, when he was in the favourable state of feeling, were in a strain of perfect freedom and facility, and in just the same diction as the written sentences. It was, indeed, in these enlargements that the force and peculiarity of the illustration, and the energy of feeling, often displayed by him, came forth. So that those readers of these printed sketches who never heard the preacher, or too seldom to have witnessed the most animated of his public exercises, can have no adequate idea of the spirit, and force, and compulsion on the hearers' attention, with which the sermons were delivered.

They are on a wide diversity of subjects, doctrinal, despondential, and practical, far too many to admit of a list being given of them here: none of them are short enough to be given entire as an extract; and at the same time, to shew a part of what is itself but a compendium, would not exemplify their character.

Art. V. 1. *The Seventh Report of the Committee of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline and for the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders.* 1827. 8vo. pp. 412. London, 1827.

2. *The Christian's Duty towards Criminals: a Sermon preached in St. Philip's Chapel, Regent Street, for the Benefit of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, &c.* By Charles James Blomfield, D.D. Lord Bishop of Chester (now Bishop of London). Printed at the Request of the Committee. 4to. pp. 20. London, 1828.

3. *A Charge delivered to the Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, at the Second Visitation of that Diocese.* By Henry Ryder, D.D. Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and Dean of Wells. 8vo. pp. 56. Stafford, 1828.

WE take shame to ourselves for having suffered this Seventh Report of the Prison Discipline Society to lie so long on our table, not, indeed, unnoticed, but without our having called the attention of our readers to its important contents. The pages of our former volumes will bear witness, that it has proceeded from no guilty indolence of mind or apathy, in reference to a subject in which every man who deserves the name of Christian, must feel a lively interest. The simple fact is, that we had wished to bend our most earnest attention to the subject in all its bearings, with a view to assist in seconding the appeal of the Committee to the Christian Public. We rejoice that the cause of the Society, which is that of humanity, has found far abler advocates; and that voices are lifted up on its behalf, which cannot fail to make themselves extensively heard. Bishop Blomfield has done himself honour by the enlightened warmth with which he enforces the principle of the Society, as well as pleads for its effective support; and before we advert more specifically to the contents of the Report itself, his Lordship's sermon claims a distinct notice.

Taking for his text the Divine declaration, Ezek. xxxiii. 11., the Bishop remarks, that natural religion could never have conducted us to that truth, 'the certainty of which conscience longs to be assured of, but reason can never establish',—that repentance can restore a sinner to the favour of God. Repentance has, strictly speaking, no such efficacy.

'For it is not repentance which of itself has power to avert the Divine vengeance: but God, of his own free mercy, and on account of Him who is the first and the last in the scheme of man's creation and redemption, has been pleased to sanction with the authority of Revelation, that otherwise undiscoverable truth, that *the wicked may turn from his way and live.*'

To convince men at once of the necessity of repentance and of there being a way to return, is the design of the Gospel proclamation. Such is also the merciful object which the Supreme Lawgiver and Ruler of the Universe proposes, in the infliction of present punishment upon sinners, while yet in a state which admits of repentance and turning to God. Such then, the Bishop remarks, ought to be the purpose and intention of those punishments by which civil governments avenge the violation and assert the authority of human laws. One object of penal provisions, it is admitted, is to excite such a salutary dread of the consequences of crime, as may deter from its commission; and 'retribution, where it is possible, is 'a legitimate object of penal justice.' But, continues his Lordship:

'It is no longer necessary to prove by argument, that the true end of punishment is the prevention of crime; or that such prevention is to be accomplished principally by two methods; the correction and reformation of the criminals themselves, and the religious and moral improvement of those classes which are most exposed to temptation. These methods I consider to be incomparably the most effectual; without overlooking the importance of a due apportionment of punishment to crime, and of establishing, in the opinions and expectations of the people, a certain and uniform connexion between the offence and its appropriate penalty. The latter measures of prevention fall within the exclusive province of the civil government; the former open a wide and promising field for the exertions of individual charity; not to the removal, or suspension, of that duty which is incumbent upon the state; but in furtherance and aid of its endeavours.

'It naturally happens, that in the process of moral improvement, as connected with the provisions of civil polity, individual sagacity, or benevolence, is almost always beforehand with the state. It is not only unshackled by the same restraints of form and custom, but it acts under the influence of higher and more sacred motives. It is generally considered, that men's temporal, not their spiritual interests, are under the care of the magistrate; and that he is no otherwise concerned in the maintenance and propagation of religion, than as it is connected with the interests of society. No man can be ignorant, in how great a degree religious conduct bears upon the welfare of society; and for this the state endeavours to provide, on the one hand, by an established church, on the other, by the enactments of its criminal law. But these enactments do not, as indeed they cannot, touch the hidden springs of action, the first principles of conduct: and they may perhaps be, either in themselves, or in the mode of their application, injurious to the moral state of those who are directly affected by them. The magistrate looks to the interests of the community; not to those of the individual who is punished. How to combine the two, and to make provision for them both, is a problem to be determined by experiment. It is here, that

individual charity may tender its aid, and lead the way to those improvements, if not in the principles of criminal jurisprudence, yet in the application of its rules, which would escape the observation, and fail to awaken the sympathies of those who are entrusted with the government of the state.

‘Individual charity is actuated by higher and holier motives than those of secular policy; and considers man, not solely, nor even principally, as a member of the body politic, but as a responsible moral agent; as the heir of life eternal; as a servant of God; as a disciple of Jesus Christ. It is therefore earnest and anxious in its inquiries after the most probable methods, not merely of preserving unbroken the bond of civil peace and unity, and of preventing the injuries which the commission of crime inflicts upon the integrity of the social fabric; but of saving souls to the Lord; to Him, *who hath no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live.*’

‘It is not easy, certainly it has not been usual, for the government of a country to descend to a consideration of all the circumstances and details which attend the *execution* of its penal laws; and it has been a defect in the administration of all such laws, that it has looked more to prevent the *increase* of crime by the influence of a salutary terror, than to diminish its *actual amount* by reforming the offender himself. But the speculations of Christian philosophy, and the energies of an active piety, have led many wise and benevolent individuals to take a personal interest in this great question of policy and religion; and to prove experimentally, at the cost of much pains and labour, and in opposition to much prejudice, the possibility, and consequently the sacred duty, of combining both objects of punishment, the security of the public, and the reformation of the criminal.’

Towards the close of the Sermon, the Bishop combats the heartless objection against such benevolent attempts, grounded on their alleged inefficacy to reclaim old and practised offenders. ‘But the pretext of unsuccessful experiment’, he continues, ‘by which the unfeeling or the timid *may seek* to excuse their indifference, fails them in the case of juvenile offenders. *Here, at least, experience is on the side of benevolence.*’

‘That class of criminals whom it is the most important, it is also the most easy to reform. . . . Upon the treatment which a youthful delinquent receives, when detected on his first offence, depends, in all probability, his character and conduct for the remainder of his life; and his prospects in eternity. To consign him, when only suspected, (and therefore presumed by the law to be innocent,) or even when convicted of a slight offence, to a common punishment and an indiscriminate intercourse with the most hardened and abandoned criminals, is to force him into moral contagion, and probably upon spiritual destruction. To punish, without instructing him, tends only to harden and brutalize his mind. To dismiss him, after a period of confinement, without any attempt to replace him in that state and

capacity from which he has fallen, is to throw him back, of necessity, upon evil companions, and evil practices.'

The increase of Juvenile Delinquency forms a peculiar and portentous feature of the present times; and when taken in connexion with the progress of education, and the multiplication of Sunday Schools throughout the kingdom during the last fifty years, has been adduced as a staggering difficulty. The Bishop, in a note, manfully encounters the pernicious reasoning which would thence infer the inutility of extending the means of knowledge.

'It is marvellous and lamentable, that even at this time of day persons should be found, who maintain, that the increase of juvenile delinquency, if it has not in part been occasioned by the general diffusion of education, has at least received no check from it. I would fain be told, by what process of inquiry they have arrived at this conclusion; not certainly by examining the returns made from the different gaols; still less from an investigation of the books of our schools; from which it would appear, that the proportion of criminals who have been educated upon any thing like a *right system*, or to *any considerable extent*, is very small. Unless crime itself can be eradicated, as education extends itself through all classes, the *proportion* of educated delinquents *must* increase. Surely the fair inference is this: if, unhappily, the number of offenders is so great, in spite of the advantages of education, how fearfully great would it have been, had no extraordinary efforts been used to communicate religious knowledge to the poor. As long as the poor laws are administered on the present system; as long as increased facilities of intemperance are offered to the labouring classes; as long as the present unnatural and unhealthy state of our manufactures shall continue; and as long as the revenues of the state shall be more regarded than the morals of the people—so long we must expect to find that crime will increase. It must be remembered, that the result of education is not always *knowledge*; and that the mere mechanical process of teaching to read and write, does not communicate any *principle* of resistance to temptation.' p. 14.

The following testimony of the Rev. Mr. Brown, the active and excellent chaplain of Norwich Castle, on this point, referred to in the Report before us, is most important and decisive.

'I have ever been convinced that ignorance is productive of crime; but nothing can so fully confirm that conviction as an intimate knowledge of the inmates of a prison. From January 1825 to March 1826, four hundred persons came under my examination. Of these, 173 could neither read nor write; twenty-eight merely knew the alphabet; forty-nine could read very imperfectly, so as not to be able to obtain any information by it; fifty-nine could read only; and ninety-nine could read and write. But this statement by no

means presents the sum of ignorance in these persons. Nothing but actual investigation can render credible the gross ignorance that painfully comes under the observation of a chaplain of a gaol. Even among prisoners who have mechanically learned to read and write, there exists, generally speaking, a lamentable ignorance of moral and religious duties and the awful sanctions of religion; and of the rest, some know as little of the very first principles of religion, as the wildest savage. And yet, the prisoners are generally willing to learn, and attentive to the instruction afforded them.'

7th Report, p. 109.

Notwithstanding, then, the increase of schools, it is certain, that the inadequacy of the existing means of education, or some deficiency in the system, or both these causes, must be regarded as a main source of the increase of crime. In our large manufacturing districts, the very early employment of the children, Bishop Ryder remarks, prevents the possibility of multitudes attending the National, or any of the common class of weekly schools. 'The large number collected in the National Schools,' adds his Lordship, 'often impedes the accomplishment of any considerable degree of attention to individual children, on the part of the Master, Mistress, or Visitors.' Add to this, a mistaken notion prevails among parents of the lower class, that, in sending their child to school, they have done all that can be required of them, and are delivered from all further responsibility. It may be thought that, but for the school, the children of such parents would stand little chance of obtaining any instruction at all. But we fear that, in many cases, the Sunday school is the injurious substitute for the more wholesome exercise of parental pains and oversight. It is a fearful condition of society, when the separation of children from their natural instructors, to whom alone they can be an object of adequate and individual interest, and from the only school in which their affections can be cultivated,—the family of their parents,—comes uniformly, and as a matter of course, to be regarded as the smaller evil of the two. Against the increase of schools and the public means of instruction, we may certainly set, as a deduction from the total increase of education, the relaxation of parental efforts and the diminution of private education among the classes somewhat elevated above the lowest order.

We are afraid, too, that much that goes under the general name of education,—in National schools, British schools, and even Sunday schools,—is of a miserably inefficacious and delusive character; serving to conceal, rather than to remedy the growth of popular ignorance, and leaving the mind as little improved or developed as the affections.

With regard to the other sources of crime,—there can be no question, that pauperism must be regarded as in itself a sufficient cause of its alarming increase. ‘Nothing tends more powerfully than pauperism’, it is justly remarked in the Report, ‘to weaken the natural affections, and destroy the sense of parental obligation.’

‘Whatever, therefore, contributes generally to create indigence among the poor at large, operates with peculiar severity upon their offspring. Of the crowds of boys who inhabit our prisons and infest our streets, the depravity of an immense proportion may be traced to the want of care, and to the neglect and criminality of their natural protectors. Numbers are without a parent or friend, and derive their subsistence by mendicity and theft. They are frequently committed to prisons for short periods; on being discharged, their depredations are renewed, both from habit and necessity; until, becoming the associates of old and desperate offenders, their career is at length terminated by transportation or capital punishment. . . . There cannot be a question but that the unfortunate circumstances by which the children of a large portion of the labouring classes become the inmates of a prison, result from the superabundance of our population, and the consequent extent of pauperism.’ * p. 115.

We shall not stop to inquire, in this place, how far the representation is accurate, which imputes the extent of pauperism to a redundant population. Those hands can alone, we think, be justly regarded as superabundant, which remain unemployed; whereas, the larger proportion of pauperism is produced by the indigence of those who are either fully or partially employed, but cannot live by their labour. The depreciation of agricultural labour has taken place in districts where the population has decreased; and there can be no question, that the mixture of relief with wages has been the origin of the portentous increase of indigence.

There are other causes of demoralization, some of them connected with the administration of the criminal law, and the nature of the laws themselves,—some arising out of the circumstances of society,—which might be particularized. To some of these, Bishop Ryder forcibly adverts.

‘In the manufacturing districts, we have to complain of the congregating of multitudes, especially of children of both sexes in a mass for many hours’ daily labour under a very insufficient moral su-

* ‘Of the extent of crime among the youth of the metropolis,’ it is remarked, ‘an idea may be formed from the fact, that, while in the last year (1826), the number of prisoners who passed through Newgate, above the age of twenty-one, was 1262, those under that age amounted to 1669!’

perintendence—the early independence of parental control, and the grievous defect of parental advice and example: In the *agricultural* counties we have to deplore the various abuses of the Poor Laws—encouraging indolent reliance on legal support, and discouraging any strenuous effort of industry by parochial compensation for inadequate wages—the prevalence of lawless nightly excursions in pursuit of game—the diminished attention in families to the religious and moral character of their male and female dependants—and the greatly increased luxury and consequent domestic neglect on the part of the heads of households. *In both classes* double force is added to all these sources of evil by the lowered price of spirits, and the consequent far wider spread of the pestilence of drunkenness, and by the increased profanation of the Sabbath through Sunday Newspapers, and through the continued prosecution of worldly business and especially of public travelling on that Sacred Day. All these causes have combined to reduce the respect for the laws of God and Man, and to throw open the door to every temptation, to sap or destroy each mound of primitive vigilance, and let in “the overflowings of ungodliness, which make us afraid.” The very alterations and improvements of the Laws have tended, especially at first, to add to the list of commitments by facilitating detection and conviction; actions have been stamped with guilt, and justly too, which escaped before, and some very important regulations, which reflect the highest credit upon the able and devoted attention lately paid by Government to the subject, have not yet had time to be tried.

pp. 34—35.

With regard to the anomalies and defects still existing both in our penal code and in the administration of criminal justice, we must content ourselves with referring to the eloquent statements and important details in the Report before us,—the purchase and perusal of which we earnestly recommend to all our readers. From the parliamentary documents given in the Appendix, which are of the highest interest, it will be seen, that while the total number of criminal commitments in England and Wales had increased, in the seven years from 1820 to 1826, from 13,710 to 16,147, that increase chiefly arose from crimes of simple larceny. In crimes of violence, such as murder, burglary, and highway robbery, the increase is very inconsiderable. The convictions for forgery and uttering forged notes, which, in 1820, amounted to 373, were in 1826 only 27. The offences against the Game Laws were, in 1820, 177 commitments, of which 27 were acquitted; in 1821, 182 commitments, of which 84 were acquitted. Of the total commitments in the year 1826, amounting to 16,147, 3266 were acquitted; against 1786, no bills were found; and 11,095 were convicted. Thus, 5052 individuals, or nearly a third of the number committed, were punished by imprisonment before trial, and subjected to all the moral contamination of a prison, being legally

innocent of the offence imputed to them. This, as Bishop Blomfield remarks, is 'the greatest practical injustice which occurs in the execution of our criminal law. Commitment before trial, except in the case of graver offences, ought surely never to be resorted to, where the appearance of the accused to take his trial, can be secured in any other way.

Of the number convicted and sentenced, 13,461 were males, and 2686 females: of whom 1200 were sentenced to death, and 57 of these only were executed. Of the number executed, 10 were for burglary, 15 for robbery on the person, 2 for rape, and 10 for murder; 7 for horse stealing and 3 for sheep stealing; the remainder for larceny and other crimes. Of these, not more than a fourth would have suffered, had crimes of violence only been visited with capital punishment.

The Charge of the Bishop of Lichfield abounds with admirable and truly episcopal advice to his clergy, on various doctrinal as well as practical topics, to which we cannot here more distinctly advert. Our attention was attracted to it, on account of the bearing of the latter part upon the subject of this article. It is, indeed, most refreshing and delightful, to meet with a Charge occupied with such important matter of public and general interest, and breathing a spirit at once so philanthropic, so liberal, and so apostolic. We cordially recommend it to the perusal of our readers. The Bishop of Lichfield, we need scarcely add, is, as well as his Lordship of London, a vice-president of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline,—an institution pre-eminently honourable to the character of our country.

Art. VI. *Memoirs and Select Remains of the late Rev. John Cooke.*
By George Redford, M.A. 8vo. pp. 623. Price 14s. London. 1828.

WE confess that we did not open this volume with expectations very highly excited. Mr. Redford, we were quite certain, would not give his time to an unimportant subject, nor send forth an uninteresting or ill-edited book; but we had our misgivings lest even good writing and skilful management might be insufficient in the present case. We knew but little, nor had we heard much of Mr. Cooke. Many years ago, we had occasionally heard him, and the impression produced had not been such as to remain very strongly fixed on our mind, nor to awaken a high admiration of his eloquence. The work in our hands has, however, convinced us, that we had formed an erroneous estimate, and that he was, morally and mentally, an extraordinary man; a close thinker, a diligent inquirer, an

uncompromising Christian, an exemplary minister, and an effective preacher. A man may, it is true, be all this, and yet, neither his life nor his posthumous papers be worth consigning to the custody of a substantial octavo; but, in the present instance, a sound discretion has decided on publication, and Mr. Bedford, by a judicious selection of papers from a large mass of *adversaria*, and by the addition of a singularly interesting and well-composed biography, has compacted one of the most valuable works of the kind, that we have, for a long time past, been called upon to examine. The uncommon energy and determination of Mr. Cooke's character would, of course, sometimes place him in peculiar circumstances; and that character would be better exhibited by a statement of those circumstances, than by a whole chapter of description and dissertation. By this feeling, Mr. R. has evidently been guided; and while he has intermingled so much of discussion as might be fairly called for, it has been his main object, to bring out the great features of mind and of moral constitution in strong relief; and this he has effected, if we may be allowed to borrow the language of art, not by flourishes and cross-hatchings, but by firm outline and vigorous, yet not over-charged colouring. The memoir before us contains a series of important and impressive facts, admirably told.

The Rev. John Cooke was born in London, December 16, 1760. His family was in good circumstances, and but for the profligacy of his father, there would have been a fair provision for the children: it arose, in fact, solely from the honourable feeling of the subject of this memoir, that a somewhat considerable landed property was not actually resumed by him, since it had been illegally alienated. Circumstances occurred during his infancy, which seem to have had a strong effect on a mind of uncommon intensity and tenacity. In his mother's last illness, and during the access of delirium, she assaulted him violently, and subsequently attempted her own life. Her death left him, in childhood, to the atrocious negligence of a debauched father, and to the careless oversight of an unprincipled hireling. An aunt paid him some attention, but even her imperfect kindness was often frustrated by the brutal folly and ferocity of the intoxicated father.

' During this period, he suffered great distress from the death of a playfellow, for whom he had contracted a strong affection. He says, "The strength of my affection for a playfellow named Crawford, who lived in the house opposite to my uncle's, occasioned thousands of tears, sighs, and pains, for years after I left London. He was between five and six years of age, engaged in play with me and other boys. By some misapprehension of his conduct in taking up his top,

one boy knocked him down, and the others jumped upon him, and forced his breath from his body. At the age of twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty, I feel the pang—my heart aches, and my tears flow, as if I had just lost him.” p. 6.

At length, this state of things changed for the better. A kind farmer, who rented a small estate to which the afflicted child was heir, took him under his charge, and treated him with ‘exquisite tenderness.’ With this worthy man he remained from the age of seven until he was eighteen; and then, under the influence of a restless state of feeling, not uncommon at that period of life, suffered himself to be enticed from his protection, by the insidious invitations of certain near relatives, who were anxious, by any means, however criminal, to become possessed of his slender patrimony. The scenes which followed, are well described, and the representation is fraught with fearful interest. A desperate attempt was made to entangle him in gross and degrading vice. Through this he was carried uninjured, by the force of his mind, and the voice of God heard in the warnings of conscience. He was then left to himself without occupation or prospect; and it is worthy of note, that this period of unwilling indolence, and of treacherous abandonment, was the season of that great and marvellous change which gave character to his future life.

‘For a time, he was agitated with deep convictions and strong emotions. But it is not in the nature of that which is violent, to be lasting. Time greatly modified his feelings and calmed his fears. In fact, for a short period, his convictions wore off, and it seemed likely that they would produce no permanent effect. But at this critical juncture, some acquaintance led him to a place, which he then thought little better than a madhouse—the Tabernacle in Moorfields. This was the momentous crisis which brought his mind to a stand, and fixed the seal upon his future character. The minister who was preaching on that occasion, was Mr. Kinsman of Plymouth; a man whose labours at that period were highly acceptable and useful in the metropolis. The sound of Gospel tidings was quite new. His ears tingled at the strange intelligence, but it was “glad tidings,”—it suited *his* case in all its particulars, and it was proved to be true by the preacher from the Bible, and to his heart, by the Holy Spirit. His joy was great; he embraced the message, and felt alive from the dead. All things had been preparing him to accept the tidings. Old things had been passing away—old confidences—old habits—pharisaical and worldly prospects had been failing—and now all things became new. It was a mysterious, but divine hand, which led him, by these short and rapid strides, to the knowledge of the Gospel. Nor was it less mysterious, that the human agent which invited and led him to the house of prayer, where he first found the Saviour, should have proved, like most of his other early connexions, a *false friend*. For this man first gained a place in his regard, and

then borrowed money of him which he never repaid. There is still remaining among Mr. C.'s papers, a note of hand for money lent to this individual, upon which is written in his own laconic, but expressive way, "*This man first led me to the Tabernacle, and then cheated me of my money.*" p. 26.

His uncle, the false friend who had deluded him with prospects never meant to be realized, and who had been appropriating the property of his nephew, at length reached the legitimate termination of a riotous course,—a gaol, where he was still supported by the generosity of the youth whom he had so foully injured. When, however, Mr. Cooke found that his bounty was perverted to the worst purposes, to drunkenness and vile companionship, he withdrew it; and the result was, a deposition *upon oath*, that he was indebted to the uncle to an amount of 200*l.* Legal proceedings, it does not appear precisely of what kind, were adopted, but terminated in a complete exposure of the villanous scheme. Foiled in this, an attempt was made to fix upon him a charge of robbery; but, after failing in the endeavour to raise money by an appeal to his fears in private, the conspirators seem to have shrunk from the probable consequences of a public investigation. He now shook off the trammels of this mischievous relationship, and his habits of piety brought him into connexion with the Church of Christ. He became assistant in the school of the Rev. T. English, of Wooburn, Bucks; and after some time, engaged acceptably in preaching. His early education appears to have been good, so far as it went; but it had not qualified him for the easy mastery of the learned languages, in which he never attained such proficiency as to enable him to move with facility among their intricacies. For his present situation, and for great usefulness in the ministerial work, he was sufficiently accomplished. Concerning his progress in private devotion and in public engagements, we have from his own papers, what is justly termed by his Biographer, an 'interesting' document.

"When I first perceived and felt Christ as my life and my light, I began a new course of action; not by plan, and easy execution of it, but as a child begins his awkward attempt to walk. I felt that I *must* pray, and pray as I felt. I kneeled in my closet, and opened my mouth to God: but not having been on speaking terms with him, I could not 'order my speech by reason of darkness.' I uttered a few sentences, repeated them, and was exhausted. The verse of a hymn occurred to me, and I uttered it:

'Take my poor heart just as it is,
Set up therein thy throne;
So shall I love thee above all,
And live to thee alone.'

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These lines I repeated in every prayer for six months. My petitions increased in number, with my conviction and the sense of my wants. My praises advanced with the sensibility of my mercies. I soon increased my requests from four to six, and from six to twelve; but my feelings always exceeded my expressions; and although God accepted my prayers, I was always dissatisfied with them. By reading the scriptures, hearing the word, observing the workings of my own heart, and hearing the prayers of good men, I learned my own deficiency, and found enlargement in my addresses to God in secret. The first time I was compelled to pray in a family, my spring was dry in three minutes. I wished to hide myself: but a minister present said, 'it was a good beginning, and that although I had more grace than gifts, my grace would increase my gifts, if I exercised what gifts I had.' I was called upon at the prayer-meetings, and always was short, until the duty became a delightful privilege to me, and very acceptable to my brethren. I was sent for to the distressed in mind and afflicted in body, and went on 'from strength to strength.' Other members, perceiving the progress and acceptableness of my gifts, called on me to expound a few verses of the Scriptures. I yielded to their requests in my best manner, until report brought my minister to hear me at the shutter. One evening he came in, and I was confused. 'Never mind,' said he; 'if I have destroyed your self-complacency.' I was then called to preach in small congregations, and very soon in his pulpit. The broad seal of Heaven was annexed to my youthful testimony, in the conversion of six persons, who joined the church; this so endeared me to the church, that they followed me to every place. 'My peace flowed like a river, and my blessedness like the waves of the sea.' God was my life, and made me the life of the church. I discharged the duty of the deacons in visiting the sick, speaking in the villages, leading the singers, and enlivening the prayer-meetings. My duties were my element; I lived in the region of life and peace." pp. 34, 35.

For the circumstances which attended his settlement at Maidenhead, we must refer to the memoir itself; as well as for much interesting matter and valuable illustration, connected with his ministry, his marriage, and with that series of afflictive providences which swept away successively wife and children, until he was left alone. Yet, he 'murmured not against Heaven's hand or will,' but persevered in his work, and held on unto the end, trusting in Him who never left nor forsook his faithful servant.

At one period of his life, he became acquainted with the noted William Huntington, who had not at that time made himself so obnoxious as he afterwards became, to the sober and thinking part of the religious public; nor, perhaps, had Mr. Cooke then acquired that soundness of theological institution, which afterwards enabled him to combine a firm grasp of the doctrines of grace, with a distinct recognition of the full extent

of the Divine benevolence, and of man's duty. He occasionally supplied Mr. H.'s pulpit; but his temperament was not suited to that subserviency which was expected from the disciples of that strange dogmatist. Their intimacy was dissolved by his indignant refusal to obey Huntington's '*command*' to preach at Providence Chapel, when it was not convenient to leave his own people. On a previous occasion, Mr. Cooke had been favoured with a rather startling specimen of his friend's method of expounding scripture.

'Mr. Cooke asked the dogmatical divine, his opinion of the tenth commandment; particularly he meant as to its extensive application to the indulgence of desires and wishes for various things which the Providence of God had denied us. He especially asked Mr. Huntington, whether he did not think that Christians frequently violated that commandment, by wishing for what they did not possess, or by being discontented with their lot? Mr. Huntington, who was by nature a master of sarcasm, at these words of the inquiring youth, drew himself up in his seat into that kind of stiff, erect position which the body assumes when it wishes to act disdain; and turning his head aside, with a sneer, as unworthy of his pretensions to superior knowledge as it was of his ministerial character, he said, "You fool! you fool! You know nothing at all about it—that commandment, Sir,—why, that, Sir, is God the Father speaking to Christ the Son!"

'At this extraordinary discovery, Mr. C. could not refrain from expressing his astonishment, and begged to know, how this infallible dogmatist could make this sense plausible. The explanation he received was this—"I tell you, it is God the Father speaking to Christ the Son:—'thou shalt not covet'—that is, none of the reprobate—thou shalt be satisfied with the elect!" This was quite sufficient for Mr. Cooke. He found it hopeless to argue with such an opponent; but as speedily as possible, he wished his oracle "good day."

pp. 52, 53.

A shrewd and impartial estimate of his equivocal character occurs at a subsequent page, under the title of '*Remarks on the death of William Huntington.*'

The close of Mr. Cooke's life was of a kind that did not give opportunity for the triumphs of faith. Exposure, during a state of febrile affection, accompanied by inflammatory action, brought on determination to the brain, *coma*, and speedy dissolution. But a dying testimony was not wanted. He had been too long and too consistently a living witness, to require an additional attestation. He lived out a large allotment of man's appointed term, and at the age of sixty-seven, was taken to his eternal rest.

We regret that we cannot draw largely upon the rich collection of deeply interesting details which are given by Mr. Red-

ford, under the head of 'Facts and Anecdotes, connected with Mr. Cooke's public Life.' This, however, would be impracticable, without making the present article a mere *cento*; and we must be satisfied with taking one or two, not as the most interesting, but as the most convenient in point of quantity.

'Mr. G. was mayor of the town of Maidenhead, not many years after Mr. Cooke settled in it. One sabbath evening, he attended the meeting-house, and heard Mr. Cooke preach. The text was, "*Behold he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall behold him,*" &c. His attention was powerfully arrested; an arrow of conviction entered his heart; he became speedily a changed man, and regularly attended the means of grace. He had been a jovial companion, a good singer, and a most gay and cheerful member of the corporation. The change was soon perceived. His brethren, at one of their social parties, rallied him upon his *Methodism*. But he stood firm by his principles, and said,—“Gentlemen, if you will listen patiently, I will tell you why I go to meeting, and do not attend your *card table*. I went one Sunday evening to hear Mr. Cooke. He took for his text—“*Behold he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him.*” YOUR EYE! shall see him.” In short, he gave them so faithful and powerful an epitome of the sermon, and applied it so closely to them individually, marking the words—“*every eye shall see him,*”—with such emphasis, and pointing to them said, “*your eye,*” and “*your eye,*”—that they were satisfied with his reasons for going to meeting, and never again durst speak to him upon the subject.

'This fact is intimately connected with another, to which, indeed, the conversion of the individual above referred to, soon after led. It may be entitled—

'A MALICIOUS ENEMY BROUGHT TO CONFESSION.

'Mr. —, was a most violent and malicious enemy to Mr. Cooke, and all his dissenting neighbours. One sabbath afternoon, the gentleman alluded to in the preceding anecdote, was going to meeting, and happened to come up with this person. He invited him to Mr. Cooke's chapel. At first the malicious enemy scorned the proposal, and resolutely refused. Mr. G., then an alderman of the town, said, “Why not? You really don't seem to know what to do with yourself, why not go?” He was at length constrained. He heard—the word was blessed—he became a warm, affectionate, steady friend to Mr. C. and the cause of Christ, till his death.

'A few weeks after he had attended the chapel, he called to see Mr. Cooke—he said, he wished to see him alone. He commenced his address as follows:—“Sir, you have received from me some infamous anonymous letters. I cannot make reparation for the pain which they may have occasioned you, but I am come to confess that I was the writer, to beg your pardon, and to make the only restitution in my power, if you will tell me what the postage of them cost you. In my wicked madness of hatred to you, I had taken pains to put you to expense, by getting persons going to distant places, or by firing coachmen, to put them into the post as far off as possible.”

'This confession, so honourable at once to the individual, and to the word of God, which had wrought the change, greatly affected and delighted Mr. Cooke. He thus saw the Gospel frequently made, under his ministry, "the power of God unto salvation."'

pp. 116—118.

The same difficulties lie before us, now that we have reached the 'Select Remains.' From these and from the Letters, we might easily extend our extracts, without exhausting a tithe of the valuable matter which they contain. We must, however, content ourselves with characterizing them generally, as the production of a strong-minded man and thorough-going Christian. Mr. C. admits of no compromise between the religious and the worldly. His letters of advice to students for the ministry, of exhortation with erring brethren, of consolation and monition to friends and correspondents, are fraught with matter of rare value, clothed in language of vigorous simplicity. Mr. Redford's comparison of Mr. Cooke and the Rev. Richard Cecil, is perfectly just, both in its parallel and in its qualifications.

'Mr. Cooke resembled, both in the style of his preaching, and in his personal character, *the admirable Cecil*. In the emphatic, condensed, and impressive manner of his sentences, he constantly reminded one of Cecil. His observations on living characters, and his use of facts and anecdotes, were generally in the style of that truly great man. Nor was he unlike him in his theological system, and in his clear and bold statement of the distinguishing doctrines of grace. Cecil, however, enjoyed one advantage which our friend lacked. His faculties had been well disciplined, and had received the polish and the vigour which classical and philosophical studies generally impart to minds of great native vigour. Had our friend enjoyed such advantages, there is reason to believe he would have sunk in no point of comparison with the distinguished individual to whom I have compared him. He is well known to have been on terms of friendship with that eminent minister of Christ. He usually heard him during his visits to London, and Mr. Cecil frequently attended at Maidenhead, when he could make his journeys on the day of Mr. Cooke's lecturing. On one of these occasions he said, after hearing Mr. Cooke, as he passed out of the chapel, "I love a man of principle, whether in the Established Church or out of it. I don't like your trimmers." Cooke and Cecil were, indeed, men of like minds—they were kindred spirits—and, in many respects, were similar in their style and manner as preachers.' pp. 129, 130.

The analysis of Mr. Cooke's moral and intellectual character, from which we have extracted this passage, is excellently done; and the 'Remains', taken in the light of *Pièces Justificatives*, illustrate and confirm Mr. Redford's friendly but firm and impartial criticism. It is a peculiar feature in the present

volume, that the biography and the examples are so written and selected as to have a distinct and elucidatory connexion. They run parallel with each other; and, although they may not refer to the same events, nor touch on precisely similar points, it is impossible to mistake the identity of mind and hand. Of these papers, some—and those the most important—are of an extent unsuitable to our limits; and the most valuable among the smaller articles, are not quite adapted to our purpose. We make this observation, that we may not be supposed to have made our selection of the following specimen from any feeling of partiality.

‘MEMORANDUM ON SIR EGERTON LEIGH.

‘Sir Egerton Leigh, Baronet.—Last evening, December 24, 1817, I was sent for to the Sun Inn, by Sir Egerton. I went and found him exceedingly ill, having been attended in London two months by two, and sometimes by three physicians a day. He appeared jaundiced and exhausted, with an intermitting pulse,—all but a corpse. I went for Mr. —, my apothecary, who came and prescribed for him. I said, “Sir Egerton, he is a friend to religion.” He lifted his languid eyes and feeble hands, and feebler voice—“O! what a mercy!” In the morning we again visited him. The milk put into his mouth he could not swallow. He took only four tea-spoons full of Madeira, and one of brandy. I sat by him with the butler and nurse. He appeared dying. The butler said, “Mr. Cooke is here.” He lifted his eyes, and held my hand. “Oh! my dear brother—pray—I cannot kneel, the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much—much!”

‘I prayed with him. He was much affected, very thankful. He paused, and then said, “O! sin!”—After silent reflection, he said, “I am in the Lord’s hands.” The thought of dying at an inn or in his carriage, appeared a mere circumstance: neither guilt, nor fear, nor death moved him. He said, “a better world was before him.” Resolved to pursue his long and cold journey, he was placed in his chariot, and took an affectionate farewell. What a Christian superiority to the fear of death did he display! no terror, no anxiety, no confusion, no distrust of God! calm, scriptural fortitude reigned within. His flesh failed; but “God was the strength of his heart.” God of my hope! forbid that this visit should be lost on me. Graciously qualify me to leave life without reluctance in the appointed hour. To enjoy a conscience relieved by mercy, through the atonement of Jesus, from guilt, perplexity, and doubt. To exercise “a good hope through grace;” in the unclouded prospect of a better world. My God! my hope! let me not witness such scenes in vain. Revive thy work in me. Bid my soul live, live eminently. Give divine principles full dominion over me. This is my heart’s desire. Is not that desire from thy grace? Is not that grace an earnest of more? Forsake not—O! “forsake not the work of thine own hands?” pp. 369, 370.

The following extract from a letter to the admirable Fuller, shows that Mr. Cooke had long shaken off the trammels of Huntington.

'The letters which Mr. Summers conveyed to me, I have read with attention and profit. Your ideas on this interesting subject, I wish to see in the possession of the Christian world, as it is called. Mr. Booth's late publication on Divine Justice, endeavours to confute your letters. You will, I dare say, notice his arguments. I did not preserve silence on this subject at Wallingford, from unsocial reserve, but because you expressed my sentiments more clearly than I should have done. And whether your sentiments be right or wrong, your writing must be understood. God has given you the faculty of thinking and writing with perspicuity.

'Your "Gospel Worthy," &c.—and Reply to Opponents, I have read. Bless God for leading me in that path very early; it has preserved me from the embarrassments of human systems—systems which are supported with a zeal which produces works fully corresponding to them. It is a mercy, as a minister, to be "the Lord's free man." I have seen and lamented it, that in too many pulpits, changes are rung on the doctrines of election, finished salvation, and perseverance, when neither are explained. Like the text, they are detached from their relatives, and supported only by the assertions of the speaker. Election supersedes means,—men impute Christ's righteousness to themselves and each other, to justify them in their sins. Confidence in their own knowledge and security, is faith. *Finished* salvation is enjoyed, where the good work is not begun. They glory in the *doctrine* of perseverance, without entering "the narrow way," and, therefore, persevere in delusion, false peace, the spirit of the world, and contempt of all preaching as legal, which requires them to *adorn* the doctrines by a suitable temper and conduct. Often do they rest for salvation on unknown decrees, and expect to "see the Lord" without holiness; except their orthodoxy be holiness. The blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin, whilst they trample it under foot, by a practical denial of its efficacy.' pp. 512, 513.

There is an excellent letter, on a similar subject, at page 513, but it is too long for citation.

We dismiss this volume with our strong and unrestricted recommendation, and with our cordial thanks to Mr. Redford for the gratification we have received from its perusal.

Art VII. *Parriana*: or Notices of the Rev. Samuel Parr, LL.D. Collected from various Sources, printed and manuscript, and in part written by E. H. Barker, Esq. of Thetford, Norfolk. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. xxxii, and 664. Price 16s. London, 1828.

IN spite of the lazy, injudicious, and inelegant manner in which this volume has been got up, we have been not a little gratified.

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tle interested by the perusal of it. Mr. Barker appears to have been at no loss for materials; but he has put them together in a manner the most disjointed and irregular. He seems to have exercised no principle of selection, but to have inserted whatever came to hand—good, bad, and indifferent—appropriate or inappropriate—in one chaotic mass of confusion. Had one half of the volume been cancelled, its intrinsic value would have been not merely left undiminished, but even greatly increased. One biographical sketch of the Doctor's life, for instance, might surely have been quite sufficient; instead of which, not fewer than *ten* such sketches are introduced, all relating the same things in nearly the same words. This is an effort of bookmaking, which much exceeds anything we have yet met with, even in this bookmaking age.—But—*seniores priores*—we shall return to Mr. Barker, after we have said a few words respecting the life and character of his illustrious friend.

Dr. Samuel Parr was born at Harrow-on-the-Hill about the beginning of 1747. His father practised as a surgeon and apothecary in that place, and is described by his son, as having been 'a man of a very robust and vigorous intellect.' In 1752, young Samuel was admitted on the foundation of the free school at Harrow, at that time under the superintendence of Dr. Thackeray, where he soon distinguished himself by his talents and application. Among his schoolfellows were Dr. Bennet, late Bishop of Cloyne, and Sir William Jones, with whom he seems to have formed a close and enduring intimacy. On the demise of Dr. Thackeray, the head-mastership devolved upon Dr. Sumner, a man of large attainments and excellent abilities, and whose appointment could not fail to have been very beneficial to all who were connected with the school. The advantages of this change, however, were enjoyed by Parr only for a few months, as he was called away from school to assist his father in the discharge of his professional duties. But what he had attained, was not forgotten amidst the calls of his new situation: on the contrary, all his leisure hours were steadily devoted to the ardent pursuit of those studies in which he had been engaged previously to his leaving school. At length, his father finding him possessed of talents and desires which qualified him to fill a more important station than he had at first designed him to occupy, was prevailed upon to send him to the University. Parr was, accordingly, entered at Emanuel College, Cambridge, in the summer of 1765.

Whilst at the University, Parr's conduct seems to have been exceedingly laudable. Ardent in the prosecution of knowledge, conscientious in the discharge of his duties, careful in

the choice of his friends, and moderate in the enjoyment of relaxation, he had every prospect of rising to a high eminence in those departments of study to which his attention was directed. But his hopes, whatever they may have been, were doomed to be frustrated. In 1767, he was reduced to the necessity of leaving the University, and of accepting the office of assistant to his late master, Dr. Sumner, at Harrow. In this situation he continued till his patron's death; after which event, having been disappointed in his expectations of becoming his successor, he resigned his office, and retired to Stanmore, where he opened a private school in Oct. 1771. Here he entered into the married state with a lady of an ancient family in Yorkshire, who seems to have been endowed with qualities that rendered her a not unsuitable partner for such a man. From Stanmore, Parr removed to Colchester, of which school he had obtained the mastership; and in two years after (1778), to Norwich, as head master of that school. 'Here his fame, as an instructor, rose high, and he brought up many scholars, who attained considerable eminence in the literary world.' Zealous and enthusiastic in the work of tuition, he seems to have laboured with the utmost assiduity to render his pupils proficient; and exact, and even severe in discipline, as he was, he seems, nevertheless, by his condescending manners and general attention, as well as by his deep erudition, to have secured, in no small degree, the respect and affection of all who were committed to his charge. In the volume before us, several of his old pupils speak of him in terms of the highest respect.

While a candidate for the head-mastership of Harrow, Mr. Parr, through the influence of the Duke of Grafton, obtained the degree of M.A. (*per regias literas*), without which he could not, by the decree of the founder, have filled that situation; and in a few years afterwards, while at Norwich, he proceeded to the degree of LL.D., with considerable éclat. His theses on that occasion, were characterized by much of that vigour and elegance of style, felicity of reasoning, acuteness of discrimination, and copiousness of information, by which his maturer productions were distinguished. Though earnestly requested by the Professor of Law to commit them to the press, he, from some private reason, refused to do so.

In 1768, while assistant at Harrow, Mr. Parr had been ordained by the Bishop of London upon the small curacies of Willsden and Kingsbury, in Middlesex. These, however, he shortly afterwards resigned. At Colchester, he entered upon the curacies of Hythe and Trinity; and at Norwich, he served the churches of St. George Colgate and St. Saviour. In 1780,

he was preferred to the rectory of Asterby, in the diocese of Lincoln; which, however, he soon after exchanged for the perpetual curacy of Hatton, in Warwickshire. In addition to this, he obtained from Bishop Lowth, a prebend in St. Paul's, and the wealthy living of Graffham, in Huntingdonshire, from his friend, Sir F. Burdett. This sums up all the church preferments of this celebrated individual. At Hatton, whither Parr removed in 1785, he spent the remainder of his days, in the laborious discharge of his parochial duties, in directing the studies of a few pupils, and in amassing those vast stores of knowledge and erudition which placed him beyond all competition in the course of scholarship. He had been favoured with excellent health and strength, till towards the close of the year 1824, when his bodily frame began to give way. On the 14th of March, 1825, he breathed his last with great composure and resignation. He had previously given minute directions regarding his funeral; in accordance with which, his remains were laid beside those of his first wife and her daughters, in his own parish church.

In the character of Dr. Parr, there were many amiable traits. His extensive benevolence, his generous friendships, his uncompromising honesty, and his unwavering attachment to truth and justice, command our respect. His regard for honour and veracity was very marked;—

‘ — Civis erat, qui libera posset
Verba animi proferre, et vitam impendere vero.’

Unlike many great scholars, his affections were not limited by the walls of his library, but extended to all who had any claim upon his friendship. His hospitality was unbounded; and the stores of his mind, the resources of his purse, and the wealth of his library, were alike open to all whom he called his friends. As a scholar, Dr. P. stood unrivalled for the extent and variety of his learning, and the facility and eloquence with which he could pour forth his knowledge. Endued with a strong natural capacity, and possessing a bodily frame which enabled him to prosecute his researches, unoppressed with languor and uninterrupted by disease, having, moreover, within his power the means of satisfying his literary appetites, he had amassed a quantity of information which seldom falls to the lot of any single individual. Not only was he intimately acquainted with every classic author and reputable critic; he had also perused and digested in his own mind the best works on metaphysics, belles letters, theology, history, politics, and political economy; and few questions could be started, on which he was not prepared to give a full and explicit opinion. We are aware that

some have pronounced his mind deficient in *original* power; and have averred, that his ponderous erudition crushed and overwhelmed, rather than supported and adorned his genius. A perusal of the Doctor's writings, however, will shew, that he could originate and pursue trains of thought in a manner peculiarly his own. Of him, his friends might say, as he himself said of Dr. Bentley; that 'he was one of those rare and exalted personages who always send away their readers with enlarged knowledge, with animated curiosity, and with wholesome exercise to those general habits of thinking, which enable them, on maturer reflection and after more extensive inquiry, to discover and avoid the errors of their illustrious guides.'

In politics, Parr was a liberal 'and a friend to free inquiry, without roving into the dreary and pathless wilds of latitudinarianism.' He was a whig, but not a radical; a reformer, but not a revolutionist. Recoiling from the licentiousness of democracy, on the one hand, and from corruption and despotism, on the other, he admired and loved the constitution of his country. Towards high church politics, he had a strong aversion. Though sincerely attached to the Church of which he was a minister, his regard extended to all who had worth to recommend them, whether Churchmen or Dissenters.

With regard to Parr's theological sentiments, we are willing to believe the best; but we must say, that the orthodoxy of one who could call Dr. Priestley a man of 'pure, benevolent, and holy principles,' and who could applaud his sincerity as an expounder of the Scriptures, cannot but be regarded as very questionable. This surely is not the language in which a Christian minister ought to have spoken of one, who, whatever may have been his private virtues, was guilty of seeking to reduce him who is "the effulgence of Jehovah's glory, and the express image of his person," to the level of fallible and fallen man;—of the champion and high priest of a system which, to adopt the energetic language of Dr. Wardlaw upon this subject*, 'selects for denial and proscription, every thing which is distinctive of Christianity, which divests it of all its principles of moral and spiritual influence,—which destroys the hopes of a guilty world, by subverting and sweeping with the besom of destruction their only foundation,—which in a word, annihilates the gospel.' With what other sentiments than those of 'grief and horror,' can a devout Christian possibly contemplate such a system? We are then reduced to the necessity of supposing, either that Parr was a secret favourer of the doctrines of Priestley, or that he was occasionally, by his excessive

* Discourses on the Soc. Cont. Pref. to 4th Edit.

love of liberality, betrayed into the use of expressions which his more deliberate judgement would have led him to retract. But, whatever may have been the real nature of his theological sentiments, they did not interrupt or obstruct him in the exemplary discharge of his duties as a parish priest. The friend, and almost the father of all his parishioners, he exerted himself to the utmost to promote their comfort and well-being, and his memory is endeared to them by the remembrance of many benevolent actions. 'During the first year of my visit to him (1820),' says Mr. Stewart in the volume before us, 'he had advanced to his poorer parishioners, and most likely to other indigent and meritorious objects, considerable sums in the way of loan, to help them to meet the casualties of an unfavourable season.' (p. 66.) And the same gentleman adds, that in the course of twelve months, he had lent in this way no less than 700*l*. Such a man required no mitre to distinguish him. He was also most regular in the performance of all his public duties.

'The morning of the sabbath at Hatton, was invariably sacred to Parr's privacy, until the hour for divine service was near. He usually breakfasted alone in his library about 7 o'clock. A little before 11, he proceeded with his family and visitors to church. . . . The first time I saw him officiate, he very much astonished me by his occasional pauses, as he went through the lesson, in order to explain to the congregation the correct meaning of any ambiguous passage, or make critical comments on any faulty translations. But the interruption was far from agreeable, and its effect far from devotional. When ascending the pulpit, he carried in his hand a small printed octavo, in brown binding, from which he pronounced a discourse. His delivery was always animated; at times somewhat fierce. In early life he had been admired as an energetic preacher; and I have no doubt, justly. Throughout the entire service, his face beamed with an ardent piety; and while he subsequently administered the sacrament, it assumed an intenseness of devotion,—even a sacred sublimity of expression.' p. 66.

But we must now turn from this literary Nestor, to his friend and chronicler, Mr. Barker. Of the manner in which this gentleman has discharged his duty, we have already expressed our opinion; but it will be necessary to give a few examples, in order to convey any adequate idea of the slovenliness and confusion which pervade and disfigure the whole volume. Mr. B. is undoubtedly a man of varied learning and much information; but did we know nothing of him but what may be gleaned from his present work, we should almost feel disposed to apply to him the character of Margites.—

Ὅς μὴ ἐπιστάτο πολλά, κακῶς ὃ ἥπιστάτο πάντα.—

We are amazed that so much pedantry, egotism, and indis-

cretion should have been exhibited by an individual of so much learning. He has certainly misnamed his book. "Sketches of myself and friends," would have been more descriptive of the contents, than the title it at present bears;—at least, this would have given some shadow of a reason for the appearance of so many passages detailing Mr. Barker's opinions on various topics, and the introduction of so many quotations, which swell the size of the volume, and have no other connection with the general subject, than that they appear to be favourites of the Editor. If the name of any of his 'philosophical' or 'intelligent' or 'amiable and talented' friends is mentioned in the text, the reader is immediately hurried to a note, where he is presented with a list of the individual's works, (if he has written any,) and perhaps with extracts from them; or if an opinion be referred to, we are forthwith furnished with a series of quotations, illustrative and demonstrative. Thus, the mention of bells and of Parr's partiality to a fine chime, produces four letters from Mr. B.'s 'learned and worthy friend,' H. S. Boyd, Esq. full of dry detail regarding the size, weight, character, and key-note of the principal bells in England; which the writer declares 'upon honour,' to be stated 'without referring to any book or other document;' and the object of all this is, to 'prove that my (Mr. Boyd's) memory is perhaps equal, perhaps superior to Parr's!' To us it proves something else,—that Mr. Boyd's coxcombry is such as would most certainly have brought Parr's 'whole pickle-salmon tub of invective upon his head,' had he ever encountered him.

The general practice of authors, when they have occasion to refer to the writings of another, is to content themselves with a simple reference to the part of the work to which they allude; but this is not Mr. Barker's method. He is too much of a gentleman to give his readers the trouble of a reference. He prefers (for *their* convenience, no doubt), to transfer the whole article in question to his own pages! Thus, at page 58, we are presented with the *whole* of Addison's paper on dreams, from the *Spectator*; and lest the reader should not be able to make up his mind upon this important subject, a treatise is subjoined by a Mr. Green, of Ipswich, which occupies nearly twelve pages, and to which not even a reference is made in the text. Further on, we are presented with three entire papers from the *Adventurer*, because Dr. Parr had said that they were the production of Dr. Johnson, not of Dr. Warton, as is commonly supposed. Now it is certainly very polite in Mr. B. to give himself the trouble of transcribing five such long papers for the convenience of his readers; but with all our gratitude for his kindness, we cannot help hinting, that by these and

similar achievements, he has encumbered his volume with very unnecessary appendages, and has given it withal a very drop-sical and unhealthy appearance. We would also whisper in his ear, that less friendly critics might be apt to look upon such doings as mere tricks of one well versed in a certain art, much loved by lazy authors, and much abhorred by judicious purchasers,—the art of book-making!

Mr. Barker, it seems, has 'no particular zeal for one branch 'of literature more than another;' and consequently he has 'allowed "ample room and verge enough" for the philosophical 'discussions of his friend, *John Fearn, Esq.*' This is rather strange, in a work devoted to Dr. Parr; but let us consider the circumstances of the case. Mr. F., it appears, has written a work, in which, amidst much that is whimsical and absurd, he lays down one solid principle, viz. 'that, but for a *variety* in 'our sensations of colour, we should never, by means of the 'organ of sight, acquire any knowledge of figures or distances.' This opinion, the late Dugald Stewart notices, in his dissertation on the history of metaphysical science, without telling the world to whom it is indebted for so precious a discovery;—an omission not a little grievous to Mr. Fearn, who thus saw 'the labours of a life-time' unacknowledged; and he accordingly wrote to Professor Stewart, requesting him to supply the deficiency as quickly as possible. Instead, however, of granting this request, Mr. S. returned for answer, that the opinion in question, though certainly laid down by Mr. F., had always appeared to him a manifest truth, and had been hinted at in books at least fifty years older than Mr. Fearn. With this assurance, however, this gentleman was not to be satisfied; and accordingly, he brought himself and Mr. S. before the public, by addressing to that distinguished individual two lengthy letters on the subject, in the "Sunday Times" newspaper. Of these letters, no notice was taken by Mr. S.; and Mr. Fearn and his writings were beginning to be forgotten, if indeed they were ever much noticed, by the public. To prevent, however, so dire a catastrophe as utter oblivion, and to refresh the memory of the world with the recital of his merits and his wrongs, he no sooner hears of his friend Mr. Barker's intention to publish the work now before us, than, thinking it a 'channel 'peculiarly fit and effective' for his purpose, he collects together all his correspondence with Professor Stewart,—a controversy between himself and Lady Mary Shepherd, on some of his own peculiar doctrines,—a 'Synoptical Minute of Anti-Tookey,' a work he has recently published,—along with all the fine things that have ever been said of him in private letters, reviews, &c., and dismisses the whole budget to Mr. B., who most compla-

cently dedicates to it 107 pages of his "Parriana!" Now we should have had less objection to this, seeing it is an act of benevolence to his friend, had these papers contained any thing that could in any degree have repaid the perusal; but that he should have given so much space to discussions so palpably empty and useless, is altogether intolerable. We will not go the length of asserting, that we have *never* met with any thing so absurd and trifling as the contents of these papers of Mr. Fearn, because human folly puts on so many phases, that it is often difficult to tell which is the most ridiculous; but really we cannot at this moment bring to mind any work which sets common sense and sound reason more at defiance,—except, perhaps, some of the mystified reveries of Mr. B.'s 'philosophical friend,' Thomas Taylor, of Platonic fame,—than do these 'metaphysical labours of a life-time.'

—— Bullatis nugis

Pagina turgescit, dare pondus idonea fumo?

We have often smiled at the whimsies and conceits of half-fledged metaphysicians, but we hardly expected to find one who had devoted his '*life-time*' to the study, seriously telling us, in the nineteenth century, that 'the human mind is a flexible 'spherule,' and gravely talking of 'the *edge* of a sensation of one 'colour, *met* by the *edge* of a sensation of another colour!' *Risum teneatis?* Yet, this is but a specimen of Mr. Fearn's metaphysics. Really, if Mr. B. opens his pages for such puerile trash, he may open them for any thing; and accordingly, in the next volume, (for he promises more,) we may expect a few lucubrations from some of his mathematical friends, set off with a few elegant sonnets, or a selection of Cambridge puns. It would be better at once to establish a sort of Encyclopediacal Magazine, wherein he might gratify his benevolent heart, by inserting the effusions of his friends. We shall be curious to see of what stuff his second volume will be composed.

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- Art. VIII. 1. *The Literary Souvenir*. Edited by Alaric A. Watts. pp. 362. 12 Plates. Price 12s. in Silk. London. Longman and Co. 1829.
2. *The Gem*. A Literary Annual. Edited by Thomas Hood, Esq. pp. 324. 15 Plates. Price 12s. London. Marshall. 1829.
3. *The Keepsake for MDCCCXXIX*. Edited by Frederick Mansel Reynolds. 8vo. pp. 360. 19 Plates. Price 21s. in Silk. London. Hurst and Co. 1829.

THESE three crimson-petaled annuals have blown since our last publication. We have received the specimens too late to enter at much length into a description of their specific characteristics. Like other 'flowers of cold weather', their 'hidden virtues, and even their fragrance, are less thought of 'than their gay and glittering appearance.' Without a meta-

phor, the plates, together with the 'silken sheen' of their outward adornment, appear to be what the Editors and Proprietors of these toys of literature seem chiefly to rely upon for a ready sale. The Artists take the lead, in this case, of the poets; and the very soul of these volumes,—which in fact survives the body, and is found existing in a separate state after the literary part is dead,—consists of *the prints*. To these, therefore, we shall first address our remarks.

Mr. Watts has certainly exerted himself this year with great success. His twelve subjects have the rare merit of being all well chosen, which is more than we can say of the most splendid of the rival publications. We do not mean to compliment him, or rather his artists, so far as to say, that either the designs or the engravings are all of the highest quality. Ehrenbreitstein, by Turner, is a gem. Sir Walter Scott, by Leslie, 'cannot fail,' as the Editor says, 'of proving of the highest interest to the public; it is, the Editor has reason to know, considered by Sir Walter Scott's family to be by far the best likeness of him that has yet appeared.' The Proposal, by Leslie, is extremely clever and spirited; it is taken from a larger painting. The Departure of Mary, Queen of Scots, by Leahy, is a beautiful groupe; and the Sisters, by Stephanoff, forms an attractive print for the shops. There is another by the same artist, which is a failure. Danby has a gorgeous landscape; there is a well engraved plate from a mythological design by Hilton, not much to our taste; and a pretty plate enough by Farrier, Minny O'Donnell's Toilet. The rest are but common-place, and Westall's is very poor.

'The merit due for the selection and character of the embellishments' of "The Gem," we are told, 'is attributable to the taste and judgement of A. Cooper, Esq., the Royal Academician, who has kindly taken that department under his able and especial care.' Messrs. Hood and Marshall have, we think, in this, exercised a sound discretion. The plates are very spirited and tasteful, and admirably engraved. The Widow, by Leslie, is a most lovely and touching plate, one of the few that would tempt us to the purchase of the volume that contained them; but the sentiment of the design is profaned by the heartless ribaldry by which it is 'illustrated.' The Painter's Study, from Chalon, is very elegant and poetical; and Cooper has two companion plates, May Talbot, and the Farewell, which are excellent embellishments, making every one curious to read about them. Hero and Leander, from Howard, is a truly classical subject, admirably engraved; and the Young Helvetian is a very pleasing, and will prove, we have no doubt, an attractive plate. The Embarkation of the Doge of Venice, is very brilliant, clever, and interesting, but the engraving appears to us to want finish. Bone's Fisherman's Daughter too,

a very pretty landscape, is marred by some defect in the engraving of the head; the face looks dirty. Altogether, the volume does great credit to Mr. Cooper and his Artists.

'On the various departments of the Keepsake, the enormous sum of *eleven thousand guineas* has been expended.' Need we say one word of the superlative perfection, 'both in literary matter and in pictorial illustration', of this costly work? There is a landscape from Turner, the Lake of Albano, which cannot, indeed, be easily over-praised; and his Lago Maggiore is almost as good. Stothard has a lovely garden scene from Boccaccio; and Stephanoff, who always throws in stage effect, has four plates which will serve *ad captandum*, and one of them, Clorinda, is interesting, though it looks too much like a scene at Covent Garden. As to the rest, we cannot say that the proportion of the eleven thousand guineas laid out upon them, has been well bestowed. The Laird's Jock, by Corbould, is execrable; Westall's Lucy has been given with variations, a hundred times; and Richter's Ann Page and Slender is a disgusting failure. Ann Page is an awkward, leering, ill-drawn creature; Slender, a grinning, slavering, rickety idiot, without a spark of humour in the conception, or of skill in the execution. Mrs. Peel and the Duchess of Bedford are—fine engravings.

With regard to the literary part, we have already mentioned, that we cannot say much, having received the volumes too late in the month to examine their contents. The transcendent superiority of the Keepsake is, however, by no means very apparent. Sir Walter's contributions will of course ensure the sale of the volume, and atone for much that is mediocre or worse—for Mr. Coleridge's dull and vulgar epigrams, Mr. Reynolds's equally abortive attempts at wit, and the prosing of the sagacious gentleman who has made the discovery, that 'Mr. Richter is an artist admirably qualified to illustrate Shakespeare!'

The Literary Souvenir, so far as we are able to judge, is ably edited, and fully maintains the character of the former volumes. But we must forbear all other extract, in favour of the following most extraordinary poem by the Editor of the Gem,—which for real genius, deep feeling, and thrilling effect, exceeds any thing that we have for a long time met with. Is it possible, that the Author of this poem could so mistake his gift and calling, as to squander his fine talents, to the sacrifice of his better feelings, upon Whims and Oddities!

'THE DREAM OF EUGENE ARAM.

'Twas in the prime of summer time,
An evening calm and cool;

S F 2

- And four-and-twenty happy boys
 Came bounding out of school :
 There were some that ran and some that leapt,
 Like troutlets in a pool.
- ' Away they sped with gamesome minds,
 And souls untouch'd by sin ;
 To a level mead they came, and there
 They drave the wickets in :
 Pleasantly shone the setting sun
 Over the town of Lynn.
- ' Like sportive deer they coursed about,
 And shouted as they ran,—
 Turning to mirth all things of earth,
 As only boyhood can ;
 But the Usher sat remote from all,
 A melancholy man !
- ' His hat was off, his vest apart,
 To catch heaven's blessed breeze ;
 For a burning thought was in his brow,
 And his bosom ill at ease :
 So he lean'd his head on his hands, and read
 The book between his knees !
- ' Leaf after leaf he turn'd it o'er,
 Nor ever glanced aside ;
 For the peace of his soul he read that book
 In the golden eventide :
 Much study had made him very lean,
 And pale, and leaden-eye'd.
- ' At last he shut the ponderous tome ;
 With a fast and fervent grasp
 He strain'd the dusky covers close,
 And fix'd the brazen hasp :
 " O God, could I so close my mind,
 And clasp it with a clasp ! "
- ' Then leaping on his feet upright,
 Some moody turns he took,—
 Now up the mead, then down the mead,
 And past a shady nook,—
 And, lo ! he saw a little boy
 That pored upon a book !
- ' " My gentle lad, what is't you read—
 Romance or fairy fable ?
 Or is it some historic page,
 Of kings and crowns unstable ? "
 The young boy gave an upward glance,—
 " It is ' The Death of Abel. ' "
- ' The Usher took six hasty strides,
 As smit with sudden pain,—
 Six hasty strides beyond the place,
 Then slowly back again ;

- And down he sat beside the lad,
And talk'd with him of Cain ;
' And, long since then, of bloody men,
Whose deeds tradition saves ;
Of lonely folk cut off unseen,
And hid in sudden graves ;
Of horrid stabs, in groves forlorn,
And murders done in caves ;
' And how the sprites of injured men
Shriek upwards from the sod,—
Ay, how the ghostly hand will point
To shew the burial clod ;
And unknown facts of guilty acts
Are seen in dreams from God !
' He told how murderers walk the earth
Beneath the curse of Cain,—
With crimson clouds before their eyes,
And flames about their brain :
For blood has left upon their souls
Its everlasting stain !
' " And well," quoth he, " I know, for truth,
Their pangs must be extreme,—
Wo, wo, unutterable wo—
Who spill life's sacred stream !
For why ? Methought, last night, I wrought
A murder in a dream !
' One that had never done me wrong—
A feeble man, and old ;
I led him to a lonely field,
The moon shone clear and cold :
Now here, said I, this man shall die,
And I will have his gold !
' Two sudden blows with a ragged stick,
And one with a heavy stone,
One hurried gash with a hasty knife,—
And then the deed was done :
There was nothing lying at my foot,
But lifeless flesh and bone !
' Nothing but lifeless flesh and bone,
That could not do me ill ;
And yet I fear'd him all the more,
For lying there so still :
There was a manhood in his look,
That murder could not kill !
' And, lo ! the universal air
Seem'd lit with ghastly flame,—
Ten thousand thousand dreadful eyes
Were looking down in blame :
I took the dead man by the hand,
And call'd upon his name !

- ' Oh God, it made me quake to see
Such sense within the slain!
But when I touch'd the lifeless clay,
The blood gush'd out again!
For every clot, a burning spot,
Was scorching in my brain!
- ' My head was like an ardent coal,
My heart as solid ice;
My wretched, wretched soul, I knew,
Was at the Devil's price:
A dozen times I groaned; the dead
Had never groan'd but twice!
- ' And now from forth the frowning sky,
From the heaven's topmost height,
I heard a voice—the awful voice
Of the blood-avenging sprite:—
“Thou guilty man! take up thy dead,
And hide it from my sight!”
- ' I took the dreary body up,
And cast it in a stream,—
A sluggish water, black as ink,
The depth was so extreme.
My gentle boy, remember this
Is nothing but a dream!
- ' Down went the corse with a hollow plunge,
And vanished in the pool:
Anon I cleansed my bloody hands
And wash'd my forehead cool,
And sat among the urchins young
That evening in the school!
- ' Oh heaven, to think of their white souls,
And mine so black and grim!
I could not share in childish prayer,
Nor join in evening hymn:
Like a devil of the pit I seem'd,
'Mid holy cherubim!
- ' And peace went with them one and all,
And each calm pillow spread;
But Guilt was my grim chamberlain
That lighted me to bed,
And drew my midnight curtains round,
With fingers bloody red!
- ' All night I lay in agony,
In anguish dark and deep;
My fever'd eyes I dare not close,
But stared aghast at Sleep:
For Sin had rendered unto her
The keys of hell to keep!
- ' All night I lay in agony,
From weary chime to chime,

With one besetting horrid hint,
That rack'd me all the time.—
A mighty yearning like the first
Fierce impulse unto crime !

‘ One stern, tyrannic thought, that made
All other thoughts its slave ;
Stronger and stronger every pulse
Did that temptation crave,—
Still urging me to go and see
The dead man in his grave ?

‘ Heavily I rose up,—as soon
As light was in the sky,—
And sought the black accursed pool
With a wild misgiving eye ;
And I saw the dead in the river bed,
For the faithless stream was dry !

‘ Merrily rose the lark, and shook
The dewdrop from its wing ;
But I never mark'd its morning flight,
I never heard it sing :
For I was stooping once again
Under the horrid thing.

‘ With breathless speed, like a soul in chase,
I took him up and ran,—
There was no time to dig a grave
Before the day began :
In a lonesome wood, with heaps of leaves,
I hid the murder'd man !

‘ And all that day I read in school,
But my thought was other where ;
As soon as the mid-day task was done,
In secret I was there :
And a mighty wind had swept the leaves,
And still the corse was bare !

‘ Oh God, that horrid, horrid dream
Besets me now awake !
Again—again, with a dizzy brain,
The human life I take ;
And my red right hand grows raging hot,
Like Cranmer's at the stake.

‘ And still no peace for the restless clay
Will wave or mould allow ;
The horrid thing pursues my soul,—
It stands before me now !”—
The fearful boy looked up, and saw
Huge drops upon his brow !

‘ That very night, while gentle sleep
The urchin eyelids kiss'd,
Two stern-faced men set out from Lynn,
Through the cold and heavy mist ;
And Eugene Aram walked between,
With gyves upon his wrist.’

ART. IX. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

Early in December will be published, price 4s. hot-pressed and neatly bound, embellished with several beautiful engravings by M. U. Sears, and handsomely printed by W. Sears, a new and cheap Annual, entitled *Affection's Offering*, a Book for all Seasons, but especially designed as a Christmas and New Year's Gift, or Birthday Present, from Fathers, Mothers, Sisters, Brothers, Uncles, Aunts, and other Relatives and Friends, to the Juvenile Branches of their respective Families. It will also be a most convenient and appropriate Prize Book for Schools.

In the course of December will be published, *The Circle of the Seasons for the Year 1829*, with a newly digested Preface on the phenomena of the coming Year.

Early in January will be published, in 2 vols. 8vo., *Morning Exercises for the Closet for every Day throughout the Year*. By the Rev. W. Jay, of Bath. Together with the Eleventh Edition of *Family Prayers*, by the same Author.

The Rev. Charles Forster, B.D. Chancellor of Ardfer, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Limerick, has in the press, *Mahometanism Unveiled*: being an attempt to explain, on new, but strictly Scriptural principles, the growth and permanence of the Arch-heresy; founded on an examination of History, both Sacred and

Saracenic, and of Prophecy, as delivered in the Old and New Testament.

Preparing for publication, *The Vestry and Cottage Library of Divinity, Ecclesiastical History, and Biography*; in a series of duodecimo volumes, to be published Monthly. The first volume, containing Baxter's Treatise on Conversion, will be ready in January 1829. Edited by T. Russell, A.M.

On the 1st of January, 1829, will be published, in a small volume, *A Help to the Private and Domestic Reading of the Holy Scriptures*: comprising, Addresses on the Subject as a Duty, and the best manner of performing it,—on the Inspiration of the Sacred Writers,—on the symbolical language of Prophecy,—on the collection of the Sacred Books,—a digest of the Books of the Old Testament, with the method of reading them in chronological order: an epitome of the Jewish History, from the time of the Old Testament to the New,—of the Life of Christ,—of the Labours of the Apostle Paul; arrangement of the Books of the New Testament, and an analysis of Mr. Mede's scheme of the Apocalypse. By the Rev. J. Leifchild.

Mr. William Carpenter is preparing for publication, *Popular Lectures on Biblical Criticism and Interpretation*.

ART. X. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The State of the Curates of the Church of England: a Letter addressed to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, in consequence of the publication of the Rev. W. S. Gilly's *Horæ Catechetice*. By a Parish Priest.

THEOLOGY.

On Completeness of Ministerial Qualification. By John Howard Hinton, M.A. 12mo. 2s.

The Paternal Discipline of Affliction,

the substance of two Discourses; together with Self Scrutiny, the substance of a Discourse delivered at St. Thomas's Square, Hackney. By the Rev. Henry Forster Burder, M.A. 1s.

An Examination of Scripture Difficulties, elucidating nearly Seven Hundred Passages in the Old and New Testaments, designed for the use of general readers. By William Carpenter, Author of *A Popular Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures*, *A Scripture Natural History*, &c. 8vo. 10s.

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